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DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE
UNITED STATES CONCERNING THE
INDEPENDENCE OF THE LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS

DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES
CONCERNING
THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE
LATIN-AMERICAN NATIONS

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595	Same	Same	Sept., 1820	1197
596	Same	Same	Oct. 5, 1820	1199
597	Same	Same	Nov. 26, 1820	1200
598	Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington	Same	Dec. 15, 1820	1200
599	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	Same	Dec. 23, 1820	1202
600	Same	Same	Feb. 13, 1821	1203
601	Same	José R. Revenga, Sec. of State of Colombia	Feb. 15, 1821	1204
602	Same	Captain Ewald Behrmann	Feb. 16, 1821	1204
603	Same	John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State	Feb. 20, 1821	1205
604	Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington	Same	Same	1206
605	Same	Same	Feb. 25, 1821	1209
606	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	Same	May 8, 1821	1210
607	Robert K. Lowry, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	Same	Sept. 22, 1821	1211
608	Same	Same	Nov. 23, 1821	1212
609	Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington	Same	Nov. 30, 1821	1212
610	Same	Same	Dec. 30, 1821	1216
611	Same	Same	Jan. 2, 1822	1217
612	Robert K. Lowry, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	Same	March 20, 1822	1217
613	Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington	Same	April 6, 1822	1218

PART VI.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM (GREAT) COLOMBIA (*Continued*)

Doc. No.	From	To	Date	Page
614	Robert K. Lowry, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State	April 16, 1822	1219
615	Same	Same	July 9, 1822	1221
616	Same	Same	Sept. 22, 1822	1221
617	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	Same	Oct. 15, 1822	1223
618	Robert K. Lowry, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	Same	Dec. 24, 1822	1225
619	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	Pedro Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Dec. 26, 1822	1226
620	Pedro Gual, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	Jan. 2, 1823	1227
621	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State	Same	1229
622	Same	Pedro Gual, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Jan. 4, 1823	1232
623	Same	John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State	Jan. 8, 1823	1233
624	Pedro Gual, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	Jan. 29, 1823	1237
625	Same	Same	Feb. 5, 1823	1237
626	Same	Same	Feb. 28, 1823	1243
627	Same	Same	March 6, 1823	1244
628	Same	Same	March 29, 1823	1246
629	Same	Same	April 17, 1823	1249
630	Same	Same	May 8, 1823	1251
631	Same	Same	May 20, 1823	1253
632	Same	Same	May 29, 1823	1254
633	Same	Francisco de Paula Santander, Vice President and Acting President of Colombia	June 1, 1823	1255
634	Same	Conference with Francisco de Paula Santander, Vice President and Acting President of Colombia	June 16, 1823	1261
635	Same	John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State	July 4, 1823	1263

PART VI.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM (GREAT) COLOMBIA (*Continued*)

Doc. No.	From	To	Date	Page
636	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State	July 29, 1823	1265
637	Same	Same	Oct. 5, 1823	1266
638	Same	Same	Nov. 18, 1823	1268
639	Richard C. Anderson, Jr., U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	Jan. 4, 1824	1268
640	Same	Pedro Gual, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Jan. 8, 1824	1269
641	Same	John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State	Jan. 19, 1824	1272
642	Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the U. S. to Colombia	Same	Jan. 28, 1824	1278
643	Richard C. Anderson, Jr., U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	Feb. 7, 1824	1278
644	Same	Same	March 18, 1824	1279
645	José María Salazar, Colombian Minister to the U. S.	Same	July 2, 1824	1281
646	Richard C. Anderson, Jr., U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	Aug. 18, 1824	1283
647	José María Salazar, Colombian Minister to the U. S.	Henry Clay, Sec. of State	May 5, 1825	1283
648	Same	Same	Nov. 2, 1825	1286
649	Same	Same	Dec. 30, 1825	1288
650	Richard C. Anderson, Jr., U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	Feb. 7, 1826	1291
651	Same	Same	March 9, 1826	1292
652	José María Salazar, Colombian Minister to the U. S.	Same	March 10, 1826	1293
653	José R. Revenga, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Richard C. Anderson, Jr., U. S. Minister to Colombia	March 17, 1826	1294
654	José María Salazar, Colombian Minister to the U. S.	Henry Clay, Sec. of State	March 19, 1826	1297
655	Richard C. Anderson, Jr., U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	Same	1298

PART VI.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM (GREAT) COLOMBIA (*Continued*)

Doc. No.	From	To	Date	Page
656	John M. Foster, Vice Consul of the U. S. at La Guayra	Henry Clay, Sec. of State	May 15, 1826	1299
657	Same	Same	July 2, 1826	1300
658	Same	Same	Aug. 2, 1826	1301
659	Beaufort T. Watts, Acting Chargé d'Affaires of the U. S. at Bogota	Same	Nov. 7, 1826	1302
660	José María Salazar, Colombian Minister to the U. S.	Same	Nov. 20, 1826	1303
661	J. G. A. Williamson, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	Same	Nov. 25, 1826	1304
662	Same	Same	Nov. 26, 1826	1305
663	Same	Same	Dec. 17, 1826	1306
664	William Wheelwright, U. S. Consul at Guayaquil	Same	Feb. 22, 1827	1308
665	Beaufort T. Watts, Acting Chargé d'Affaires of the U. S. at Bogota	Same	March 14, 1827	1309
666	Same	Simón Bolívar, President of Colombia	March 15, 1827	1310
667	J. G. A. Williamson, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	Henry Clay, Sec. of State	April 3, 1827	1310
668	William Wheelwright, U. S. Consul at Guayaquil	Same	April 5, 1827	1311
669	José R. Revenga, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Beaufort T. Watts, Acting Chargé d'Affaires of the U. S. at Bogota	April 21, 1827	1311
670	Beaufort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the U. S. at Bogota	Henry Clay, Secretary of State	May 14, 1827	1312
671	Same	José Manuel Restrepo, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	June 1, 1827	1313
672	José Manuel Restrepo, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Beaufort T. Watts, U. S. Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota	June 7, 1827	1313
673	Beaufort T. Watts, U. S. Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota	José Manuel Restrepo, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Same	1314

PART VI.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM (GREAT) COLOMBIA (*Continued*)

Doc. No.	From	To	Date	Page
674	José Manuel Restrepo, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	Beaufort T. Watts, U. S. Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota	June 12, 1827	1314
675	Beaufort T. Watts, U. S. Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota	Henry Clay, Sec. of State	June 14, 1827	1315
676	Same	José Manuel Restrepo, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	June 20, 1827	1318
677	Same	Henry Clay, Sec. of State	June 27, 1827	1319
678	William Wheelwright, U. S. Consul at Guayaquil	Same	June 28, 1827	1320
679	Beaufort T. Watts, U. S. Chargé d'Affaires at Bogota	Same	March 10, 1828	1320
680	Alejandro Vélez, Colombian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington	Same	Oct. 13, 1828	1324
681	William H. Harrison, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Martin Van Buren, Sec. of State	March 28, 1829	1325
682	Same	Same	March 30, 1829	1326
683	De Medina, Colombian Consul General in the U. S.	Same	April 16, 1829	1327
684	William H. Harrison, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	May 14, 1829	1329
685	Estanislao Vergara, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia	William H. Harrison, U. S. Minister to Colombia	May 15, 1829	1330
686	William H. Harrison, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Martin Van Buren, Sec. of State	May 16, 1829	1332
687	Same	Same	May 27, 1829	1333
688	Same	Same	June 22, 1829	1336
689	Same	Same	July 28, 1829	1338
690	Same	Same	Sept. 7, 1829	1340
691	J. G. A. Williamson, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	Same	Nov. 26, 1829	1341
692	Same	Same	Dec. 12, 1829	1342

PART VI.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM (GREAT) COLOMBIA (*Continued*)

Doc. No.	From	To	Date	Page
693	Thomas P. Moore, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Martin Van Buren, Sec. of State	Dec. 21, 1829	1346
694	J. G. A. Williamson, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	Same	Jan. 13, 1830	1347
695	Thomas P. Moore, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	Jan. 21, 1830	1348
696	Franklin Litchfield, U. S. Consul at Puerto Cabello	José Antonio Paez, Civil and Military Chief of Venezuela	Jan. 25, 1830	1350
697	A. B. Nones, U. S. Con- sul at Maracaibo	Martin Van Buren, Sec. of State	Jan. 27, 1830	1351
698	D. B. Urbaneja, Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela	Franklin Litchfield, U. S. Consul at Puerto Cabello	Feb. 4, 1830	1352
699	Thomas P. Moore, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Martin Van Buren, Sec. of State	Feb. 6, 1830	1353
700	Same	Same	Feb. 20, 1830	1354
701	Franklin Litchfield, U. S. Consul at Puerto Cabello	Same	March —, 1830	1355
702	Thomas P. Moore, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	March 27, 1830	1357
703	A. B. Nones, U. S. Consul at Maracaibo	Same	Same	1357
704	J. G. A. Williamson, U. S. Consul at La Guayra	Same	April 29, 1830	1359
705	Thomas P. Moore, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	May 7, 1830	1360
706	A. B. Nones, U. S. Consul at Maracaibo	Same	May 18, 1830	1361
707	Same	Same	June 17, 1830	1362
708	Franklin Litchfield, U. S. Consul at Puerto Cabello	Same	July 1, 1830	1363
709	Thomas P. Moore, U. S. Minister to Colombia	Same	Oct. 21, 1830	1363
710	Same	Same	Nov. 7, 1830	1365
711	Same	Same	Nov. 28, 1830	1365
712	Same	Same	Jan. 14, 1831	1366

PART VII.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM FRANCE

Doc. No.	From	To	Date	Page
713	Jonathan Russell, Chargé d'Affaires at Paris	James Monroe, Sec. of State	Sept. 2, 1811	1371
714	Joel Barlow, U. S. Minister to France	Same	Sept. 29, 1811	1372
715	Same	Duke of Bassano, Minis- ter of Foreign Affairs of France	Jan. 8, 1812	1373
716	Albert Gallatin, U. S. Minister to France	John Quincy Adams, Sec. of State	Jan. 17, 1818	1374
717	Same	Same	May 4, 1818	1377
718	Same	Same	June 18, 1818	1379
719	Same	Same	July 6, 1818	1382
720	Same	Same	July 22, 1818	1382
721	Same	Same	Aug. 10, 1818	1383
722	Daniel Sheldon, Jr., U. S. Chargé d'Af- faires <i>ad interim</i> at Paris	Same	Oct. 20, 1818	1385
723	Albert Gallatin, U. S. Minister to France	Same	Nov. 5, 1818	1386
724	Same	Same	Nov. 7, 1818	1390
725	Same	Same	Dec. 10, 1818	1391
726	Same	Same	Jan. 4, 1819	1392
727	Same	Same	Jan. 20, 1819	1393
728	Same	Same	Feb. 19, 1819	1394
729	Same	Same	Feb. 15, 1820	1395
730	Same	Same	April 26, 1822	1396
731	Same	Same	June 24, 1823	1397
732	Daniel Sheldon, Jr., U. S. Chargé d'Af- faires <i>ad interim</i> at Paris	Same	Oct. 18, 1823	1398
733	Same	Same	Oct. 30, 1823	1399
734	Same	Same	Nov. 29, 1823	1400
735	Same	Same	Jan. 18, 1824	1401
736	Same	Same	Feb. 19, 1824	1404
737	James Brown, U. S. Minister to France	Same	April 16, 1824	1405
738	Same	Same	May 28, 1824	1406
739	Same	Same	Aug. 11, 1824	1406
740	Same	Same	Jan. 30, 1825	1407
741	Same	Same	Feb. 26, 1825	1409

PART VII.—COMMUNICATIONS FROM FRANCE (*Continued*)

Doc. No.	From	To	Date	Page
742	James Brown, U. S. Minister to France	Henry Clay, Sec. of State	March 22, 1825	1410
743	Same	Same	July 10, 1825	1411
744	Same	Same	July 15, 1825	1412
745	Same	Same	Dec. 23, 1825	1416
746	Same	Baron de Damas, Minis- ter for Foreign Affairs of France	Jan. 2, 1826	1417
747	Same	Henry Clay, Sec. of State	Jan. 10, 1826	1418
748	Same	Same	Jan. 11, 1826	1419
749	Same	Same	March 12, 1826	1420
750	Same	Same	March 22, 1826	1423
751	Same	Same	April 27, 1826	1424
752	Same	Same	May 18, 1826	1425
753	Same	Same	Sept. 23, 1826	1426
754	Same	Same	Oct. 22, 1826	1427

NOTE

The idiosyncrasies of spelling, punctuation, capitalization and grammar of the original manuscript stand uncorrected in this print, except in case of manifest and inadvertent error, where the correction could in nowise affect the sense.

PART III
COMMUNICATIONS FROM BRAZIL

COMMUNICATIONS FROM BRAZIL

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,¹
to Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States²*

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 23, 1810.

In my letter of the 9 of June I mentioned that there was nothing new in relation to the rest of South America—in a few days after the unexpected intelligence arrived here of a revolution having taken place at Buenos Ayres — The proclamations of the provisional gov^t., which I forward by this opportunity will shew what are their professions & the circular of the Marquis Yrujo will shew his construction of their objects—for the rest the world is so well acquainted, at this day, with the language & course of revolutions that it will no doubt infer that these people will be more guided by circumstances hereafter than by their present promises—

I presume the disposition which was manifested here some time ago to make some pretensions in favor of the eventual right of the Princess of Brazil has been laid aside for want of encouragement from the British gover^t. It is desirable to this court no doubt both from motives of national pride & sound policy to wish to regain the River Plate as their boundary to the South—therefore it is not improbable that the British gov^t. may be solicited to use their influence to obtain this much in an amicable way & it is expected that this may the more easily be done because the people of Montevideo & those of Buenos Ayres dislike each other & disagree at this time in their Measures—tho' it is conjectured by some that the difference is more in the course than in the tendency of these measures— It must also be difficult to judge what may be the ultimate designs of Great Britain respecting the Spanish American Colonies — If she can gain the direction of them in any way it will then become a question of interest as well as of friendship in what manner she shall act between them & the Prince Regent.

The Portuguese gov^t. have 8 or 10,000 troops (they say) near that frontier—they seem to expect and perhaps hope, that Peru & Chili will oppose the views of Buenos Ayres—this would afford a temptation to act—at present however I believe no hostility is meditated—nor will any be likely to take place unless it should be countenanced by England—unless the Spaniards should be imprudent enough to provoke an attack— The Bedford Man of War sailed from this place with the news of this revolution about the 22^d of June—

¹ See above, pt. I, footnote 1 to doc. 3.

² MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] I.

The Merchants here state that the new Gov^t. of Buenos Ayres have diminished the duty on exports to 15 p^{er}. c^t. on the valuation, which formerly averaged about 40—& that they were disposed to make a similar reduction on that of imports which, together with the impositions suffered in consequence of the necessity of employing Spanish agents, was calculated at about 40 p^{er}. c^t. but this has not yet been done because those who imported at the old rate have had influence enough to procure a delay in their favor—however it is understood that the present importer gains a considerable advantage by being released from the necessity of consigning his property to a Spaniard who subjected his employees to many extortions—

The Count de Linhares promised me sometime since to remind the Prince of appointing a Minister to the United States & he informed me verbally the day before yesterday that the Prince had fixed on one but that it was not yet known whether he would accept or not— He observed however that if any delay should occur it must not be attributed to any cause but the difficulty of finding a person at the same time willing & qualified to undertake such a mission as the Prince was necessarily restricted in his choice—many of those who followed him being *grandees* or public men attached from inclination or office to his person & most of the Cadets of their families being still in Europe—

It is presumable that by the time the treaty with England shall be divulged, or soon after, some idea may be formed of the general policy which will henceforth operate on the commerce of the American Continent & the development of her views will afford a proper occasion of knowing on what footing this gov^t. will find it expedient to place that of the United States— Until then I do not think it advisable to press any specific or mutual points in an official form— As long as sanguine hopes exist here with respect to European affairs & they will exist as long as any chance remains in favor of success against France, the Character of this Court will remain European— This country is contemplated merely as a wilderness which is valuable only as a place of refuge occasionally but not worthy of being considered the seat of empire— This sentiment which reaches the prince or descends from him— Places him in the unfortunate predicament of being surrounded by subjects animated by different interests—the Europeans who emigrated with him depend on his bounty for a support which he can only supply at the expense of the Brazilian— The favorites may become unpopular (and they are said to be much so already) & in time this indisposition towards them may affect the royal family—

The voyages are unusually long this season— We have no news here from Spain or Portugal later than the 25 of April & none from the United States later than the 7th of the same month—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 2, 1810.*

The misfortune which was to be most dreaded at Buenos Ayres has at length arrived—they have dipped their hands in blood—and when this is once done there is no saying when or where the practice will end—especially among a people where there must exist much ignorance, much passion & where the designing will find all sorts of materials fit for confusion & but few adapted to the purposes of order & self government— Liniers and several others taken with him in his flight from Cordova towards Peru were shot a few leagues from Buenos Ayres under the sanction it is said of a trial which took place at the former city— We only know the fact—the charges & the proofs of guilt are not yet divulged— The Montevideans have blockaded the port of Buenos Ayres & the Cap^t of a british armed vessel has given great offence both to the Spaniards & english Merchants by ordering all the vessels of his nation arriving there to repair to Maldonado to wait for orders—they both consider this conduct as conforming to the views of Montevideo & contradictory to the countenance given by Lord Strangford to the Junta of Buenos Ayres— It ought perhaps only to prove that the British Ministry have left their officers on that Station without a plan in regard to Spanish America depending upon the people and a few Agents to bring about what they must desire in the Colonies without exposing them to the hazard of a rupture with old Spain where a diversion & a market are desirable as long as possible—an English sloop of war has brought despatches as late as the 10 or 12th of Sep^r. from the Merchants & the Junta it is believed to Lord Strangford & the English Admiral De Courcey—the latter I learn is proposing to proceed to the river Plate—but for what purpose I know not— It is certain that the Minister of Spain has complained warmly of Lord Strangford's conduct guarded as it was in his communications with the Junta—

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] I.

*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 17, 1810.*

No news has arrived from Buenos Ayres since the 10 or 12 of Sep.^r— Admiral de Courcey has proceeded to the river Plate in the Fondroyant, the only English ship of the line now on this coast, I am inclined to believe that both his instructions & disposition will prevent him from taking any decisive steps until further orders from England which he may expect from day to day—in the mean time it is to be apprehended that the confusion in that Colony will increase—

*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *February 5, 1811.*

M^r. Poinsett was still here & received his packet— He sailed five days afterwards for Buenos Ayres—

Soon after his departure from the United States you will have heard of the blockade of Buenos Ayres by the Governor of Monte-video—who I believe has been excited to this conduct rather by the advice & sanction of the Spanish Minister at this court (at the instigation of the Princess Carlotta who is said to have found money for the occasion) than by orders from Spain—

Several of my letters too will have shewn the extraordinary suspicions which are entertained here, and diffused through South America, of our Countrymen as vehicles of french projects and however the Spanish, English & Portuguese Ministers may agree or differ on other points— In this they all agree— To make an alarm on this ground, with or without reason, is a proof of vigilance and attachment to the good cause—

These circumstances considered—it will be perceived that this was not so smooth a route to Buenos Ayres as it appeared to be at Washington, previous to the knowledge of them— And that a passport, which he expected to get from the Spanish Minister, could not be asked for without encountering objections equal to those which prevented his asking one from the Spanish Agents in the United States—nor without running the risk of exciting suspi-

cions which might have the effect of stopping his progress either here or in the river Plate—

Not being aware of those things he was announced here as an American officer bringing despatches for me—and altho' this kind of eclat was obviated as much as it could be it was no longer possible to use the best plea which could be assigned for going to that river at such a time as this is—which plea is business—no other of a private nature would be considered at all reasonable—

He went away in an English Merchant ship with some letters from the English Consul (and some officers to whom he had been introduced) to officers and Merchants of the same nation at Montevideo, Buenos Ayres & the Cape of Good hope—this vessel was to go *direct* to Buenos Ayres—but should she be brought too by the blockading squadron he will probably from his appearance & the superscription of these letters, be taken for an Englishman, and, in case he should, by any chance, get to Montevideo he has a letter from me (copy enclosed) to the governor of that City, on the subject of our commerce, which it may be hoped will be a sufficient recommendation to the good offices of that officer as long as he shall find it necessary to remain within his jurisdiction—

As the Using of this letter, however, depends upon a contingency, which will be avoided if possible, & the letter itself will be destroyed if it should be found useless—there is no occasion to say anything of it at present—

You will perceive that it is intended to be innocent whether the authority exercised at Montevideo should prove to be legitimate or not—the representation respecting the state of our Commerce is rather such as might be supposed than such as was known to be real (for no certain information had been obtained) and the reasoning against the british Monopoly was purposely passed upon the assumption that the exception which exists in favor of that nation, from the blockade, was gratuitous instead of compulsory—tho' the latter is certainly the fact—for the Governor refused to acquiesce in any arrangement which Admiral de Courcey professed for keeping the ports open to british vessels only until they could receive orders from their respective courts; and, finally, declared that he only submitted to superior force in neglecting to sustain the blockade in all its rigor against them— The Spanish Minister approved not only of this resistance—but would have approved of every other kind & degree of it—

The actual & possible state of affairs in that quarter, and the difficulty of inducing any certain or regular supply of money from the United States, made Mr. Poinsett think it necessary to be provided with letters of credit which might supply his wants at any place where he might find himself— I procured him these on my private guarantee from a house in Rio & should he find it necessary to use them I shall, unless otherwise directed, draw on the

I cannot help feeling a good deal of anxiety on the issue of this voyage but, I am happy to say that I find much encouragement in the report of an American vessel just arrived in this port from that of Buenos Ayres—"that the blockading squadron has disappeared" and that the concurrence of the interior provinces in the views of the Junta of Buenos ayres, together with the discontent among the Montevidean troops for the want of pay, will soon extinguish their opposition altogether—

The Young Gentleman whose name is on the gazettes enclosed left Buenos Ayres on the 20 of december the Blockading squadron was then in service—but it was not vigilant & had allowed some of our vessels to pass: by which I hope you will be able to get some better information than I have been able to acquire here— He says he knew one of the Junta personally—that they were very anxious to know the sentiments of our government on their revolution — He thinks they will not grant any peculiar privileges to any particular nation in commerce and that they in consent with Peru & Chili will declare their independence in two or three months— It is but lately nevertheless that the Marquis Yrujo professed to have high hopes from the loyalists of those two provinces & thought that a combination of their strength with the blockade would effectually reduce the Junta of Buenos Ayres to submission— It would seem by the Gazettes that the effort he expected has been made & has proved unsuccessful—

Your observations respecting the Ascendency of the british interest in this Cabinet are very just and you will see by my letters that I have been fully convinced of the fact & that the views you have suggested did not escape my attention—but while the Court wants support not only in Europe *but here* & the Merchants are getting rich on the sacrifices of English property, from the English wanting markets, there is no prospect of their being discontented with the present arrangement— In short the Portuguese—& the English think (and I agree with them) that all things considered—this treaty is favorable to this Country—& I presume you will hear the first complaints of it from British merchants & british statesmen—& whenever there happens a change in the Ministry here the advantages will be pursued which at present may be allowed to sleep—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 6, 1811.

I met at the British Consul's last night Capⁿ. Elliott who had just returned from the Montevideo station in 6 days—

He informs me that the insurrection around that town is general and that some troops from B Ayres are near the place—but, that the ViceRoy having embargoed all the provisions he has a supply for at least three months & it is his opinion that the town is strong enough to resist any attacks that can be made upon it in that time—

This gentleman's impressions with respect to the division of sentiment in all these provinces agree with rather than contradict those which I expressed to M^r. Poinsett in the letter from which I took the extract inserted in mine to you of the 4th. ins^t He seems to think, however, with M^r. Poinsett that Saavedra's party notwithstanding its hostility to Costellis (which is for immediate independence) will pursue that object but with more temperance—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, November 26, 1811.

It is impossible for me to judge how far England may have been consulted in the forming or may be engaged in promoting the adoption of this new constitution on this side of the Atlantic— It appears clear from the conduct of her agents that she has, heretofore encouraged the colonies to establish their independence and by her jealousy of the interference of any other nation that she has expected to be rewarded by them with some great advantage in trade. It is certain, however, that the junta of Buenos Ayres has never yielded her those advantages—and if her disappointments have been equal in other places her Ministers may, perhaps, have found it more convenient to make some arrangements with the mother country and to try their influence in the restoration of harmony—particularly as much of the value of Spain, as an auxiliary in the war, must depend upon her regaining supplies of money from the colonies—

These considerations together with their unceasing desire to curtail our trade or to fashion it to their own purposes, in which the colonies did not sufficiently favour them, may have produced some modification in their policy as to *them*—

I learned some time ago from the Spanish Minister that some propositions were to be made to the colonies under the mediation of England and that if they were not acceded to in a certain time the latter would be pledged to enforce the acceptance—but I thought the less of this project—then—because on mentioning it to Lord Strangford he treated it as a thing absurd in policy and above the daring of the British Ministry— One thing I think is evident,—and it is—that if England should, for any reasons, seriously cooperate with Spain in the reestablishment of any firm connexions between her and these possessions she will have stipulated great advantages for herself and probably will have procured such equitable terms for them as will render nothing more than her friendly influence necessary to engage their acceptance of them and there is no doubt but that her influence is great among them—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *December 5, 1811.*

SIR: Since I had the honor of addressing you a letter of the 26–30 Ult^o by the Edward Captain Breeze for New York I have received the enclosed Buenos Ayres and Monte-Video papers by an American who left the latter of these places on the 18th Ult^{mo}— These journals though not regular in point of date will throw some light on the current opinions and feelings respecting the late pacification between the New junta and the Vice-Roy— They corroborate in some degree the opinion I mentioned of the Spanish minister “that the fear of the Peruvian Army induced the junta to adopt that measure: and that an ignorance of the success of that army and of the state of the interior provinces induced the Vice roy to acquiesce in it” but they do not seem to verify another idea of his that “that New junta were only creatures of Saavedras party pushed forward under favour of that ignorance of their real state, in which the Vice roy found himself, to make a temporary peace: which the disasters of their army required and thereby to screen Saavedra and his friends from the odium of making it—and to leave them free in case of any favourable event, to return to power when the danger was past and to pursue the

schemes of independence which are attributed to them" These journals do not extend far enough back to discover the immediate causes or pretences for the change in the junta, but it seems obvious from the tenor of the acts and sentiments of the New junta that they are, whether desirous of independence or reconciliation with Spain, labouring to make themselves popular with all parties and to make both Saavedra and Castelli unpopular—for they treat the revolution of the 5 and 6 of April, in which the former triumphed over the latter, as a sedition and yet in restoring the sufferers by it they omit Castelli *alone*—

There is also to be noticed an observation of the Vice roy in one of his letters to Admiral Decourcy printed in the Buenos Ayres Gazette of the 17 of October, which from its being made simultaneously with the change in the Junta, and its being almost immediately followed by a pacification with the new one, encourages the inference that there existed an understanding between the latter and himself: which, if well founded, would imply that the new Junta represent the party, disposed to reconciliation rather than any other— The observation alluded to purports "that he was then negotiating to restore peace and prosperity to the inhabitants of that country according to his own sentiments and the paternal views of his Govern^t."

This observation made, as it was, in answer to the pretensions of the Admiral, set up under a great parade of mediation on the part of England with Spain, makes it probable that the Cortes had taught him how to estimate that mediation and that they had not been pleased with the admission of the Portuguese troops into their territory—which was the work of the Spanish minister at this Court and the Princess Carlotta—and it is believed it was assented to by the Prince contrary to the desire of the British Minister because it really suited his own wishes and those particularly of his War Minister who has felt a strong temptation to avail himself of the present state of things—to occupy—or perhaps to produce such a one as would afford a pretext for retaining possession of the Eastern bank of the Rio de la Plata: and even to gain the settlements on the Paraguay which both from position and strength would be formidable enemies to the mine and Wheat countries of Brazil—

This seeming understanding between Eleo and the new Junta, his manner of treating Admiral Decourcy in his correspondence and supporting his ground afterwards by severely crippling an English Merchantman, which attempted to go off without her papers, and refusing any satisfaction for it; the making the pacification without the concurrence of the Portuguese commander or his Gov^t.—as I supposed—and the stipulation to unite against any foreign invader; all seem to me to indicate that the Vice roy had received orders from the Cortes signifying their intention to rest the future connection with the colonies upon the merits of the new constitution and for this purpose to disembarass the colonies and themselves as much as possible of all med-

called him in the latter part of July, he being personally obnoxious to the colony, and, about the same time, the marquis Yrujo who rendered himself odious to those people by the active part he took in exciting Vigodet the former Governor of Monte Video and the Peruvians to oppose the Junta—and by procuring the aid of the Portuguese army which is a measure not relished by the Montivideans themselves—

If the new Junta is really disposed to favour the reconciliation, and this I find is the opinion of Lord Strangford, and the Cortes should have adopted the plan of trusting the fate of the new constitution to the discretion of the people it will have arrived at a most favourable moment— When a pause in the war will give an opportunity to all parties to estimate the evils of contention and to the independents a full view of their incapacity for government and of their present want of means to renew the contest

The old and hereditary jealousy of the Portuguese will go far to excite all to union; and the temporizing conduct of England, on the subject of the independence of that colony, will have given the leaders caution—while the gallant conduct of Elio towards admiral Decourcey's arrogant demands, made under a parade of English mediation, will give all parties a high idea of the strength and consequence of the Cortes particularly as he has maintained the ground he then took in acts—a British armed merchantman before aluded to having undertaken to proceed without her papers she was fired on by the forts and returned her broadside—Eleo sent out a Sloop of War and nearly sunk her and it is said refuses all apology, explanation or satisfaction to the English commodore— I therefore cannot help thinking that there will be a temporary reconciliation and even reunion with the mother country and that the duration of it will much depend upon the success of the Cortes in maintaining the war in the Peninsula and in reconciling the other American Provinces. The war in the Peninsula now seems to depend chiefly upon the personal feelings of the people, a feeling which has more of hostility in it to the enemy than of affection to their Gov^t., together with the precarious and limited supplies of money and provisions which England can afford and some new disasters may frustrate the accomplishment of this object— But if the Junta favour the reconciliation all this will be concealed from the Colonies—the protracted resistance of Spain and the positive success in Portugal, heretofore, will be represented in the most flattering colours and will have great effect for a time—

It has lately become extremely difficult to see an English newspaper—very few merchant vessels arrive and when the merchants receive papers they lend them to the English or Portuguese Ministers and either do not, or pretend they do not, receive them again. So that altho' I know there are some papers here as late as the 23^d of September from England I have not been able to get sight of any later than the middle of August—

industry and by Governments well practiced in the mysteries of the colonial system to keep out knowledge of all sorts and still more so, to give one of the ease with which this object is affected to an extraordinary extent—

I have been more minute in offering reasons for this impression of mine “that the new Junta of Buenos Ayres are disposed to a reconciliation and that this event will take place” from these circumstances— The 1st is that it was known to me, as you will have perceived by my letter No 14 of the 8 of August, that some agents of the Old Junta had proceeded to the United States for the purposes therein mentioned—according to the information I had received here— The second is that I had been informed they had also sent agents to England: and that I had some reason to believe that these were empowered to offer her certain exclusive commercial advantages for keeping the trade of the River of Plate open to British vessels, in the mode insisted on by Admiral Decourcey, by which they might be supplied with arms—which were indispensable to their success— The third was that the Spanish Minister here appeared to rely, a good deal, on the mediation of England between the mother country and the colonies, which I did not doubt, if it had taken place, would have secured great advantages to the commerce of the former—

This opinion of the Marquis and a report in circulation among the british Merchants that the Spanish Gov^t, had agreed to confine the trade of la Plata to the admission of English and Portuguese Vessels made me too apprehensive that the sudden change which had taken place there, and which no one seemed to know how to account for here, might have had some dependence upon arrangements entered into between the Cortes and the British Ministry which might have been communicated to Gerneral Eleo tho’ not known here, and which, arriving at a critical moment in the affairs of the Colony might have produced or hurried the pacification— I find that in the first part of my letter I stated this apprehension too strongly and that, altho’ I saw the propriety of weakening it in the latter part of the letter which was written after the marquis had shewn me the constitution and appeared to think the Cortes meant to rely on that rather than on any mediation for the reestablishment of her connexion with the colonies, I did not sufficiently correct the impression I had before exhibited of the participation of the british government in the late event which took place at Montevideo— I now think that Gov^t had no hand in it.

*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, January 8, 1812.

SIR: I have the honor to forward by the Gospont bound to New York a letter addressed to you which I received yesterday from Buenos Ayres together with eight gazettes of that place and an instrument issued on the 22^d of November by the Executive Gov^t, intituled Estatuto Provisional—

With these I received a letter from M^r. W. G. Miller dated the 10 of December in which he tells me “Mr. Poinsett had set out a few days before that date for Chili where he was expected with anxiety”—

He also informs me of a mutiny which occurred on the 7 of December among some of the troops in that city—which was quelled by the Gov^t with considerable loss to the mutineers— He has, no doubt, given you the details of this transaction which makes it unnecessary to repeat those communicated to me—

The rotatory Gov^t. they have proposed; and the state of affairs indicated by the Gazettes in Peru and the interior provinces, where the indians who cannot be much attached to either the royalist or independent parties make the greatest figure in the revolution, discover that they have assorted among them the elements of interminable confusion—

The sacrifice of power made by the Executive on the 22 of Nov^r. though it appears to have been voluntary came no doubt from necessity, but, if it comes from either source it is to be feared it will impair their means of promoting either's independence or reconciliation— With such a government those who wish for Independence, knowing nothing of what it is or ought to be practically, will be always falling into factions and their struggles will be, as they have heretofore been, against each other— The character of all classes is tainted with violent passions and the Soldiery is said to have become extremely licentious—

According to M^r. Miller's account the Executive have shown great energy in the affair of the mutiny and were preparing to put to death every 10th man of the Soldiery who surrendered— It is questionable, I think, whether a measure of such severity, adopted by a Gov^t so unstable, will not rather excite than check enterprizes against it—

I this morning sent the Marquis Yrujo the Buenos Ayres Gazettes—on returning them he says in his note “On me dit dans ce moment que par un bâtiment arrivéhier au soir il paroît quela plus grand confusion regnoit encore dans la dite ville le nombre de morts allant déjà audelà de 100 personnes”—

He expects the Vice roy Elio here every day on his return to Spain and will accompany him with his family— It is possible that when this officer arrives

I may be able to know, through the Marquis, something more certain than I do at present of the real state of affairs in Buenos Ayres Peru and Chili
I have the honor [etc.].

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 1, 1812.

I have the honor to enclose a duplicate of my letter N^o. 17. of the 8 of last month—and Buenos Ayres gazettes up to the 27th of december—

You will perceive that the new Executive has already relieved themselves of the deputies of the old Junta to whom they had very lately promised a share in power & have sent them to their towns & provinces— Then a letter I have received of the 27th decr. there is reason to believe there will soon be another explosion—and that in the executive— In the meantime they are going on with the trial of several persons implicated in the Conspiracy of the 7th of that month & have got possession both of Castelli & Saavedra & will try them both— Those having been the Lords of the independent party, the one vigorous & the other moderate, and all the deputies of the old junta wrong, it becomes impossible to conceive how those men can be pursuing independence, as they profess to be, when they are destroying & defying all who ever supported it—it would seem that their measures must in the end have the effect if not the design of throwing everything but into the hands of the Spanish party—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 24, 1812.

I have had no direct news from the river plate lately— The Portuguese troops arrived at Colonia opposite B Ayres without much opposition—and about the last of may a sort of truce (precedent to a treaty to be guarantied by the british king) was announced in the B. ayres gazette—as also the declaration that the armies on either side were retiring to their own limits—it

was insinuated in the gazette that this measure was solicited by the Prince—this has produced a paragraph in the gazette of Rio de Janeiro, of the 15 ins^t, in which it seems to be intended to contend it the insinuation of the solicitation coming from the Prince—and the fact of the retreat of his army—the official explanation amounts to this—that the measure was yielded to by the Prince solely in conformity with the beneficent views of his Britannic majesty, in his capacity of mediator between Spain and her colonies, and that a suspension of hostilities was the object during the discussion expected from that mediation—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, May 9, 1813.

We have no very late news from Buenos Ayres—the Peruvian army under Goyancche still maintains its position in Potosi—the possession of those mines and Montevideo, has been wisely calculated upon to diminish the resources of Buenos Ayres— They have been held most pertinaciously in the expectation of a considerable force from Spain—which the Spanish gov^t had promised—I still think that the executive of three who made the pacification with Montevideo 18 or 20 months ago, about the time that Goyonche took his position, would have made terms with Spain had skillful men been sent to them.

Montevideo has been invested on the land side for some time, and begins to suffer for want of provisions; or rather from the want of funds to procure a sufficiency, which they might do from having the communication open by water— I think if Spain does not supply them with funds for this purpose, or with troops sufficient to raise the siege, they will not hold out more than a month or two longer. their surrender I think will not take place from disaffection, or from the capacity of their enemy to force a surrender, but from the resources of the inhabitants being much exhausted by the two sieges they have supported chiefly at their own expence— The people of the provinces of la Plata have established a constituent assembly, which you will see by the Gazette of the 5th of February attribute to themselves the power and title of sovereignty: I have no special information on this subject, it is not improbable you may have some of a more direct kind—I cannot say what degree of importance they attach to being recognised by other govts, nor am I able to say how far such a desire would be complied with by any. This

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] I.

Gov^t has always felt great anxiety about Montevideo—but has acted with great irresolution—the british enjoy the chief of the trade in the present state of things, and keep a vessel of war (at present a frigate of 32) opposite or near Buenos Ayres to receive the collections of money and send it off—the exportation of it being prohibited—for this reason, and the desire of keeping well both with Spain and Buenos Ayres, they keep this Gov^t in check and offer their mediation either to Buenos Ayres or Montevideo whenever the circumstances require it—it seems to be their policy to keep things in equipoise until time and circumstances shall teach them how to act for their own interest.—

It is my opinion that the resistance of Montevideo, or the want of possession of it, has always greatly damped the ardor of the party for independence: It is therefore highly probable that when they gain it, the opposite party will be equally discouraged, and that this acquisition will so animate the gov^t as to make them propose their recognition to foreign nations under some conditions respecting the enjoyment of trade with them—

I am not informed how our Gov^t stands at this time with regard to Spain—nor do I believe that the trade of the plata will be as valuable to us hereafter, as it was under the colonial regime, when Spain was at war with G^t. Britain.

But I think a demonstration of having friends in that quarter would not be unuseful to us during this war—whether the thing existed in appearance only, or reality— In my intercourse with this Gov^t, I have confined myself to giving the impression that we might have friends in any part of Spanish america whenever we chuse, and that such friends might be or become dangerous to our enemies should such appear—the suggestion I think has been of some importance in this quarter, for to have the faculty, and not to use it, shows a present forbearance and a future resource.—Perhaps, if the English commerce should be too hard pressed, it may become important to her to try to enlist her allies against us, if it be merely to confine our cruizers more at home, where she could the more easily restrain or watch them—

The disposition of Buenos Ayres towards us is good, and in the event of their acting as I have supposed they will after gaining Montevideo, if not before, the President will judge how far it may be allowable or useful to notice their Gov^t—either by some mark of courtesy or aid—either may be given by the call of some of our frigates—they will want, for the use of their cause either some display of respect or a supply of musquets or both— The very appearance of an american frigate makes a sensation in every part of america—

You will excuse me for hazarding these reflections—it is done upon a conviction that we need expect no peace while the present English Ministers remain in power, so capable as they are of deluding and leading their nation always ready for any war which promises a temporary profit or the prostration of a rival commerce—and so capable as they are of going to every extreme however injurious even to their allies— Th power and protection of

Spain, is as nothing in america and the interests and influence of England are supplanting them gradually in all her possessions—the effect, and its object, are to be concealed as long as the Peninsula is an object with England—

The question with our Gov^t in this state of things, is rather one respecting an english and american union which may be injurious to them, than of Spanish power or property— Such a ministry, supported and sanctioned by the unanimous approbation of a parliament, in which no single man was found bold enough, and sufficiently informed to prove against them their errors their ignorance and their deceptions with respect to american affairs, and the causes of the war, and to acknowledge and explain that no nation could submit to that kind of peace which they say and no doubt did wish to maintain with us—that is a peace which permitted them to destroy our commercial and sovereign rights with quietude or at least only covered by tedious and unavailing negotiations— Such a ministry, so sanctioned when they ought to have been overthrown both for producing the war and the conducting it, may be expected to leave no weapon unused against us—they will try to identify our cause with that of France and to mislead all nations in this respect—this ought to be particularly guarded against with Russia Sweden and Denmark: and I can hardly think of any measure, applicable to destroying british influence in any part of america, which would be too vigorous for us to look to the adoption of, in consequence of the prospect opened to us in the british parliament and cabinet—I have no late news from Chili—I expect some by a particular conveyance in course of this month—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to the American Ministers at European Posts*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 30, 1814.

. . . With respect to Portugal, Spain must hereafter weigh more upon it than formerly—Brazil is situated in the same way in relation to Spanish America—Peru has always remained loyal—Chili though it last year made some vigorous advances towards independence under the noble & influential family of the Carreras, has lately overturned them, and adheres to the new constitution—it has already elected deputies—the bordering settlement of Paraguay, it has always equivocated with the government of Buenos Ayres—it is therefore to be considered loyal—as to Buenos Ayres, it has been at times spirited, but always weak or rash in its projects—the leaders have

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] Ia.

indeed been always made to wait by great Britain, for the time to arrive when the fate of the Peninsula should decide her policy with respect to Spanish America. I have not doubted for more than two years past, that the secret & efficient leaders had determined not to take any irrevocable step towards real independence, unless the circumstances of Spain or the protection of England should secure them. the independent party however, has remained strong enough to carry on their measures, & from their strength are perhaps permitted to do so by the other parties, not well combined, under the expectation of soon receiving a sufficient force to calm or subdue them, with less mischief than would occur from a struggle between the two, when nearly equal in numbers and the independents in possession of the military, the arms etc—the latter may perhaps even yet take Montevideo before succors arrive, having lately procured a squadron which has overcome that of Montevideo & cut off their supplies of provision & fuel: but, did they possess that city, they could not long maintain themselves in it against a force which could blockade the place by land and sea—the want of arms, or revenue &c would soon make them yield it, & the most which can now be expected will be, that they must soon receive protection from England, reconcile themselves to Spain, or flying into the upper provinces & securing the mines of Potosi, carry on a tedious war of defence in those mountains—

One of their late executive of three, Saratea [Sarratea], who made the pacification more than two years ago with Montevideo, was here in December on his way to England.

The Spanish minister here got an idea that he might be going with improper propositions to England, he therefore made some himself to the Buenos Ayres gov^t. which have not succeeded. he in fact employed in this service a Spaniard who is a British pensioner & agent—Saratea's object in encouraging the minister's propositions, I believe, was to conceal the true nature of his own in going to England . . . Which I think was, first to make some connexion with that power, and secondly should that fail, to use her mediation for a reconciliation with Spain. I think that the result of his mission will, one way or other, terminate the present gov^t of Buenos Ayres or confine its adherents as I before suggested to the interior. The Spanish settlements on and near the Amazon, complete the cordon which embraces Brazil; whether we include or exclude Cayenne now in the Portuguese possession

One object of these details is to shew, that whether the countries around Brazil shall be directed by Spain or England, this gov^t has some reason for inquietude here, as well as in Portugal: and that, considering the form, strength and exposition of the Portuguese dominions, which only fringe the continents, and whose islands produce little more than refreshments to voyagers & want necessaries themselves; considering that great part of the commerce is in the hands of the English, and great part of the navigation under

permanent ones to wish to fortify themselves in every quarter: The government is by no means insensible to the nature of their connexion with england, and the people every where are adverse to her; the fear of a greater evil being now removed—connexions, the least capable of being excepted against openly or thwarted secretly by england, will be the first attempted: I believe that one great motive in appointing this commission, is to put by for a while the election which the prince must make soon, or avoid making altogether, until the settlement of europe within itself & that of europe & america, shall have been shaped; or some family alliances secured, which are expected to secure political ones; or perhaps some territorial exchanges; which may free the choice between Portugal & Brazil as the Royal residence from many if not all the present hazards & difficulties—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 23, 1814.

The fall of Montevideo into the hands of B- Ayres, without british protection, could have ensured the latter nothing long against the combination of Peru, Chili & Spain, which might have been expected with certainty, had Spain remained quiet within: but from the manner in which Ferdinand's conduct is represented here (I have not yet seen his proclamation of the 4 of May) the troubles before Spain, & the destruction or alteration of the constitution which will probably ensue & consume much time, which might have been employed in calming or subjecting the american provinces, will unquestionably give the latter a new impulsion, and a more general & determined desire than they have heretofore felt for a separation from the mother country— In annulling all the acts of the government during his absence, as he is said to have done, he seems to have placed all the powers with which they had formed alliances at best in a state to follow their own views with respect to the independence of america—The only motive I presume which could make other nations prefer the constitutional connexion between these colonies and spain, to their independence, will be found in the apprehension of their necessarily falling too much under the control of (and contributing too much in the case to) the power & influence of England, the only nation capable of protecting at present their independence & their commerce against the efforts which Spain pacified in any way will make against them—

¹MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Boston] L.

There were here some loyal Spaniards who had fled from B. Ayres and Montevideo—on knowing the proceedings of the king towards Spain, to which he owes so much, and believing as they do, that he is swayed by a few designing men and daring officers of the army, shewing thereby that like his father he will become the tool of knaves & favorites, they have declared that they would return to those places; & take their chance among those whom they heretofore considered their worst enemies—This sentiment seems natural, and perhaps will be extensive among the old spaniards: but a great majority of all the spaniards in america are more inclined to monarchy than to republican government: but the want of eminent men among themselves, has been favorable to their adherence to spain, and at the same time has in a degree assisted the demonstrations of the real republican party—which I believe is small—

Perhaps the only lasting advantage which mankind will derive from the french revolution, will be that produced by the conviction acquired amidst all its confusion & in its end, that a limited government, that is a government, of whatever name, founded upon a sufficiently extensive representation either of individuals or classes, is the only safe medium between the despotism of one and of many— The french royalists and nobles who did not emigrate at first, or who returned into france, either had originally, or soon acquired this sentiment—and the fear of the french princes and the remaining emigrants who were chiefly of the court party (who were long determined upon no other restoration than that of the old gov^t. with its system of court favor, intrigue & the consequent abuses) baffled all the plans of counter revolution among them, as much perhaps as the fear of vengeance and confiscation did among those who by the name of constitutional monarchists & republicans had acquired distinction or property—the careful circumscription of the kingly prerogatives in the new constitution of Spain, shews the prevalence of the same sentiments there—similar features are observable in the new one offered to Louis the 18th under such peculiar circumstances— The emigrants & court favorites are every where guarded against—and in public—but the trait not the least surprizing in the latter instance, is the facility with which the allied sovereigns, who may be said to have presided over its formation, acquiesced in the establishment of its principles—this would seem to be an evidence against the prudence of Ferdinand—

If those sovereigns are convinced of the utility of limiting the kingly authority by a substantial representation, it may be hoped that they will not oppose the introduction of this principle gradually into their own countries: and this, becoming general, it might produce an assimilation of governments which may in the end tend to diminish discontents in each nation, and, producing more real equality among sovereigns, diminish the objects and pre-

latter being in reality the two evils which the majority of mankind are most interested in the avoidance of, & from which they suffer the most—

The Spaniards of America, besides their characteristic dispositions in favor of monarchy & its splendor, have had, as France had in the outset, some bitter proofs of the dangers of anarchy to persons and property: and as all the evil is carefully attributed to the republican principles pretended by the leading party, who are obliged to talk of equality to the lower classes, the superior ones fly from what they are persuaded will be worse in its strength and maturity, than they find it in its birth and infancy: not perceiving that the principles of action in a republic are always necessarily the strongest and most irregular at its birth; and especially so, when it springs out of old & corrupt monarchies, or out of ignorant and oppressed colonies—

If the king of Spain therefore, succeeds in reestablishing the old spanish monarchy, he will do it apparently against the sentiment of Europe: and will have thrown away, in my opinion, a fair chance of reconciling under the constitution the greater part if not the whole of america: to which reconciliation the merits of Spain in the cause of the allies, would have probably inclined most of the continental sovereigns—and this might have neutralized or nullified the objects of England in opposition to it— This gov^t. is considerably alarmed at the fate of Montevideo as it well may be, whether that place is to remain in the hands of Buenos Ayres, really independent, or under the direction of England: & yet the Prince thinks that Ferdinand has acted with great wisdom & courage—his courtiers already think one difficulty removed out of the way of his return to Lisbon—and this may be true, but not in their sense: for should it produce the separation of America from Spain, in any way, it may be found more difficult to stay here than to go to Portugal—

You will perceive Sir, that when I offered to our ministers the opinion that Peru would remain faithful, that Chili would be reconciled, and also that Buenos ayres might be reconciled or subjected, unless supported openly or covertly by Great Britain, which would soon be determined by the result of Saratea's mission; I had no conception of the state of things which may be produced in Spain by the rashness of the king—should this conduct of his produce the divisions and distractions there, which they seem to us here to be fitted to produce, all my calculations on the pacification of the colonies will be deranged—great part of the american spaniards of all parties will find new motives to exert themselves to separate from Spain—they will hardly find any powers in Europe disposed to discountenance them—and England will have neither engagement, check, or motive that I can perceive, to withhold her countenance or assistance—

They will on the other hand find in their wants of resources, such as she is best able to supply, and of a carrier, able to take or buy their exports on

advantages as she is always seeking for her commerce and navigation—previous to 1808 England seemed always to expect and want our aid in opening the colonies near us—perhaps if she were not at war with us, she might wish not to be, for the same reasons—particularly as she is supposed to have had less access to those nearest us than to these in this quarter; and as those have indicated a nearer approach towards our institutions than these in my view incline to—

I do not suppose that these events will produce any alteration in the views of this gov^t., as to the formation of the alliances of which I spoke—or in the objects of them—every thing, however, which may tend to increase the weight or influence of England in this quarter, will tend to diminish and throw to a distance their hopes of being rescued quietly from her pressure, by the influence & claims of other nations, from which such relief might be expected—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil, to the Minister of the United States at London or Paris, or to any or either of those who negotiated the treaty of peace at Ghent being at London*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *March 10, 1815.*

. . . It seemed by no means impossible too that Spain and Portugal, who had taken steps to make all America accessible to general commerce, might be forced to acquiesce in this scheme of a general confederacy of the maritime & colonizing powers against the prosperity of the other powers, from the danger of being separated from their American & other foreign possessions, if they should venture to oppose England's views as to the abolition of the Slave trade, or of reestablishing the colonial system in their great continental dominions of America; both of which measures are necessary to the interest and security of her small colonies, and those of the above powers who have been designated as likely to become her confederates, almost all of whom have already abolished the Slave trade or promised to do so in a short time; for were these immense possessions of Spain & Portugal to become permanently open, to the commerce of Europe & America, with the Slave trade existing exclusively in their favor, they would soon sap the colonial system by confining each metropole to the consumption of her own colonial products, and could soon, if it were an object, destroy their existence as colonies, from the mutual benefit the free States in America and the great States without colonies in Europe would derive from their direct intercourse,

which would in proportion to their several faculties and intelligence augment their navigation their agriculture, manufactures and maritime strength—It must be confessed that this sort of policy was in June last attributed to England & to the other maritime states rather upon calculation than upon any distinct proofs or indications of her views or theirs—

It was observable that she had however done much to attach Sweden to her, and to secure Holland, very much—Sicily and Naples too as nations of a different maritime description were either chained or won to her side—Of Portugal she seemed sure and from her footing in the Spanish colonies, gained since the Spanish revolution, she might have hoped to coerce Spain to serve her purposes—as to the abolition of the Slave trade, and as to the modification of the trade to Spanish America, provided the constitution of the Cortes had remained in force, so as not to let it interfere too much with the colonial products of the confederacy and their markets—

The two difficulties at that time the most prominent in the way of England appeared to be 1st. the indisposition of the Prince Regent of Portugal to abolish the Slave trade and to restore the colonial system here: or rather his indisposition, temporary or permanent to return to Lisbon; which fortified his repugnance to be pressed or hurried on the other two points—2^d. the prospect then existing that the Spanish colonies, tired of their divisions and fruitless efforts for independence separate from Spain, would have yielded to the consolidation enacted in the constitution of the Cortes, under some modification or other, which would have left their commerce accessible in some liberal shape to other powers and particularly to those of Europe which having no colonies would find themselves interested to influence and protect Spain, and also Portugal, in adopting and persisting in their new anticolonial policy, by comprehending America and its commerce in the system of balance to be projected out of the new state of things—

It seemed at the same time possible by a proper understanding and guarantee of these interests between the great inland powers of Europe and Spain, Portugal and the United States, the joint possessors of all continental America which produce articles wanted by the former, and nothing in rivalry, with them, to raise such a map of influence against England & her colonial system, whatever it might be, as would have detached France, Holland, Sweden and Denmark from her policy in this respect, particularly as what they were likely to recover in their colonies would be too much exposed for them in their present weak state to promise any great or lasting advantage, unless their possession & protection should be provided for in some general scheme of defence armed or unarmed against the commercial and maritime preponderance of England— The choice for them to make would lie between, security for their colonies with a limited but lasting enjoyment of them, in peace with the continents of Europe & America, united to restrain England to peace and the natural profits of her own colonies and foreign

possessions— Or, alliance with & dependence upon England, with the prospect of being dragged into all her differences and Wars commercial or political with the north of Europe and with the continental powers of America— Such a state of things would perhaps extinguish the colonial system which has so long disturbed Europe, and place commerce on a better footing than it ever has been—

The first of these difficulties maintains its full force apparently, that is the indisposition of the Prince Regent of Portugal to reestablish the colonial system in Brazil and to abolish the Slave trade; but as England presses for both, this difficulty it is to be feared will be removed out of her way, without the Prince is supported and strengthened in his views for the independence of Brazil, which views will perhaps necessarily decline or become extinct in his mind, should he return to Europe, where all his subjects are in league with the English for the restoration here of the colonial system—

The 2^d. difficulty anticipated for England, Viz. the freedom of the Spanish colonies united to Spain, has been probably annihilated by the conduct of Ferdinand 7^o. But the same difficulty will present itself to her in another form; That is, their separate independence; which Spain alone will not be able to prevent by force, which has not the disposition to prevent it by concessions; & which she seems also not to be willing to guard against by paying the price which would procure England's assistance against their independence— Now their independence, either united with, or separate from Spain, would be of equal advantage to those nations which seek nothing but their equitable share of commerce— But the danger is, that if these countries and their interests are totally neglected by the powers of continental Europe, their divisions and fears of Spain and of such allies as Spain may make, may throw them into the arms of England; nominally free perhaps, but with a real dependence upon her commercial policy either sole or connected with the other maritime powers,— Now the question here presented for consideration appears to me to be this— Whether other nations and particularly those of Europe who have no colonies, and those of America, the United States and Brazil for example who want none, will do well or not to remain quiet and let the Spanish Islands and some of the smaller colonies be added, as is probable, to the colonies of England; and the large ones owe and give her advantages in commerce & intercourse for her protection?— The conduct of England to Portugal and Brazil indicates her natural policy to Spain & Spanish America; for no reason can be seen why she should wish the reestablishment of the colonial system in Brazil, where, while free, she already has secured great advantages by treaty, which must be given up; and the independence of the Spanish colonies, which are of themselves sufficient to supply all Europe and the United States with colonial products, to the detriment of her colonies—

It is therefore probable that the intractibility of Ferdinand on the sub-

jects of abolition & colonies to suit the views of the English ministry, will force it to revert to the antient policy, still popular in England, of seizing what she can secure in Spanish America, & protecting, at a certain price in Commercial advantages, the freedom of what she cannot appropriate— Now let this spoil appertain to England alone, or to a confederacy of maritime powers in Europe, the effects thereof must be injurious to all the excluded powers in Europe & to the United States— It is almost certain also, that the destiny of Brazil must assimilate with that of Spanish America—

Such views as these I have heretofore thought worthy of the consideration of the United States and of all the powers of Continental Europe, but especially of those who having no colonies must be directly interested in the open Commerce of all America—

It was from the conviction I had, that few or none of the governments of Europe had just information on the circumstances in this quarter which could fix or mature their judgements on these views, and the objects and ends to which the pursuit of them might lead— And from the demonstration that England was active and earnest in impressing on them the idea, that every thing in South America was or would be under her influence, and that such a pretension or such influence if acquired would enable her to hold high her maritime pretensions and secure them from the present scrutiny of Europe— It was on these and similar grounds, that I have been anxious to impress the importance of these subjects upon the minds of our ministers, and through them, improved by their better judgement, to bring them to the notice of those ministers or governments in Europe who may have interests analogous to ours, and who might by the favor of circumstances make advantageous use of the state of things in this continent for the purpose of establishing at once, or for promoting, a comprehensive scheme for securing the peace & lasting prosperity of the two continents, which would indeed embrace the peace and prosperity of all the world— The maritime powers in the South and West of Europe have heretofore enjoyed the advantages produced by colonies & their effects upon wealth & power at the expence of the great & small powers in the north & East of Europe—

Late events have offered the means and the disposition proper for breaking that maritime chain, by detaching Spain and Portugal from it, and making their interest analogous in Europe & America to that of the powers in the North & East of Europe, already assimilated with the interests & views of the United States, and all these interests adverse to any colonial system on the old model—

Will they improve the occasion or not? I think they may be assured, that if they will not interest themselves in the American affairs of Spain & Portugal after the decisive invitation of Spain and America, held out in the Constitution of the Cortes and in the struggles of the Americans—and after the intimation of this Prince who annulled the colonial system in his domin-

ions and wishes to remain in America (as I am certain)— They may be assured, that they will all fall under the management of England, or of England & such confederates as she can find among the maritime states, who having colonies will find it their interest to ruin the Portuguese & Spanish colonies for the profit of their own, and to combine against the powers of the North of Europe, & us, and to make them pay dear for colonial articles and for the purposes of depressing their navigation & marine power—

England is probably waiting only until they decree the abolition of the Slave trade at Vienna, to force that measure upon Spain and Portugal, which will throw all these countries into confusion— Her ministers must anticipate this effect, and probably desire it, rather than see South America free, unless it be connected with or dependent upon England in such a way as to secure the existence & the superior profits of her own colonies; in the former state of colonies they did but little injury to hers, and while they gilded Spain & Portugal they really enriched England & Holland—from experience they have learned not to fear colonies regulated by Spain & Portugal: if they should be suddenly deprived, as such, of the slave trade they would again become wildernesses at least in such parts as produce many of the articles in rivalry with those of the british islands—for in that state neither Spain nor Portugal would admit foreign settlers, nor will Spaniards or Portuguese emigrate to them, to work themselves—I have been astonished to find what repugnance the lower orders of people in those countries have to settling in their colonies— It is only from the Western Islands & the Canaries that they can be induced to move to America, and that only when famine and their governments drive them to it—

The papers herein enclosed relative to these subjects, together with my letter of the *30 of June* last to our ministers, and those of the *1. and 23. of July* to Mr. Monroe which went open into their hands, contain the general developement of my opinions & reasonings on these matters— They will be found irregular & perhaps not always consistent, because they have been written down & addressed to different parties, frequently in a hurry, and in some instances to serve a particular purpose here—

It is hoped that the leading ideas may be sufficiently distinguishable to be of some use in abler hands than mine, provided the state of the policy of the United States & that of Europe, which are equally hidden from me, may authorize the notice of such objects as I have *presented* to the consideration of our ministers—

You will see by my note of the *1. of January* to this government, and by my Letter of the *8. of the same month* to our ministers, how I have thought and acted as it respects our government, myself, and the interest of this government, in the affair of the Prince's return to Europe, either with Admiral Beresford, or in any other way— The Admiral has been here now more than two months and it is not conceivable that he is likely to prevail

on the Prince to go with him— No answer in writing has been given to my enquiries on this subject of the 1. of January; probably for the reasons heretofore intimated by me—that they are extremely desirous to conceal their real intentions, because those may be open to change, and because they are anxious to calm Portugal and Brazil and to elude England in this affair, until the result of the discussions at Vienna, or of their attempts to make connexions on the continent of Europe may disclose to them what they may or may not do—in short, they seem to be feeling their way, wishing to be determined by the continent of Europe what to do—and fearing that they may be obliged to be influenced by England—

The minister of foreign affairs, however, in conversation endeavors to make me understand and believe, that the Prince is not anxious to find himself in Europe, until the difficulties supposed to exist respecting Poland, Saxony & Italy are adjusted—but as these objects have no visible or immediate connexion with his residence here or at Lisbon, and with the state of Brazil as colony or not—it may be inferred that these topics are advanced to elude further enquiry, or to give the impression which he knows I wish to entertain, that the Prince will not go soon, and perhaps not at all, unless the general arrangement of affairs in Europe shall promise independence both to Portugal & Brazil—

Admiral Beresford, who it seems was charged with some special mission to this court on the subject of his return, may also have had some other charge respecting the Spanish colonies, and the projected expedition against them from Spain—for he was soon followed by another Ship of the line, which with his own and the one stationed here, & some Frigates, together with others said to be expected, form an extraordinary & unusual force here—Whether this circumstance has any bearing on these two points or is accidental I cannot well judge— It is certain that it alarms the Brazilians & the Spanish legation here—

Whatever other objects direct or contingent may have been contemplated when this expedition of the Duncan (Beresford's Ship) was ordered, I am still persuaded, as I was in January, that one principal object of it was to have an effect at Vienna, and also in England & Portugal,—for I have learned since that time *to a certainty*, that altho' the Duncan did not finally leave England till the beginning of November, she was ordered to sail on the first of October, and that the date of this order corresponded very exactly in point of time with a determination which may & was probably made on the receipt of despatches from Lord Castlereagh, soon after his appearance at Vienna—

I know also that the Count de Funchal was at Portsmouth on the 4 of October, on which date he wrote to a person here speaking rather pettishly of the fury with which this expedition was got up, and in a conditional manner of the Prince's return; which indicates that no promise to that effect had

passed through his hands—These circumstances combined with others, and particularly with the arrival here in August & the departure in the latter part of September of a Brig of War (which did not arrive in England until a fortnight after Beresford's sailing) and which came to get a positive answer on this point as is believed here—render it apparent, that he was sent off without any certainty of succeeding in inducing the Prince to return—I have reason to believe that the answers by that Brig were evasive, and I think they are still evasive—for notwithstanding Admiral Beresford still professes to think and continues to speak as if the Prince will go with him, he is understood to be unquiet about the success of this part of his mission. . . .

It remains for me now to speak of the current of events in the Spanish Colonies since my Letters of June & July: and of their present position—I allude only to those South of the Equator—In my Letter of the 30. of June,¹ I wrote under the impression that Ferdinand the 7. was a King in his senses, that the new constitution might be established in Spain, and believing that many circumstances existed in the Spanish colonies to lead them to reconciliation under that constitution, or some modification of it—I said, however, that Montevideo might soon fall—but that with the possession of it, the people of Buenos Ayres would not be competent to keep it against Spain, without the protection or aid of a maritime power—and I surmised, that if those for reconciliation should not prevail, they could only be independent by retiring into the interior &c: And I represented these problems as probably dependent upon the developement of Saratea's mission to London and upon the conduct of Spain & England jointly or separately—

It turns out that Montevideo surrendered 10 days before my letter was written, and that the government of Buenos Ayres have formed a similar calculation as to the value of that place in their hands—for they have since demolished all the works and transported all the cannon & military stores to Buenos Ayres: and, should the expedition from Spain arrive now in force, they will I think burn that & every town & village on the northern side of the river—Should the party most determined on separate independence prevail, they would probably retire up the country after burning Buenos Ayres if pressed hard there—An expedition in sufficient force to terrify them, would unite all parties naturally, when milder methods should disunite them—

During the last summer Chili for a moment recovered the mastery over the Lima troops, but by its own division fell back into, and in December remained under their control, but discontented—Peru under the Vice Roy Abascal had always remained loyal—His army is still in the provinces of La plata. South east of Potosí, and he had kept down the spirit of change by the prospects held out under the constitution—Since the abolition of

¹ See above pt. III. doc. 322.

that, he finds it hard to maintain the cause of the King-Cuzco and about half of the provinces of Peru proper, are in a state of disturbance—On this account & no other—as I understand—

If therefore the Buenos Ayres Army should by any means defeat his army near Potosi—before the arrival of the Expedition draws them off towards Buenos Ayres, it is likely that there may be a general revolution in Peru—but I do not mean to say that this would settle anything definitively for Peru; which contains perhaps two millions of people and is decidedly monarchical—it would still be a match for Buenos Ayres & Chili, in population, whose dispositions or pretensions to republicanism are pretty openly avowed, but which would be more torn & divided by factions—and are probably incapable of forming either stable republics, for want of a sufficient number of moderate & disinterested men, or respectable separate monarchies, for want of individuals of sufficient distinction, from wealth, talents or services, to make Kings of—

The Gentlemen who will deliver this packet to our minister in London, or send it, in default of finding one there, to our Minister at Paris, are two respectable characters who came here about two months ago, ostensibly on their way with propositions to Spain: going through England—It is believed they came here in concert with Lord Strangford, and they expected to be sent to England immediately in a british Frigate which followed their arrival in a few days from the River plate, and was to have gone home direct—but as Admiral Beresford had arrived previously to the frigate—some change seems to have been made in the arrangement, the frigate does not go to England, & they are to depart tomorrow in the English packet—

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*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *December 29, 1815.*

SIR: Under the cover marked A you will find a law which was published at this court on the 17th inst. which was the Queen's birth day, erecting Brazil into a kingdom uniting it together with the Kingdoms of Portugal and Algarves in one political body, and assuming for the Prince a title analogous to this change and union. The note of the 19th communicating this act and desiring information thereof to be given to the President, and my answer to it, are under the same cover. You will perceive Sir, that this act will explain

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] Ia.

the drift of the conversation related in my private letter to you of the 8th inst. from which I inferred justly that the Prince was determined to impress the conviction on me and on my government:

That it was neither his policy nor his wish to leave Brazil, or at any rate that he did not mean to reestablish the colonial system. I did not relate to you all the particulars and peculiarities of that conversation, but it is now made evident to me that he then went as near exposing his intention, as he could go without betraying his secret which was to be developed by this law.

It is his passion and his pride in the smallest things, as well as his past policy in the greatest, to keep close his designs and it gives him great pleasure to enjoy the impositions and surprizes he is thus enabled to commit upon the curiosity and calculations of others,—his nobility who are nothing more nor less than his body servants, and follow him everywhere and are always on the alert often lose their meals and their sleep in consequence of his impenetrability; but because he out wits their sagacity at so easy a rate, they think him extremely dextrous & cunning & praise him accordingly for the possession of the qualities which they admire and cultivate more than any other: you may suppose, what is the fact, that he has no respect for any of them, and therefore, that they have no influence on him in public affairs, he always employs the wisest & most independent of them at a distance from himself, & keeps his cabinet badly mounted because it suits his taste to govern without opposition.

You will see by my note of the 21 in answer to the communication of this event to me, that I have replied to it in the same spirit in which I have heretofore judged of the interest and policy of the United States on this subject, and in which I had reasoned and acted against his return to Europe in the beginning of the present year which was the way then essentially to oppose the reestablishment of the Colonial system here, which was what great Britain desired to effect by his return, & thereby to prevent the rise and existence of a maritime power in South America, which might become very soon a useful connexion in peace or war to all nations having no colonies; and in time a rival & enemy to her colonial & commercial interests, in the east more particularly— I am not yet certain that I may not have exceeded or mistaken the views of our government in my judgement of its policy, which may have undergone, like every thing else in politics, some change since the date of my instructions.

The determined silence of our ministers in Europe when I was under the necessity of asking their opinions and advice at a time when the war prevented me from receiving the president's instructions on such subjects as the sudden peace of Europe presented more suddenly for consideration here, made me apprehend, that they knew or suspected me to be in the wrong, and so much in the wrong, as to render it more meritorious in them, or more

prudent, to leave one in utter darkness, than to condescend to try to correct the errors already committed by me, or to enlighten my judgement by their own, so as to enable me to escape from the danger of falling into the other errors which naturally follow in the trains of the first—But the circumstance of several months having elapsed since the peace removed all difficulty in your communicating with me, and much time since you must have received from them (if they performed the least of their duties in this respect) the letters I requested them to forward to you after perusing them; and that of a number of vessels having arrived at this port from those of the United States, some of them from Baltimore & Alexandria without my having received any intimation that I had in any way contradicted the intentions or views of the President in the part I had taken either here or elsewhere against the reestablishment of the colonial system in Brazil or in other ports which had been freed from it; I have reassured myself, by necessary inference that I have not been materially wrong in my measures or the President would have found it absolutely necessary to correct me.

To be consistent on this occasion, I thought it necessary to shew some sensibility on an event which this government did believe, and had reason to believe from my late conduct, and from the President's at the period of the emigration and at that of my mission, would be interesting to our government—and when the belief of its being so, may have contributed in some degree to bring it about. Besides this expectation of countenance from our gov^t., which the Prince evidently sets some value on since our war with England, the thing was now done. But notwithstanding the intimation in the preamble to the law, that it was done with some sort of sanction from the congress at Vienna, I found none of the European ministers here had received any notice of that sanction or any such expectation from their governments & that they therefore were unprepared to make any particular compliment on the subject, and would make only a very reserved one. This afforded me an opportunity, without being more wrong than I may have been heretofore on the same subject, to gain for our government all the advantage, whatever it may be, or appearing to be more pleased with and interested in the accomplishment of a measure which is very dear to the Prince & the people of Brazil, for many reasons, than any other government besides this prospect.

. . . A private audience was assigned me for the 27th. On my entering the audience chamber, I was not disappointed to perceive by the Prince's air that he expected the audience had been demanded solely for the purpose of making complaints. . . . I began by telling him, that although in his absence I had addressed my compliment in course through his minister, on the elevation of Brazil to the rank & title of a Kingdom I had asked for this audience among other objects most particularly for the purpose of having the honor personally to compliment & congratulate him, in the most

explicit & extensive form that it would be in my power to use previous to receiving the orders of my government, on the communication of a measure which might become an interesting one both to America & to Europe generally—and on the union between his american and European dominions, on a footing of equality which was certainly a measure very interesting to himself & to the portuguese monarchy in particular, and which had become more so, in every sense, since the pacification of Europe in 1814 than it had been since the establishment of the throne here, because the future independence of Brazil had been rendered more doubtful since that pacification.

I said “that the permanent independence of Brazil was in the contemplation of the President at the time of my appointment, that I had been taught to believe that both governments considered an intercourse and connexion, on that ground, between Brazil & the U States of more importance than with his European dominions, that I had as yet had no reason given me to know or to suppose that anything which may have occurred in other parts of the world would necessarily diminish the value or alter the propriety of such connexion, especially now that the determination of making Brazil independent would enhance the value of all the portuguese dominions.”

He shewed uncommon signs of satisfaction at this address, and interrupted it by saying eagerly, “he was sure I had never doubted of his friendship for the U. States, or of his desire to improve the intercourse and commerce between the two countries, however unfavorable circumstances had at times been towards taking measures proper to promote these objects” I went on to tell his Royal Highness “that this seemed to be a fit occasion, if he would permit it, for me to address to him some observations on those objects which might perhaps have been more regularly addressed to his minister.” He approved of my suggestion, and I observed to him “that the certitude now given of the independence of Brazil gave a new force and life to my original instructions, which had been drawn up under impressions which the state of things on my arrival here proved to be erroneous; or at least, that all expectation of extending and defining commercial or political relations by treaty, was found to be out of season at that period, that on sounding his then minister the Count de Linhares on the subject, and proposing to give & receive the information mutually necessary for the two governments to possess, according to my instructions, with a view to acquire a correct understanding of the resources, faculties & interests of both countries, and thereon to found arrangements likely to be durable and satisfactory, because they might be mutually advantageous, that minister shewed no disposition to begin this work, and let it be understood, that altho’ such prospects had been encouraged, and might again become eligible, the new relations formed with England and other circumstances which weighed upon the policy of this government every where, kept every thing in suspense and doubt.

That at the period of the pacification of Europe, the U. States were in their turn engaged in war & difficulties, and soon after Europe was in peace, the doubts which were raised on all sides about the continuance of Brazil in a state of independence, forbade the renewal of the subject. That for all these reasons I had necessarily confined myself to keeping my gov^t. informed of the state of things here, and to await its orders, which would naturally be orders analogous to its present views combined with those which might be manifested here."

The Prince replied "that he was very happy I had spoken on this subject to him—You know," said he, "you know the real causes of all the circumstances you have observed, the times have been very difficult, but now that the independence of Brazil is fixed, you may begin when you please, I am always ready" I said I expected very soon to hear from the President whom I had asked for new instructions in the beginning of this year, when his return to Europe had been most expected, but, in the meantime, it would neither be inconsistent with my former instructions, nor with any interest I was now aware of, to give and receive any information which might tend to advance at any time hereafter any arrangements, which might be found to be desirable on either side.

I made this last observation for the purpose of discovering, as I was originally directed, whether he would be disposed to make or to receive propositions for a treaty, & whether it might be his desire to negotiate it here, or in the U States, he only repeated "that he was always ready and willing." I then gave him a second opportunity to discover his views on this point by saying "But your Royal Highness will permit me to repeat here a remark which I have heretofore made, but never pressed much upon your minister, which though of some importance, he has never thought proper to notice, it is, that the diplomatic relations between the two Countries have been left for more than 5 years, on a footing of inequality and imperfection which the gov^t. of the U States could not account for, unless upon the same grounds which opposed the advancement to any other more permanent relations than such as have existed. . . .

I have reason to believe that no equivocation is meant, because Mrs—Sumter was told in company the next day, that he had on the evening of the day of my audience related to the minister of policy & others what had passed on this subject very exactly, and had expressed to them his pleasure at the manner in which I had behaved to him in this affair, as well as in what related to the independence of Brazil, etc.

*Thomas Sumter, Jr., United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil,
to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *February 7, 1816.*

It might be different also for Peru—if, as it is reputed the mexicans have declared their independence—provided they could send by sea from Acapulco or elsewhere on the Pacific some troops to aid the insurrection in Chili, which is always ready to renew itself upon a signal of assistance, and a naval force sufficient to intercept the provisions with which Chili furnishes Peru—

Peru is fatigued and distressed with its tedious and distant wars, and in December last had considerable apprehensions from disaffection in 3 or 4 of its provinces—and from the expectation that a few cruizers from B. Ayres would bring some cannon round to Chili, while 8 or 10,000 men should assail that country by land, where there are not more than 1500 peruvian troops—

2000 Spaniards, probably a part of General Morrillo's expedition, who had lately arrived from Panama, gave as much uneasiness to the Viceroy as hope—for they would not act without pay—and could not obtain that without threatening to mutiny—It is believed the Viceroy Abascal kept one half of Peru loyal on the faith of the constitution made by the Cortes—and since its revocation, on the faith of Ferdinand's promise to make another in due form—

Is it not a pity that some of the sovereigns of Europe do not interest themselves as much for these poor people with (or without) Ferdinand, as they do about the blacks on the western coast of africa—half the pains they have taken on this latter subject might have calmed America & Spain, either jointly or separately—insured political and religious toleration to them—and in a short space of time peopled these fine countries with a race of whites from the surpluses of Europe; and in that way effected the abolition of the slavery of the blacks, as well as of the slave trade—& with them of the colonial system, to the great and lasting advantage of Europe & America in a political & moral sense— Is it possible that the powers of Europe which have no colonies can be so blind to their own advantages—as to let Ferdinand and the English Ministry, against the sense of 3/4 of the Spanish & English people, succeed in restoring the colonial system in its ancient limits and rigor, after it had been destroyed in nearly all continental America by a legitimate authority in Spain and Portugal—The late conduct of the Portuguese gov^t. shews its policy in this respect too clearly to admit of any farther doubt—anywhere—and it is clear that Ferdinand is

only supported in his projects by the aid or countenance of the english ministry, who know that the liberty of commerce in these immense provinces must depreciate & finally ruin their pitiful islands and their monopoly of colonial productions—if those powers are sincere in their feelings for the blacks, let them observe that natural increase & emigration have already extinguished their slavery in one half of the U. States—without shocks or injury to them or to Europe—

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*Philip Rutter, Commercial Agent of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *April 4, 1817.*

That the notes 2, 3, 4 herein sent relating to an embargo here, and the blockade of Pernambuco will indicate at least that this government considers the rebellion in the province to be serious— The extent and ramifications of this insurrection are not known to Mr. Sumter. Some apprehend that all the provinces north of that one are concerned or will take part in it. Some suppose their discontents are excited from Portugal, some from England etc., he thinks that the corruption and extortions favored by the Court; the maladministration of justice; the decline of industry and commerce occasioned by the general peace in a great degree; but also by the bad and foolish regulations of government; as well as a great increase of taxation; are sufficient to account for a very general discontent, except just around this capital, where a great many get paid for their loyalty out of the losses of the other parts of the country—The folly also of making war to the south and of using so much useless and gratuitous perfidy towards Spain under the sanction of a marriage, seems to have made considerable impression on many people—Added to all these errors & difficulties, a long drouth which has extended over great part of Brazil for nearly two years, renders provisions scarce and very dear, flour had been at 40 to 50 milreis the barrel at Pernambuco, nearly the same at Bahia, it is very scarce here, and sells now at 8 dollars for the arroba of 32 lbs. Rio Grande which is the Country that supplies Brazil with flour & Salt Beef, has neither to spare, great part of the inhabitants, having been drawn into service for these eighteen months past, these branches of industry have been diminished; while the portuguese armies have had their subsistence to draw from that district—

The Spaniards of the eastern side of the Plate leave nothing in their way and it is believed, that Buenos Ayres is, or soon will be at open war with

them; In the month of February S^t Martin's army which had been collected at Mendoza, made a sudden eruption into Chili, assisted every where it appears by the natives; that Kingdom seems likely to be immediately & entirely released from the domination of Peru, under which it has now suffered for more than two years; it seems probable that it will be able to make such attempts on Peru as will oblige the army of the latter which is now between Jucue & Potosi to retire towards Lapaz or perhaps farther. There is little doubt, he thinks, that these events will induce the Buenos Ayres government, which has been temporising with and deceiving this gov^t to throw off the mask and join Artigas openly & probably excite Paraguay to attack them in the north—

These prospects and the insurrection at Pernambuco, if not speedily and effectually checked, may naturally and dangerously promote mischief in every direction; he understands that the gov^t is about to send off immediately to Portugal for troops—In the meantime the immense preparations for the acclamation or coronation are suspended, and instead of the bustle about fire works and shews, all is bustle to get off some troops which will probably consume three weeks—

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Henry Hill, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, December 21, 1818.

SIR: I had the honor to receive here on the 1st Ult. your Letter of the 18th of July, with Commission from the President, appointing me Consul for this Port, which I did not so soon expect, though perhaps it is a fortunate circumstance to have received it at this time, notwithstanding I had come here from Bahia called by some important private concerns, and shall be obliged to return thither. But before I leave this, I shall acquaint you fully with my situation and views, and in the meanwhile, if the President should not have determined on another appointment to fill the Consulate at Bahia, I shall be happy, if he will attend to the considerations I shall hereafter expose, for the union of the two.

My reception and confirmation by the King and his Ministers, has been prompt and flattering; they were pleased to express a wish that I had been charged with the affairs of my Government; and I am certain, that neither any personal consideration, nor regard for the interests of the two Countries, deceive me in the belief of their friendly dispositions, and great desire to cultivate and strengthen the most amicable relations with the United States, notwithstanding recent occurrences here, or contrary intimations and the

depredations committed by an unworthy and marauding class of our Citizens, under piratical or illusive flags, against the unoffending and innocent Portuguese.

Of this however, Sir, you will learn more by my future communications; availing myself of the present opportunity only, by way of Havana, to acquaint you of my confirmation in office, and with the information conveyed by the official document, of which enclosed is a copy, relating to the capture by the Chilians, of the Spanish Frigate La Reyna Maria Isabel, and three transports of her Convoy.

This has reacted here with great dispatch, by way of Buenos Ayres, from whence the news is in other respects important, as derived from the Captain of the British Sloop of War Echeress who brought it.

He confirms the report we had of the embarrassed state of the Buenos Ayrean Government, for want of either specie or credit, which had induced it to assess the British Merchants for a loan of 150.000 Dolls. but was opposed by threats of Commodore Bowly, and finally was relinquished—and adds, that a conspiracy had been detected for the assassination of Puyredon and Gen^l. St. Martin, with other chiefs, in which, suspicion was attached to Mr. Halsey, your late Consul, as being concerned; probably however, without any other foundation than his late notorious conduct, as connected with Piratical Privateers, and the fact of his having left Buenos Ayres a short time previous for Chili; where the plot was to be accomplished as far as respected Gen^l. St. Martin, and the ultimate views of the conspirators would be developed in that quarter, (possibly to reinstate the Carreras) through the agency of a number of Frenchmen, who had left for the purpose, about the same time with Mr. Halsey.

I should hope, that with all the follies, and I think crimes, resting upon the foppish head of this weak *personage*, he may not prove guilty of this last, which is imputed to him. The moral defalcation of this man however, illustrates in a strong point of view, the importance of a change in your Consular establishment, at least in these distant and immoral Countries, where, being new, and from the prevalence of vice and ignorance, as yet you have either a national character to establish, or to support—a change which shall afford a greater choice of applicants, and place those appointed, above the necessities or suspicions, attached to Chevaliers d' Industrie, and mere adventurers.

But of this late conspiracy, a short time will unfold whether it was not pretended, to extort money from the principal rich Spaniards charged with being at its head, who are said to have been expatriated, and their estates confiscated—or whether it was not planned by St. Martin himself, for the purpose of destroying Puyredon, or by the latter to make away with St. Martin, and to get money, either of which may be expected from the intriguing dispositions of these Spaniards, and the character of the present Gov-

ernment of B^a. Ayres, & from the late differences which are supposed to have existed between them, when the latter was lately at Buenos Ayres.

The Portuguese make no further progress in their attempts upon the Province of Montevideo, being confined to this Garrison, the Islands of Goviti [?] and Martin Garcia, and the Fort of Colonia. It is an expensive war to them, which they are little able to maintain in the present state of their disordered and deficient finances, and having now a new and active partizan General to oppose in Fructuoso Ribeiro, who acts in conjunction with Artigas, it is not probable they will be able to obtain greater access to the Country than they now possess; and probably, they will finally be obliged to abandon it altogether, either by mediating powers, or from their extreme necessities. Whenever, or in whatever manner this may happen, they will then be afflicted by a border war upon the Provinces of Rio Grande and Matto Grosso, where they are now obliged to keep up a considerable body of Troops under Lt. General Joaquin Xavier Curado—But they will always have a firm support in the inhabitants of Rio Grande, and a still stronger in the Peasantry of S^t Paulo, the finest Province, & the most industrious and intrepid people of this Country, and who, as well as the Country people generally of Brazil, have a great attachment to the present King and Monarchy.

You will infer from hence, Sir, the little probability, in my opinion, of any considerable effect upon the institutions of this Government by the impressing of surrounding Revolutions, or from other immediate causes. Indeed, notwithstanding the tendency of the Government to check industry and oppress individual liberty, it is what no man as an American, should wish for, either from policy or principle, considering the nature of the population of the Country, and that it is gradually approximating to an Independence from Europe, and will naturally find its interest in an amalgamation with the American family, which it will fall into insensibly, by an assimilation of manners, habits, the dissemination of education, progress of public opinion and political relationship.

Since I have so far extended my ideas upon matters, involving in some degree the Independence of America & questions which are probably now agitated with great feeling and interest in the United States, which it was by no means my intention to do in this letter, and which I am incompetent to from the want of particular political information, more than from the want of local knowledge and attentive observation upon the character and state of the people of this Country, or of the Spanish Colonies; I may add, that the command of the Pacific being now given to the Chilians, the road lies open to Lima from thence, in which the armies under S^t Martin & Belgrano, (if parties and money will permit) will undoubtedly cooperate. Hence it is a probable calculation that Lima may speedily fall, & the whole

I should consider this a misfortune to the cause of Republican Independence; since it would weaken the opposition of Buenos Ayres & Chili against Spain, have a tendency to excite in a greater degree than already exists, the spirit, malevolence and ambition of parties, and to withdraw them from the importance of consolidating their Governments, that an example may be afforded to the other colonies; and the world have yet to learn, something of their moral capacity for self Government.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*John Graham, United States Minister to the Portuguese Court in Brazil, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

Private.

RIO DE JANEIRO, September 24, 1819.

DEAR SIR: The detention of the vessel bound to Philadelphia gives me an opportunity of forwarding to you the enclosed extracts from a letter I have just received from a Gentleman of much respectability at Buenos Ayres. I was prevented from seeing the minister of Foreign Affairs on the 22^d Inst as I had intended.

With great Respect [etc.].

[ENCLOSURE; EXTRACTS²]

"Your enclosure for Judge Prevost I forwarded to him per mail of the 9th. Inst: he still remains at Santiago but informed me lately that in Spring he should cross the Cordilleras to pay a visit to This City." . . .

. . . "Whether it is owing to the Constitution or to the difference of personal Character but our present Director does not act as independently as our former, and his measures are not only scrutinized but often paralyzed by the Congress, which in the present Crisis is not perhaps so desirable.

The Levies of Cattle and other Contingencies by Military Commanders and Government Agents in the Interior have entirely subsided and the question of the Constitutionality of measures among the People has become very general all of which I consider a very happy omen and I should suppose nothing more required now, to consolidate our System, but the arrival and defeat of the grand Spanish Expedition on the shores of the River . . .

Indeed Sir it cannot be doubted but that a scene of much confusion and distress awaits us. The Government have intimated to all Foreigners that they must declare whether in this Crisis they mean to remain in or quit the Country, promising protection to those who will remain, but that no-

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] III.

² Undated and unsigned.

body remaining will be excused from bearing arms. Indeed they want none but armed Men here on the arrival of the Spaniards, and mean to transport all Women, Children and aged men in the Country, defend the City to the Utmost, but if unavailing abandon it empty to the Foe—There is not the least doubt but if the City was constructed of Combustibles we should see a second Moscow sooner than its delivery to the Spaniards.” . . .

. . . “This People and Government are not very partial now to that of the U:S: they are entirely discouraged now from expecting their acknowledgement or any other favour from them, and have even construed the late Acts against Pirates as hostile to them. Indeed they do them the injustice to say that the United States will not acknowledge them as Independent till it may be their Interest, to do So. I have always endeavour’d to convince People here of the Policy to send their first talents to Foreign Countries instead of such as they have actually employed on such missions, and which I venture to say have done more harm than good to them.”

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*John James Appleton, United States Chargé d’Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 27, 1820.*

Every thing remains quiet here but serious fears are entertain’d for Pernambuco, whose multiplied Relation with Portugal, no less than its recent wounds, place [it] foremost on the list of the disaffected Provinces. S^t Salvador is also understood to have a loftier spirit than this place and would not probably wait for its example if a Constitution was vouchsafed to Portugal, or the ties which unite the two Countries sever’d. In these difficult circumstances the King had unfortunately for him no men about him that can point out the course and boldly take the helm. He is I believe aware of it, and will probably let the ship of State drift out the storm as well as it can.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] III.

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*John James Appleton, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, November 24, 1820.

There have been some considerable disturbances in the Province of Pernambuco. In one Instance they originated in the feuds of neighbouring plantations, in the other, they are ascribed to Religious Enthusiasm. In both the interference of the Governor with his troops was effectual, but not until some blood had been spilt— It may yet be that some political object was cover'd under these appearances

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*Charles G. Weiss, Acting Consul of the United States at Bahia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

BAHIA, January 12, 1821.

Your Excellency will be no doubt acquainted with the late occurrences in Portugal, which cannot fail to have great influence on the tranquillity of this Country. The decision of the King respecting the proposals made as to a Constitution &c. is not yet precisely known, but it is rumoured and pretty generally credited, that he is not in favour of any alteration. Whatever this decision may be, some alteration must & will take place here and this perhaps may lead to some disturbances, but I have great pleasure in adding that there is no doubt that the person as well as the property of foreigners will under all circumstances be protected.

Mr. Graham having as I understand left Rio de Janeiro some time ago, & being quite ignorant of his present Residence I beg leave to enclose two letters I received some time ago for that Gentleman.

I have the honour [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] III.

² MS. Consular Letters, St. Salvador, Brazil, II.

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*John James Appleton, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *January 15, 1821.*

We have had a second visit from the Spanish brig of War Achilles. She brings back the three Commissioners from Buenos Ayres where the Negotiations set on foot in the beginning of December terminated as had previously done those with Venezuela by a refusal of the Provincial Junta to treat upon any other base than that of the recognition of their independence. As soon as the brig arrived at Buenos Ayres it was order'd to be strictly watch'd and all communication between it and the shore interdicted. They had been treated at MonteVideo with almost similar rigour by the Portuguese for on applying for permission to land two of the Commissioners who were unwell they were told that this liberty could only be granted for the Island dos Ratos. Notwithstanding this failure the Spaniards still assert that the Majority of the People are desirous to return under their domination and are only prevented from doing so by the system of terror established by the ruling party. This assertion is but poorly confirm'd by the fact that Governor Rodriguez was out with the troops against the Pampas Indians under Carrera when the Commission arrived and that the City remain'd notwithstanding quiet.

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*Woodbridge Odlin, United States Consul at San Salvador (Bahia), to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

SAN SALVADOR, *February 18, 1821.*

For some time past there have been Suppositions that there Existed a disposition in the inhabitants of these Sections of the Brazils—to bring about a Change in the former Government, which event took place on the morning of Saturday the 11th Inst. mounted Cavalry was discovered in many parts of the City proclaiming—live the Constitution—they were Joined by a large concourse of the inhabitants who Joined the Same Cause—the day was in some respects tumultuous but order was restored before night and the new Constitution Proclaimed generally—the Patriots. It seems had Possessed themselves of many strong posts before the Constitu-

¹MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] III.

tion was proclaimed—the Governor it is reported ordered General Felisburtis who was highest in Command and the first Marshal to the King to dispossess the Patriots of one of their posts he accordingly advanced at the head of a Considerable Force but was obliged to retreat with the Loss of a Field Officer and 15 or 20 Privates more or Less I Cannot Find out Correctly—the Governor and Marshal has Since Sailed for Rio De Janeiro in a British Sloop of War, order, tranquillity and Confidence appears to be restored— The Portuguese in an event of this Importance have Certainly Set an example for other Nations by Avoiding discord & Injury—preparations are making to defend the place they have taken sundry fast Sailing Merchant's Vessels they also have a frigate and Sloop of War on the Stocks which could be in service in 4 weeks—the government is offered money sufficient for their expenses it Said by the inhabitants this Constitution is Considered to be on the Same principle as at Portugal now they wait Impatiently to know the result of the Decision of the King which cannot be expected until about 30 to 40 days from this in the event of his being ready to give It. Many times the Portuguese vessels have a Passage from Rio to this City 20 to 30 days—

I am [etc.].

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*Woodbridge Odlin, United States Consul at San Salvador (Bahia), to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SAN SALVADOR, *March 14, 1821.*

I also informed you of a Change which took place Respecting this government The 11th Ultimo—all is quiet Since merchants are liberal in Supporting the new government with money and they appear to be determined to defend themselves If the King does not Sign the new Constitution which is the prevailing opinion he will— It is expected they will obtain the decision of the King Very Soon on the Subject—

We have information from Pernambuco Stating they have brought about the Same Change There in the government.

With High respect I am [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, St. Salvador, Brazil, II.

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*Woodbridge Odlin, United States Consul at San Salvador (Bahia), to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SAN SALVADOR, *March 31, 1821.*

SIR: This day arrived an English Vessel From Pernambuco which brings dispatches—it is reported—to this government taken from a frigate which had arrived there from Rio de Janeiro with the Official information That the King had agreed to sign the New Constitution. This news appears to be Confirmed by a rejoicing which has taken Place this day by fire of Cannon from forts and Vessel in the Harbour.

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *April 14, 1821.*

Mr. Appleton being at once the more able & more proper person thro' whose channel you receive political intelligence, I have withheld from acquainting you with the events we have lately witnessed. I only beg leave to add to this letter one word of politics and it is this, that notwithstanding every preparation is daily making for the departure of the King of Portugal for Lisbon, and every thing seems to indicate that he must and will go towards the end of this month, yet I am one of the few who believe that he personally will never leave this country.

I am [etc.].

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*Woodbridge Odlin, United States Consul at San Salvador (Bahia), to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SAN SALVADOR, *April 14, 1821.*

SIR: Late confirmation has been received here from Rio de Janeiro that the King had consented to Swear to Support the new—Constitution they are daily in Celebration by Illuminations and firing of Cannon here—

¹ MS. Consular Letters, St. Salvador, Brazil, II.

*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, May 12, 1821.

SIR: It is so much Mr. Appleton's business, as long as he remains in this country, to inform you of its political changes, and I believe him so very capable of doing it, that I have thought it useless to write to you myself on that subject. I would therefore not trouble you now, if the private letter I took the liberty to address you by the Congress (explanatory of my difference with Mr. Sumter) did not contain also a few words respecting the departure of the King which happened a few days afterwards contrary to my prognostication in that letter.² Perhaps you may not be displeased in my informing you of a few circumstances relative to this affair, which are not likely to find their way out of this place.

The fact is that the same weakness of which the King has given such proofs, had caused him to alter his mind for the third time, and I have the strongest ground for believing that in the beginning of April he had directed his confidential men to put indirect impediments to the preparations which were making for his departure and that from another quarter great activity for these preparations was shewn and recommenced. The embarkation of the live stock had been twice ordered and twice countermanded: Some thing or other there evidently was which did not go straight.—The Prince and his friend the L^t Dos [?] Arcos who suspected his intention being postponement upon postponement & suspecting I believe very justly that the King only wanted a pretext (which might be brought to him by the first arrival from Portugal) for staying, probably agreed upon the expediency of bringing on a popular commotion, which might give another heavy blow to the King's returning confidence in his Brazilian subjects. This object was admirably brought about by the movement of the 21 of April: after that, every thing went of itself and the King sailed on the 26.

We are enjoying now a state of perfect tranquility and, if the Prince should pursue the plans of reform and retrenchment, which he has already begun and shall also gradually correct abuses, I do not think it impossible that his popularity may recover the wound it received on the 22 April and that he may for a long time remain Prince or King of Brazil.

I am [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 347, under date April 14, 1821.

*Henry Hill, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

COLOMBIANA (BRAZIL), COMARCA DE PO. SEGURO, *May, 1821.*

SIR: The particulars of the Revolution at Bahia on the 10th of February last, you will doubtless have learned through various channels, as likewise the most important subsequent events relating thereto.

In this retired and remote situation, alienated from all the sources of public information, and even from private intelligence, I have scarcely become acquainted with any of the details of those events, and only know the circumstances of the Revolution as it overthrew the Royal Gov^t. of the Province, and placed in its stead a Decemvirate with the title of Provisional Governmt; —& that on the 26th of February, the King & Royal Princes solemnly swore before the Tribunal of the People at Rio de Janeiro, or Camaca, to observe and support the Constitution then forming by the Cortez of Portugal, and that a total change of Ministry succeeded, the same day. To have thus hastily sworn to a Constitution by anticipation, of which he could neither know the conditions, obligations or tendencies, it is very evident that the King must have had other fears before his eyes, than the fear of God.

Louis the Sixteenth refused to ratify by his Oath, the first Constitution which was presented to him by the National Assembly, without some modifications of it; which ought to have been considered a sufficient proof of his sincerity; to have produced a sense of moderation in the people of France, and to have led to a renewal of confidence between them and himself.

If this did not happen, what can be expected from the precipitate oath of the King on the present occasion, but that it will destroy all confidence in his sincerity and good faith?

However this may be, it confirms at once the destruction of his authority & Government. But there has been long a total relaxation of every moral principle in this Government; the fibres of which had become so attenuated by corruption as scarcely to afford the least energy to its political existence, and to give no security to it from the fidelity and attachment of the people. It was seen by the Bachanalian conspiracy of Pernambucco, with what facility a Revolution might be effected in this Country; as it was also seen by it, what a ridiculous people these Brazilians are, and that they are wholly incapable of self Government. But it was to be expected that the Revolution in Portugal, would extend to this Country. . . . As their courage, like that of the mastiff in company with his master, would derive animation & support from the people of Portugal, they were easily to be led to a union with them, for the limitation of the King's authority, whose Government &

presence they have borne with disappointment and disgust, the last few years.

Kings who are not endowed with great talents or virtues, can only command the respect & admiration of their subjects, by a secluded distance from them. By too near an approach, the deformity of mind & body, to which, perhaps, they are liable more than other men, exhibits them to their subjects in a ridiculous light; and in absolute Monarchies, that fear and curse of Majesty which keeps the people in subjection, becomes lost in familiarity. So it has happened in this Government, from the emigration of the Royal Family, which placed them in a light so near and familiar, as to uncover their nakedness and the pollutions of the Court, and to disclose the weakness of their humanity, and the imbecility of a corrupt & decrepid Monarchy.

But instead of adopting any measures by useful and necessary reforms to regenerate its old age; or making any advances to meet the changes which were working in public opinion; the Government on the one hand, accelerated the progress of new ideas in the people, by opening to the Country, which it did from interest and necessity, the liberty of commerce; whilst on the other, it endeavored by a strict & rigid adherence to antiquated forms and laws, at the continuance and duration of a political ignorance and tyranny, which could only deceive, and ultimately destroy itself.

This Government therefore, has scarcely rested on any other foundation, than the fears, and supposed reverence of the people, for a superstitious religion and an antiquated Monarchy; and on the reliance which was placed upon their ignorance and inertness. But there is a crisis in all Governments, however despotic, or however degraded & depraved the people, when they must either bend to, or be prostrate before public opinion—which like the current of a river, is always in a mobile state, though it may not be perceptible at the surface. It is the duty and interest therefore, of all Governments, to watch this motion, to perceive when it flows in a smooth and tranquil flood, or when it is likely to burst its boundaries, which are the laws; and to conform these to circumstances in such a manner, that the intelligence and wisdom of the laws, shall be always in advance of the understandings of the people.

The rights of this Government were those of prescription. The people had no rights, since the laws were either adapted to former ages, or were without vigor, and their administration in the hands of a corrupt and irresponsible Magistracy.

It will not therefore be a matter of wonder, if a universal sentiment prevails against such a Government, and will now be put into action throughout, overwhelming and removing all its ancient limits;—for the King himself has dissolved his subjects from their former allegiance. But as the course which public opinion may take, when once loosened from its fetters, is always uncertain, whether they will as uniformly unite and acquiesce in the declared

principles of the Decemvirii of Bahia, for a *Common Constitution for Portugal and Brazil*, or whether they will divide into other channels, are questions which involve matters of great interest and importance to consider, and can only be judged of, by a knowledge of the character of the people and of the actual state of the Country.

I may therefore, probably, be of some usefulness, in endeavoring to place before you such matters & facts, regarding the political and moral character of this Government and people, and of the relative dependence and strength of the Country, as may lead to a more extensive and correct view of the probable result and consequences of the Revolution, than you might otherwise be able to obtain.

The political constitution, (if I may so call it) of this Country, underwent no change, by the removal hither of the King. The same forms, the same Provincial Governments, and all the old laws were continued, (with the exception of those which concerned external commerce, and in some respect the internal industry of the Country;—whilst many new laws and new taxes were multiplied, occasioning restrictions, where formerly none had existed. The principal advantages which the Brazils derived therefore, in its transition from a Colonial to a Sovereign state, was in its liberty of exterior commerce, and in not being obliged to travel to Europe for justice. It has not even had the consolation of seeing its revenues, spent within itself, since these have been exhausted, and the Finances embarrassed beyond the means of extrication, by the remittances to Portugal for the support of that poor Country, to England for the payment of former debts, or squandered in establishing marriage alliances in Spain and Austria, and in the expensive maintenance of an unnecessary and ridiculous war on the Banks of the Laplata. Besides which, many of the great Peculators, (of whom more will be said hereafter) have remitted vast sums abroad, for greater security.

[Here follows a minute description of the Portuguese-Brazilian Governmental structure covering about twenty closely written manuscript pages.]

The Portuguese Monarchy has for a long time, presented the singular fact of an anomalous Government, without any one principle to guide it, and especially since the removal of it to the Brazils. It was neither a Despotism, an aristocracy, or oligarchy, and certainly it was not a democracy— Yet it was made up of shreds and patches from all these, and had become like an old garment so often repaired by different hands & with diverse materials, as to excite ridicule from its whimsical appearance & defy detection of its original texture.

If to this incongruity of Government, over a vast territory, but a very scattered population, which often rendered all complaints impossible, & gave to minor Despots impunity;—we add the accumulated multiplicity of the laws, decrees, avizos, Alvaras and Portarias; amongst which, as a principal

any sentence he might give:— If the extreme laxity of every principle in the Government be considered—the indolence, venality, egotism, vanity, and so often the ignorance of Ministers, Governors and Magistrates—the corruptions of a corrupt and dissolute religion, and of so many rotten institutions of a decayed Monarchy; and the general moral depravity of all classes, and the total ignorance and superstition of the lower orders of the people, who consist of a heterogenous mixture of all colors and conditions,—hardly a worse state of society can be supposed to exist any where, than in this Country; where the climate also excites to every sort of depravation and delinquency, in minds not formed to fixed principles of moral conduct, and enlightened by the practical truths of science, and the precepts of a pure religion.

But to know in general, that the political and religious institutions of the Country are arbitrary & corrupt—that the Government had lost all moral principle, & degenerated to a weak Despotism, supported by an imbecile and rapacious Hierarchy on the one hand, and by an impoverished and dispirited Nobility on the other—to know that the Laws are multifarious and contradictory, and administered with partiality and injustice—that the Magistracy is venal, and the people immoral, ignorant and superstitious:—does not give a sufficient idea of the political, moral, and religious state of this Country, & of the capability of the people to effect a Revolution, or to become benefitted or improved by any changes which may take place from the overthrow of the present Government.

[The next sixty-five pages are devoted to a brutally frank description of the character, manners and customs of the people which is tinged throughout with even greater bitterness and apparent prejudice than is manifested in the quoted portions of this remarkable letter.]

It is impossible to convey any just idea of the difficulties, delays and expences, that were opposed to getting any business through the public offices.

Unhappily, the King and his Ministers, since they came to the Brazils, where he was at first received as a Father by an affectionate Family, and might have raised upon a solid foundation a great & stable Empire, have never acted upon any fixed system, or permanent plan of Government. In weak monarchies, where the ministers and agents have no responsibility to the Laws, the plans which may be adopted and pursued by one, are seldom executed or followed by his successor. But if the monarchy has reached a state of decrepitude, which it may do sooner or later, as well as every other Government, according to the state of its credit & finances, the minister can have no settled plan at all. Besides, the King had promised his subjects of Portugal when he left it, that he would return to Europe, when he could do so with safety. They were mortified, that a Colony should become the seat of Empire, and soon felt the loss sustained from it, by the revenues & commerce of Brazil being diverted to other channels. Although the King did not find it convenient to fulfill his promise, yet he thought himself obliged to keep up

the delusion. His policy therefore, was made up of mixed measures and temporary expedients, intended to preserve the fidelity of both Empires, and to encourage the decaying trade of Portugal; but all at the expence of Brazil, of which he thought himself secure: and therefore it became necessary to resort to increased and extraordinary taxes, as well to supply the deficiency of the revenues of Portugal, as to support a more ostentatious parade of Court luxury, bullfights and shows for the amusement and delusion of the people, and upon the same principle, to engage in, and carry on an illusive and expensive war for the recovery of the ancient Colony of Colonia, the offspring of the fertile genius of the Minister Araujo; who, whilst he was contracting marriage alliances with Ferdinand of Spain, and the House of Austria, thought he might invade the territorial rights of the former with impunity, which the dalliant Spaniard would forget in the arms of love. There seems to have been a complication of duplicity in this transaction, worthy of the feebleness & impotent ambition of the Portuguese Court, and altogether consistent with the egoistical pride and double dealing of the Portuguese character. On the one hand, it was calculated to delude & raise the spirit of the people through their ancient hatred of the Spaniards, by the prosecution of a pretended right, and the pretext of security to the Southern frontiers of Brazil against the revolutionary Spaniards of Laplata; whilst on the other, so far as this plan of war and friendship involved deception in the cobweb brain of the Minister, Ferdinand was to be fooled out of his Dominions by a pretence of possession of what *he* could not maintain, to be given up on future occasion, and by the *embroidery of a petticoat*, into which he was to be interwoven by the seduction and toils of love.

Again, Portugal was to be weakened by drawing troops from thence, ostensibly for this war, whilst the King's power would become strengthened over the Brazilians by those troops; and the marriage alliances with Spain and Austria would be a security to the fidelity of Portugal, whilst intrigues were carrying on, to endeavor to persuade the Spaniards of the Southern Provinces of America, to accept of the Queen of Portugal for their Sovereign, and become united to the Brazils; which appears to have been the grand fulcrum, upon which the philosophical Minister's schemes were bent, for the aggrandizement of a rotten Monarchy, already tottering under the weight of too extended an Empire. The complication and grandness of the scheme, ought at least to have afforded him a sumptuous burial. But his capacity for intrigue and deception, did not equal the Italian Cardinal's, who obtained for his body the splendour of a costly interment, by bequeathing his supposed immense riches to Hospitals, Convents, Priests, Friars and friends, who afterwards found themselves obliged to pay the expences of it, out of their own funds.

Previous to the King's arrival in the Brazils, the import duties on merchan-

were limited to small subsidies & donations; and the direct taxes were very inconsiderable, except the tythe tax, which both religion & custom had consecrated. But subsequently, without abolishing any of the former taxes, (and particularly those on the internal & coastwise transit of country produce and foreign merchandise, which was one of the greatest grievances of the Colonial system,) new barriers have been constructed to the interior trade, and additional taxes; direct taxes have been multiplied to a great extent, & the duties of import and export considerably increased. The direct taxes, although not great in amount compared with some other countries, are extremely vexatious and greivous from the mode of collecting them, and from their unequal operation. These, with the extraordinary and unlimited expences of the King's Household, the misapplication of the public revenues, and the abuses and peculation in their administration, form the chief complaints of the people, because they are sensibly perceived, and felt by every one.

The Barons de S^a Lorenzo and Rio Seco, the one Treasurer General, and the other Purveyor of the Palace & Royal Household, are known to have acquired several millions of Cruzados by the plunder of the public money. Their tools and creatures, have necessarily shared in the same proportion. The same system of public plunder, extends throughout every branch of the revenues and expenditures, from the Court to the Provinces, through all the line of receivers, treasurers, paymasters, commissaries, and purveyors, to every description of persons, who in the most remote degree have an opportunity of touching the public money, which is thought free booty.

The King was not ignorant of all this, and was once heard to say, that he was fully aware of the peculations and robberies committed by the two above named persons; but that if he displaced them, who had now enriched themselves, & might become honest from mere satiety, those who might be put in their places would only exercise the same rapacity, & perhaps become altogether insatiable; and besides, would create a new race of harpies and panders, still more ravenous, than those already fastened upon the Treasury. He was doubtless sensible of the impossibility of any moral reform in the Government, and preferred his own ease, to the danger & labor which he should incur by the attempt. This probably led to the pleasant pasguinade which appeared at Rio de Janeiro: "Eu eston el Principe Don Juan; Que paz ogue un mandat, ecome oque me dat(I am the great Prince of Portugal, Don Juan; Who do what I am told to do, & eat all I can)."

Thus, where there is no restraint upon public officers or private citizens, either by the fear of shame, or punishment, there is no limit to their rapacity & cupidity; especially in corrupted Monarchies & commercial communities—Here wealth confers both power and honor; trick and cunning pass for sagacity & wisdom, hypocrisy for religion, acquiescence to meretricious forms & ceremonies for piety and politeness, dissimulation for truth, and the standard

of virtue & honesty is measured by the same rules, as amongst highwaymen and thieves; with whom all is licit and untainted with vice, except denunciation, and theft from each other.

It would be tedious and difficult to detect and particularize, the various ways and manners of these ingenious people for intrigue and deception, in effecting their roguish practices upon the public property; but I will venture to say, and presume it susceptible of proof, that more than one third of the net revenues are deviated & consumed by them, after they have reached the public Treasuries; besides what is plundered in their way thither.

But if the administration of the revenues was iniquitous, and untroubled by authority, honor or honesty, that of public justice was still more aggravated, heinous and offensive, to good Government, reason and morality. . . .

Such then, is the political and moral state of the Brazils, which I have drawn from the result of personal knowledge and experience, and with the impression their truths have made upon me.

But to illustrate, and make a just application of these truths, presenting so many causes and elements for a revolution, and so many sources of political weakness and debility, it will be necessary to enquire more particularly into the nature & physical strength of the population of the Country.

[A description of the population and resources of the country, province by province, occupies the next nine pages.]

The character of every people, must be formed principally by their political and religious institutions, and by the features of the Country, and of the climate they inhabit. It is not strange therefore, if here the Portuguese, under the united effect of climate, soil, and Government, should have degenerated to complete effeminacy and voluptuousness. With these vices, are always found a presumption of manners, which make men vain and conceited, and render them either Pedants or Coxcombs. But to these characteristics, the Bahians unite the contraries of pride and parsimony, ostentation & avarice, patriotism and cowardice, loyalty and treachery. They are ready to serve the King, or to betray the King—and whatever may be the result of present events, they will always fluctuate with the appearance of danger, or with the mutability of their apparent intents, and be ever willing to unite with any party, that may be the strongest.

Revolutions, ever happen under weak Governors—and there are no people, however feeble and effeminate, amongst whom there is not always a considerable proportion, ready to revolt against an imbecile and lax Government, or against Despotism, if leaders present at a proper crisis.

When the revolt at Pernambuco took place in 1816, being at the Palace soon after the news of it reached Bahia, I watched with curiosity and attention the countenances of the many officers present, and listened with eagerness to their conversation. There was scarcely one who would not have

joined the revolters, and they had also the good wishes of the people generally. When a few days afterwards I was at the same place, and the Governor, The Count dos Arcos, had taken such decided and vigorous measures as ensured the public tranquility, the same people were all determined Royalists, would defend the Royal Government at the extremity of their lives and fortunes, applauded the Count dos Arcos as a great Governor, wise man & courageous Patriot, and on the termination of that miserable conspiracy, these same people united in the intrigues of a chief Military Officer, who was connected with that conspiracy, to offer to the Count 100 contos of reis to build him a palace at Rio de Janeiro; and paid him the honors almost of a Divinity, though many of them never paid their subscriptions.

It is worthy of remark, that the chief officer abovementioned, was on the occasion of the late Revolution the only one hostilely to oppose it—not from principle, but because he himself had not been called upon to take a principal part in it— He was the only officer who accompanied the late Governor, the Count da Palma, to Rio de Janeiro—Yet this Governor was one of the mildest and best, who had ever governed in Bahia; but held too loosely the reigns of his command.

But the Province of Bahia, from its superiority in shipping, its central situation, and the value and importance of its productions and commerce, will always maintain and influence in the Brazils, not inferior to Rio de Janeiro.

This Province, mountainous and sterile, deprive it of the commodious and defensive harbour of Rio, and of the trade of Minas, would be of insignificant importance. But with these advantages, and the present population of the city and the riches of its merchants, it is superior in strength and wealth to Bahia, & its population consists of a much greater proportion of free white persons, and more sedate and steady in their characters than the Bahians.

I have now finished the sketch of the political and moral state of this country, which I had proposed to myself, which has been drawn to an unexpected length, though much more might have been properly added. Yet it seems necessary to adjoin, that the natural and irreconcilable jealousy which in all countries exists betwixt great commercial cities, is no where more noted and predominant than in the Brazils;—and that each of the Maritime Provinces, has but one great city, wherein all the trade, wealth and resources of each, are concentrated.

From this imperfect disquisition, which may abound with many absurdities, but is intrinsically true, you will probably have anticipated, Sir, my opinion of what is to be expected from the result of the present Revolution—which is, that the different Provinces will govern themselves for the present, independently of the Royal authority, and of each other; but will finally acknowledge the Constitution which may be adopted in Portugal.

In this case, the Brazils will revert back to its former colonial state, under

some modifications of Government, which I do not suppose, will be more favorable to its liberty, rights or interests, than the King's government has been, since for this purpose a radical change is necessary in the Laws, the Religion, and the customs of the people.

Probably the commerce of the Country, will become a monopoly again, in a great measure, after the limitation of the British Treaty, exclusive to Portugal.

These opinions, are founded on the insignificance of Portugal, without the Brazils, and as well on the exposition of the state of the Country which I have given, and the known sentiment of the principal commercial class, which influence the general sense,—as from what I suppose will be the policy of the British Government, if it interferes at all in the present affairs of Portugal—Since in any other case, the only alternative that presents itself, is a division of the Portuguese Monarchy, which neither the politics of Europe, nor the state of this Country, would appear to admit the idea of.

It would be idle and unnecessary for me, further to follow the great variety of reflections which present themselves on this subject, since I am not of opinion that the King can ever acquire again an absolute authority, nor yet that the Republican or Independent party, existing in the Country, but only in the minds of some thinking individuals, will ever acquire consistency, either in union of ideas or action, from the total want of talent and confidence, and from the apprehension which almost all the men of reflection and property would entertain, from the nature of the population of the Country.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*John James Appleton, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to
John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 12, 1821.

. . . It must however be remember'd that the Braziliens as a people have yet taken no share in the management of their own Affairs—for even on the unfortunate 22^d of April those who exerted themselves most to controul the Government were all Portuguese by Birth, and acted more in a Republican than a Brazilian sense—The most influential of the Braziliens were in the service of the former Government, and having served it as it was then served by all,—servilely and corruptly—have either from fear or shame, stood aloof from Public concerns. There is a class of Braziliens who by their wealth connections, and practical good sense, might if

¹MS. Dispatches from Brazil [Portugal] III

they chose to be busy, exercise an important influence over the fate of their Country—they are those who live in the Cities from the proceed of estates which they leave for years together to the mismanagement of Administrators. For such, however, quiet and indolence are the supreme good—they will not strive to promote the Public fortune, when they are indifferent about the advancement of their own, and if they are ever heard to complain it is not against those who misrule, but those who disturb them. their selfishness is of ill omen to their Country. Under such circumstances the most liberal and enlighten'd of the Braziliens appear to have resign'd all thought of immediate independence from the Mother Country, and are disposed to expect that event as the natural consequence of the rapid advances of their country in wealth, Population, and Public Spirit, under the influence of the new Institutions—As this way of thinking harmonises with the quiet and calculating habits of the Population generally, it might naturally be expected to prevail, and would prevail, if Brazil did not also contain in its bosom a large number of Europeans who having already left their own Country in quest of fortune, are not disposed to be so easily satisfied—If this Country arrives to early independence it will be owing, I do not say to their wishes but to their turbulence. . . .

The Revolution which not only removed the Count dos Arcos from his place in the ministry but also from his residence in this Capital did not as you will see abolish the Department of Foreign Affairs, it exists in the hands of the Judge Pedro Alvarez Deniz, who is better known for his rare probity of industry than for brilliant talents The Frankness and independence of his disposition form a strong contrast with the Duplicity, and mysterious importance of his predecessor, Who has gone to Lisbon to give an account of his past conduct, I fear he will find in every Judge an enemy. He is already accused of having projected the independence of this Country from Portugal, but I believe unjustly; within the limits of the Decree of the 22.^d of April he had room enough for his ambition without danger.

I have the Honor [etc.].

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *July 30, 1821.*

SIR: Mr. Appleton when he left this city a fortnight ago to make an excursion in the interior, requested me to write and inform you in case any

event of interest should take place during his absence. Till now nothing of sufficient moment has happened to induce me to trouble you:—An occurrence which a few days since threw this city into some consternation makes it however obligatory on my part to address you a few lines.

The head cashier of the Bank of Brazil absconded from this city, taking with him it is said a very large sum of money (etc.) . . .

We are enjoying here a kind of tranquility which I know not well how to qualify. The troops are busy giving calls and dinners to one another but their perfect harmony is rather problematick yet I do not know what would happen if that harmony did not exist.—The Prince is doing every thing in his power to make himself popular and I hope he will ultimately succeed. His economy is very great and this goes a great way with the people but partial insurrection of the troops or of the people are daily taking place which indicate the restless state of the public mind. In Santos, the port belonging to S^a. Paulo (sixty leagues from this) the troops have committed various outrages the particulars of which are not yet well known, but they are of a distressing nature.

Here in consequence of various heavy losses sustained by the Bank and of this last event, their paper which (I hardly know why) is some how or other considered as a Government paper, is considerably discredited, and Dollars have been bought at 1000 reis. The silver currency of the Country selling at the same time at a premium of 5 and 6 p^c.

I shall have the honor shortly to address you again with my semiannual report and account.

I remain [etc].

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*Woodbridge Odlin, United States Consul at San Salvador (Bahia), to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SAN SALVADOR, *October 6, 1821.*

SIR: I have the honour to inform you that I have received a letter dated the 24 Ultimo from James H. Bennett the American Consul at Pernambuco, in which he observes that the patriots, have made an attempt, and who are still continuing their operations, in order to effect an entrance into this City, there is not any business adoin Our Supply of flour is about 2000 barrels but none Selling—on the 21st there was an engagement between the Patriots and Royalists near Olindo in which many of the Patriots were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners—the Royalists sustained but little injury, only 4 killed, the force of the Patriots is not precisely Known—they are all armed

except with Artillery—and appear determined, Mr. Bennett thinks, they cannot Succeed in taking the City—I have also received a letter from Mr Joseph Roy dated Pernambuco 26 ultimo, in said letter he observes—there is only one American vessel in port, the Brig Edward of Salem Capt Whitterage—I have he States Sold his flour—which averages it \$500 pr barrel, sales are difficult to effect owing to the disturbed State of the Country—for some time past a force, has been Collecting at Guiana about 16 Leagues to the Northward composed of People of that Country, and deserters from this Place, said to amount to 6 or 8,000 men and have been within 4 leagues of this City—Several Skirmishes have taken place already, with The Advanced guards—these revoltors say They are not hostile, to their king or Constitution, they require the present governor and his Battalion Sent out of the Country, the Governor has ordered Martial Law, and every Portuguese Able to bear arms Called into the Service—many families have embarked on Board Vessels in the harbour, with money and other Valuable effects for safety—Information has also been received, that an english and french Frigate are in the harbour of Pernambuco, 3 to 400 troops have been Sent from here Since this Information in a frigate to assist the Royalists— It is reported that about 1200 troops, are expected from Lisbon to their assistance, all is very Quiet in this province and expected to Continue—about 5 days Since, the representative from this Province Sailed for Lisbon, in an armed vessel—I have made Inquiry of masters of many American vessels from Rio de Janeiro, Some of which having taken dispatches from you, they inform me, to Mr Appleton they say he has been absent some time from Rio.

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, October 7, 1821.

SIR: I had the honor to write to you on the 30th of July by the Ship Magnet and now avail myself of this first safe opportunity to remit you the list of American Shipping at this Port from the 1st January to the 1st July of this year. I have nothing of the least importance to say concerning this Consulate or the American interest under my immediate charge; the greatest harmony having continued and still continuing to exist between me and the several officers who have rapidly succeeded each other in the administration. Yet in the absence of Mr. Appleton I would wish to be able to keep you informed of the political state of this country, which, I think, begins to take a

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

serious aspect; but this is a difficult task. The best way in which I conceive I can accomplish it, is to confine myself chiefly to relate facts as they have happened, which may enable you to form at a distance a more accurate judgement than can perhaps be done on the spot, where one is more or less influenced by one's feelings and associations.

Ever since the departure of the King, who as well as his favourites carried away an immense quantity of specie obtained from the Bank of Brazil the credit of that establishment has been on the decline, the circulating medium of gold and silver and even of copper at its immensely depreciated standard has gradually disappeared, the two first being with difficulty obtained for Bank notes at from 25 to 30 p. cent premium above their intrinsic value. It is the opinion of the best informed men, that the measures adopted by the board of directors which have confined themselves to put as many impediments as possible in the way of those who call upon them for the payment of their Bills, have hitherto greatly tended to increase their discredit; and the inconvenience resulting to every body from this state of things had produced a considerable degree of internal and general discontent, which only required small powers to be put into motion. About a month ago, notices began again to be put up at the street corners, warning the old Portuguese against the Brazilian party, who, it was positively said aimed at an immediate separation from Portugal. No particular measures being adopted by the Government to put a stop to these rumours, a voice began to circulate, that the Prince Regent himself was at the head of this party and intended to be proclaimed King or Emperor of the Brazils. At last one evening at the Theatre (where I was at the time) the performance was unexpectedly interrupted in a most interesting part of it by a voice which issued from the box appropriated to the staff of the army & which cried out very loud, "Long live the Prince D. Pedro *our Lord*" (nosso Senhor) This last appellation is only given to the King. A short silence ensued, when other voices from the pit were heard crying, "Long live the Prince Regent—the Constitutional Prince—the Constitution," and after a short interval the performance was continued.— It was the next moment given out that the author of this outcry, had insinuated himself into the box unnoticed and had escaped undetected.— Whether this was done to try the state of the public feelings, I am unable to determine, but it seems hard to think that the Government should possess no better channel of information on such a subject and must therefore totally discredit such a supposition. Be this as it may considerable sensation seemed the day afterwards to have been produced by it.— The 12th of this month (being the Prince's birthday) was pretty publicly and confidently spoken of amongst all the classes as being the day fixed upon to proclaim D. Pedro the 1st King or Emperor of Brazils and great agitation prevailed throughout the town, the number

At last the day before yesterday his Royal highness was pleased to relieve us from this painful state of suspense by issuing a Proclamation,¹ which I have thought it worth while to enclose here for your perusal. At the same time by order of the Prince several arrestations have taken place even among the officers of the garrison as disturbers of the public tranquility; one of those who have been arrested belongs I believe to the Portuguese side of the question.—The day before this proclamation came out Pedro Alvarez Deniz, Secretary of State for the Interior and foreign affairs, resigned from office, and Francisco Jose Vieira, a Judge in the Court of Common pleas, not yet much known as a statesman, was appointed in his place. I can also add from my personal knowledge that the day afterwards, the two other Secretaries of State, namely, of the Marine, and at War, had tendered their resignation, which was not accepted. At present the public uneasiness seems to have considerably subsided.

If my private opinion were asked, I would say that the Prince had no intention to the new order of things with which we were threatened, and next, that if he actually had such a project, he has probably laid it aside for the present. Every body may convince themselves at least, that he is not surrounded by men capable either to plan or to execute the project

¹ The Consul's translation of the proclamation, with his introductory and concluding remarks, follows:

Not being able to procure one of the originals of the Proclamation the Printer having none left, I take it out of one of the news papers and think also at the same time that you may be pleased to have a Translation of it which follows.

PETER

to the Inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro

What madness is yours? What are your intentions? Will you be perjured to the King and to the Constitution? Do you reckon upon me to obtain ends which may not proceed and flow from the Oath, which I, the troops, and the friends of the Constitution have taken on the memorable 26th of february? Certainly you cannot wish it; you are illuded, you are deceived, and in a word you are lost should you attempt at a different order of things, or should you abandon the way of honor and glory in which you have been treading, and from which, attempts are made to draw you off, by hot headed persons who do not truly love the King my father and Lord John VI who reigns over us with equal wisdom and prudence and will continue to do so whilst God may preserve his precious and necessary life; by persons who have no Religion and who cover themselves with sheepskins, being in the Community like unto ravenous and famished wolves.

I will never be perjured to Religion, to the King nor to the Constitution. Know it that I declare it to you in the name of the Troops and of the Legitimate Sons of the Constitution, that we live all united. Know moreover, that we declare a destructive and most cruel war, to all the perturbors of the Public tranquility, to all the anti constitutionalists who are covered under the cloak of personal security and still more to the open faced anti-constitutionalist. Rely upon what I say unto you because he who says it, is faithful to Religion to the King and to the Constitution, and that for these three divine things, I am, always have been, and always will be ready to die tho' it were to be alone, much more therefore having the troops and the true Constitutionalists to support me, thro' the love which we have promised to each other, and in order to maintain an oath so cordialy and so Voluntarily taken. Be quiet inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro

PRINCE REGENT.

N. B. This is positively said to be (and I have some private reasons to believe it) the original and unasisted Composition of the Prince himself.

which has been attributed to him: and his conduct as Regent has yet displayed no inclination to despotick power.

I am afraid that what I have said will assist you but little in forming a judgment on the political state of this capital, but I felt it almost incumbent upon me in the absence of Mr. Appleton to give you this sketch such as it is for fear you might receive it exaggerated from some other quarter less entitled to your confidence.— From the interior and the other Provinces I dare say nothing, particularly as Mr. Appleton whose return here I am daily expecting will be able to give you sure and satisfactory informations.— That there exists here a Brazilian party—a party for Independence or separation from Portugal, no doubt can be had. But as long as the Prince may remain here and have a Portugueze military force under his command, I feel confident that nothing of the kind can or will be undertaken *here*, unless, which I think equally improbable for the present, he should place himself at the head of this party and be able to persuade the troops to join him in it.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Woodbridge Odlin, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SAN SALVADOR, *November 2, 1821.*

SIR: By late information find there is no American vessel about to Sail from Pernambuco for the United States, which induces me to State to you the following taken from Mr Joseph Ray letter dated at Pernambuco the 19 Ultimo, he observes that there has [been] but little Business doing here for 6 weeks Past, it is now a getting better and the Brazilians are much pleased, that the Governour of this place, together with a Battalion of Algarves, are called to Lisbon by the Cortes, and to leave in the Course of 5 or 6 days—this news spreads rapidly in the country and the Matudas are a Venturing to town with their produce, without any apprehension of themselves and horses being pressed Into the Service, as was the Case under the government of Luis de Rego—A great Number of the Inhabitants who it is, reported took an Active part with The late Governour, at Pernambuco have arrived at This port from there It is Said through fear of being favourably received by the New Government.

With high respect I am [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, St. Salvador, Brazil, II.

*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, *January 20, 1822.*

SIR: I had the honor to write you on the 7th of Octob^r.² in order, during Mr. Appleton's absence to keep you informed of what passes here. From that day untill his return which took place in the middle of December, I had nothing very material to communicate and then the task of information devolved again upon him: But he having sailed on the seventh instant on his return home in the Brig Standard bound for Charleston, S. C. the great events which have happened since his departure now call upon me to resume my employment as narrator and I therefore avail myself of the present opportunity to give you an account of things.

The decree of the Cortes of Portugal with which you must be acquainted relative to the recall to Europe of our Prince Regent, and even the wording of that decree, created the greatest disgust among the Brazilians,—a disgust which was not communicated from the one Province to the others but spontaneous on the day of its arrival either at Rio de Janeiro, S^t. Pauls, Minas, & Rio Grande. These three last Provinces, that is, their Provisional Governments came immediately and nearly at the same time to a resolution of sending deputies to the Prince, to request his permanence at Rio de Janeiro at least till such time as an answer might be received from the Cortes of Portugal to the representations which were going to be made there against this measure. The Deputation of S^t. Paul which arrived on the 18th inst. consisting of some of the principal men of Sⁿ. Paul, is headed by Jose Bonifacio de Andrade, vice President of that Province, a first rate leading man among the Brazilians in point of talents and energy. (of whom you will hear more thro' Mr. Appleton). The Deputation of Minas arrived yesterday consisting equally of the Vice President of the Province and two other respectable members of the Government, and that of Rio Grande is now hourly expected. During all this, the Province of Rio de Janeiro shackled as it was, did not remain idle. Having no Provisional Government, the City Council (Camara) took upon itself to act on this occasion, and came to a determination of petitioning the Prince in a body against this departure, and here begins the afray. On the 7th inst^t. notices were set up from the City Council, inviting all the citizens who might be adverse to the departure of the Prince, to call at the Council Chamber, and sign their names to a representation which was already drawn up to that effect. —It was then easily discovered how weak the opposite party was, notwithstanding its being evidently supported by the Portuguese troops.—

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 354.

The notices of the City Council already mentioned were in several instances torn down by those soldiers and various trifling quarrels took place on that occasion between them and the inhabitants. However, on the 9th instant being the day appointed, the Council headed by their President moved in procession from their House of Sittings followed by a large number of the most respectable habitants and public-characters and went to the Palace where the Prince was waiting for them. On this occasion the streets thro' which they had to pass were spontaneously and without orders, decorated with silks, damask and other elegant hangings, used on the days of Religious processions and the pavements covered the whole way with green orange leaves. Every thing proceeded with great order and decorum—The deputation was very well received of the Prince, who suffered himself to be persuaded of the necessity of his stay, returned in answer that he acceded to their request, and this being communicated to the People without, was received with loud *Vivas*. Under this cover you will find both the speech and the answer. The news of the Prince's consent rapidly circulated thro' the town and a good deal of joy was evinced in every countenance one met with excepting that of the Portuguese soldiers.— In the evening the houses were all spontaneously illuminated and continued so for three nights; the theatre also was every night opened and most crowdedly attended.— However on the third night that of the 11th instant our joys were put a stop to.—At about 10 o'clock the theatre being very full, information was received that the Portuguese soldiers had taken up arms, nobody knowing for what purpose. The fact was that Lieut^t General Aviles, General at Arms, disgusted at the proceedings of the 9th had given in his resignation from that post, and that the Portuguese soldiers on being informed of it had declared that they would not obey any other General, particularly not the one who was designated to succeed Aviles, Lieut. General Courado a Brazilian a man of 82 years of age, one of the heroes who suffered on the 21 of April last.—It appears also that another Portuguese General by the name of Caretti a discontented man had been one of the promoters of this and had even been the bearer of a representation of the Portuguese troops to the Prince Regent against the measures he had adopted and the promises he had made, which they said were unconstitutional. The Prince however had received this message with great haughtiness and displeasure and had discarded the bearer from his presence with threats, who had returned to the quarters of the troops.— During this the Brazilian Regiments and the militia had been tolerably active in taking up their arms, and the next morning found them assembled at the Campo St. Ann (a large public square or walk) to the number of about 1500, a number very little superior to their antagonists, who if they had attacked them must inevitably have put them to rout and would at least

take place and all the houses and stores in the town were shut and barricaded as well as they could. The Brazilian side however acquired every moment a little more strength and as to the ultimate result it could not be doubtfull, every Portuguese soldier must have perished.— The Prince however on this occasion, (as is always the case when there is real danger) showed a great deal of personal firmness and activity. On going out of the theatre where he did not show the least sign of uneasiness, he had removed his wife and children to S^{ta} Cruz a country palace 16 leagues from this, had during the night accompanied them a great part of the way on horseback and had returned to meet his difficulties, before sun rise. A negociation was set on foot and at last the soldiers finally consented to pass on that day to the other side of the water, with their arms, baggage, artillery & ammunition, there to remain quartered untill they might be sent to Portugal. They went over without opposition. Their Generals Aviles and Caretti are with them and are acting a part which they can with difficulty reconcile to any principle of military or constitutional subordination.—Enclosed you will find an order of the day of General Aviles to his soldiers on the other side, which may give you some insight in his character. I know him personally well and I feel convinced that on this occasion his conduct must be only attributed to a mistake in judgement. He was at my house a few days previous to this affair and I well recollect having combatted as well and as far as I politely could the great contempt he expressed for the Brazilians and their party. He appeared on that point to be quite immovable. However nothing serious can result from this obstinacy unless the troops which are daily expected from Lisbon should arrive and be able or suffered to join with these, before the Government find means to embark them. Their removal has become a measure of necessity to prevent disturbances and quarrels with the Brazilians to whom they are become obnoxious and by whom they are now both hated and despised.

Some material changes cannot now but very soon take place in the Government of this Province and I think of all the Brazils. A man has been placed at the head of things by the Prince, I mean Jose Bonifacio de Andrade of S^t. Paul, whose talents and energy of mind are highly spoken of by every body. He has been named 1st Secretary of State in the place of Fr^o. J. Vieira and has I am informed accepted the office, but I have not seen him yet. He will of course be the leading member of this Government and a complete change of measures can with safety be anticipated.

The next vessel that shall go to the U. States which will be probably in a fortnight will I think be the bearer of interesting intelligence. You may depend upon receiving it from me.

I am [etc.].

*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, *February 3, 1822.*

SIR: I beg leave to refer you to my last respects of the 20th Ult^oP.² Brig Eliza Riley of Norfolk, and would now overlook many inconveniences to send you a copy of it, were it not that a paper has been printed since, containing nearly the same details I gave you in my letter, and which I now enclose here.

The different pamphlets which you will find under this cover, will also enable you to judge better perhaps than I could explain it to you, the real state of things in these quarters. I have had already two interviews with Jose Bonifacio de Andrade, now first minister of State, and they have left no doubt on my mind of the intention to separate this country from Portugal. Every thing that passes leads to this conclusion and in one of the pamphlets "the Representations of the People of S^t. Pauls to his Royal Highness" brought by Jose Bonifacio and his suite you will find explained the system which I believe is going to be adopted for the present.

In the meantime the Portuguese troops on the other side of the water (a distance of about four miles) may be said to be in a state of open rebellion as you will see by a proclamation which the Prince addressed them last night, and to which they have not yet, it is said, made any answer. They are about 1200 hundred [*sic*] in number and we have more than 4000 to oppose to them, without reckoning the auxiliaries from S^t. Paul to the number of 1100 and those of Minas 1200 which are not probably within more than two days march from this place.—The issue therefore cannot be doubtful, but should they be attacked in their quarters for which every preparation is making there must ensue a great deal of bloodshed.

The Prince goes now, to all appearances hand in hand with the Brazilian party and with Jose Bonifacio.—This minister in the last conversation I had with him asked me if I thought that reliance might be placed on the friendly disposition of the American Government towards the Brazilian States, and if in case of need any support might be expected from that quarter. I felt no hesitation in answering to the first question in the affirmative in a general way and of course declined giving even an opinion on the second alledging first my total ignorance on that head and afterwards the fear of leading him into a mistake on a question of so much importance and so undefined withal.

I am [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 356.

*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, *March 4, 1822.*

SIR: I had the honor to write to you on the 20th and again on the 22 of January last informing you of our political situation to which letters I beg to refer, and taking the events that have occurred since that date I have now to add that the division of Portuguese troops which gave us so much alarm was prevailed upon not to say compelled by a superior force to embark for Portugal on the 20th, say on 15th of February, without any engagement having taken place, which however till at the very last moment threatened to happen. The Prince on this occasion as on all occasions where decision and firmness is required performed his part in a manly way. The last word he said on board the frigate (which had been towed by the steamboat within gun shot of the barracks on the beach) to the officers from the division whom he sent back on shore,—holding at the time a lighted match in his hand,—were these,—“If within ten minutes after your landing you do not make the signal to embark and the soldiers do not go into the boats waiting for them, I shall with this match set fire to the first gun directed against them.” He had besides previously directed the Brazilian General to close with his whole force upon them at the moment he would hear the first gun, and had besides four hundred men at the head of which he was ready to effect a landing in the steam boat. Such was the spirit that animated the Brazilians that had the action begun, I have no doubt that every Portuguese would have fallen a sacrifice to their rage.

The departure of these troops has relieved us from a very painful state of anxiety and suspense in which we were kept for a month.

Since then things have gone on very quietly. A decree has been issued which you will find enclosed whose tenor appears to a certain degree to have disappointed the high expectations which were entertained of Jose Bonifacio de Andrade as it does not seem to breathe the spirit of liberalism which he makes such a show of. After reading it you will be enabled to judge.—I do by no means pretend to insinuate that this decree has lost him much of his popularity, but it has certainly given a slight blow to it. I have seen him three or four times.— He appeared to be very desirous of knowing how far the Brazils might rely upon some support from the U. States in case Portugal and England in virtue of its treaties with Portugal, should attempt to force them to submission to the Cortes of Lisbon. Of course I told him it was altogether out of my power to give him the slightest information on that head, and that thro’ fear of leading him into error, I could not even give him

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 356. No letter of January 22 exists in the volume, but see that above, pt. III, doc. 357. [February 3 on the subject which is probably what he had in mind.]

my private opinion on that head: that however I thought that the Government of the U. States would always contemplate with pleasure the felicity and independence of the rest of America.

I remain [etc.].

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, April 13, 1822.

SIR: I had the honor to address you some lines by the Brig Robert at the beginning of March.² You found along with them the Decree of the 15th February relative to the reunion at this place of the Deputies of the Provinces, from which I anticipated some bad results. I am sorry to say that I was not deceived. The Province of Minas which had come as handsomely forward in its adhesion to the Prince as that of Sⁿ. Paul has first begun to break the ice. A party in opposition to the system of the Decree, tho' under another veil, has made its appearance in Villa Rica and had already succeeded in forming themselves into a separate Provincial Government. This threatened such serious consequences, that when the news arrived the Prince resolved immediately to go down himself to Minas, and did actually set off the next day accompanied only by three persons, the nephew of Jose Bonifacio de Andrade, a Judge, Rezende, and one of the Officers of his Household.—We know already of his having arrived at Sⁿ. João del Rey, one of the principal towns of the Province at about 24 leagues from the Capital where he was expected to be on the 8 of this month. As he went along the Country gentlemen in great number formed an escort for him, from which however he always kept at a great distance ahead. The greatest adhesion has been shown all the way to his person and it is more than probable that by this time the heads of this party have been arrested and will be sent here for judgement where I believe little mercy will be shown them. He will there is no doubt upset the intruders and succeed in pacifying every thing *there* provided no personal misfortune shall happen to him.—This journey was a very proper and considering the situation of the Country, a very bold measure of the Prince, and it is no more than justice to say that he has of late unfolded a great character, considering his years.

It will however I fear be the business of much time yet to establish tranquility.—Even here, since the Prince's absence it is more or less disturbed.—The Portugeze, or as they call themselves the Constitutionals, are yet plot-

ting in favor of the authority of the Cortes; the situation of things at Bahia, of which of course you are informed, has inspired them with fresh hopes. However Jose Bonifacio has his eyes wide open, and has energy to resist them.

The installation of the Procuradores, or rather the nomination of the Procuradores or Deputies of this Province, which was to take place on the 18 of this month, has been (it is said this morning) postponed and the agitators will avail themselves of this motive to create disturbances.

But every thing on this head is so uncertain that I will postpone touching on that subject till the next opportunity which will be I believe in 10 or 12 days.

I had forgot to mention that the Portugeuze force of 1600 which arrived here three weeks after the departure of the Old Division, as explained in my former letter, was only admitted to enter the harbour in order to supply themselves with provisions and water to return to Portugal. This was done in a few days and they put to sea again on the 20 of March.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 5, 1822.*

SIR: I had the honor to write to you twice the day before yesterday and both times enclosing interesting documents. The ship *Oryza* being yet in a port for want of a wind, gives me an opportunity of addressing you a third time and of sending you the Decree of the 3^d. instant which only came to light yesterday, by which you will see that his Royal Highness by the advice of his hastily formed General Council of State, which is only composed of the two Procurators or Deputies of Rio de Janeiro, elected on the 1st. instant, one Lucas Cbes of Montevideo, and his four Secretaries of State, has been pleased to convocate a General Brazilian Constitutive and Legislative Assembly. It may not be improper to observe to you *en passant* that this Obes arrived here about four months ago as the ostensible deputy of the Citizens of Montevideo, but that I have good reasons for thinking that he is in fact the real agent of General Lecor who commands in that Province a well appointed regular force of about 2500 Portugeuze troops.—General Lecor is said to be a man of talents and deep ambition, particularly noted for prudence and foresight, and may, not improbably aware of what was going to happen, have di-

rected Obes to the line of conduct which he has adopted on this occasion. Should this be the case and Portugal pursue violent measures the troops would be no small acquisition to the cause of the Prince.

I must however confess that I myself tho' a friend to it as well as many other cannot help thinking that this step has been rather hastily taken: but then again, we are unacquainted with the circumstances which may have rendered it necessary and perhaps indispensable, till they may be known it is better to suspend one's judgement.—I was aware that the Portuguese Party was going to attempt something in the shape of a counter representation and perhaps this was not all.

You will no doubt notice that the great Luso-Brazilian-Union, is still held up in view, but it can only be looked upon by those who know the country and the people as a word void of meaning.—Every thing is marching fast towards a complete separation and I am persuaded that separation will be the first act of our Congress on its instalation.

It is difficult to say when they come to form a Constitution, what share of power may be left in it to the Prince, but my impression is that he will be more contemplated than his father in Lisbon, and for my part, I cannot for a single moment admit the possibility of their forming themselves into a Federative Republic in imitation of their brethren of the North and South.

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 3, 1822.

SIR: The aspect which political things have taken in this country, became of late so interesting, that I have felt vexed at the want of direct opportunities to write to you and to give you an account of it. I avail myself therefore with pleasure of the safe conveyance of the ship *Oryza* for Baltimore to do it and to enclose here a Document, in my opinion of the most important nature, which you will find to be a Representation of the People of Rio de Janeiro thro' the organ of their chamber or city council addressed to the Prince Regent calling upon him in a strong and rather extraordinary manner to convocate immediately a General Brazilian Congress at this place. It is now hardly possible for any dispassionate observer of the proceedings which have taken place ever since the departure of the King to entertain yet any doubts about the intentions of the Prince of Brazils, and I cannot help adding that those who can observe his general and private conduct and character, must

discover that nature has highly gifted him with the qualities and even with the defects which the situation in which he has been placed seemed to call for. His answer to the representation gives the death blow to any visionary hopes which might still be lurking in the minds of the Portuguese Party. In it, he seems to have altogether forgotten the dependence from his father and the Cortes at Portugal which he yet might be supposed to feel: no mention no allusion whatsoever is made of them.—This is a step of his own:—and I believe it has entered into nobody's head to suppose that the omission is unintentional.—This young man has a natural energy of mind which makes me to say, that even his first Secretary of State, Jose Bonifacio de Andrade who apparently and very likely directs all his political conduct, would himself easily be removed if his popularity should be lost.—The Prince, very different from his father grants with the greatest readiness passports and leave of absence to all those who chuse to retire from this Country: He has never yet appeared desirous to retain about him any one who showed a desire to go. He appears to wish to take his strength in the public opinion and to find much of it within himself.—By these details I am trying to make you acquainted with the character of our Prince and yet I feel the difficulty of the undertaking, for on the other hand he may perhaps justly be accused of some want of liberality, but then again it is in mean things in themselves and in a man like him ought perhaps not to be noticed.—Upon the whole I feel that the destinies of the Brazils are placed in his hands—I ought to have said that the generality of the people feel so—They feel that without him this country would fall into a state of the greatest anarchy—They feel or think that he is disposed to give them a liberal Constitution, or to express myself better that he will receive one at the hands of the Congress.—In a word he possesses the highest degree of popularity.—What his views may be you will probably not be long without an opportunity of forming your own judgment, since I am informed (by Jose Bonifacio) that a diplomatick agent is about to proceed to the U. S.—As to the object of his mission I could only form conjectures, having purposely evaded the subject to avoid saying any thing that might unintentionally be construed into an idea that I had the slightest knowledge of the intentions of the Government of the U. S. respecting the new order of things which is here in contemplation. But to return to the subject of the Representation and to the answer of the Prince—The consent of the rest of the Provinces about the formation of a General Congress, which he says he must waite for, is of course a well concerted plan to give to this great act an air of popularity, dignity and ripeness: I believe I need not say to you that it will readily be embraced by all, in fact we have already here the answer of one of the district, to the Decree of the 15 february about sending deputies or procurators for the Council of State in which they say that having proceeded to the election, the Electors had come to the determination to postpone that nomination and to request his Royal Highness

to form in the lieu of it a General Brazilian Congress.—You will see by another Gazette of this place of the 16 of May that ten days previous to the Representation, the City Council had gone in a body to greet the Prince under the title of Prince Regent Constitutional and perpetual defensor of the Kingdom of Brazils which titles he was pleased to acknowledge and receive, but afterwards in the act of signing his consent, he put under his signature in his own hand the following words, *I do not accept the title of defensor of Brazils because the Brazils are capable of defending themselves.*

I must confess here that it would be the highest gratification to my feelings & an ample reward of the pains I have invariably taken to promote the public and private interest of America and of Americans, if it should please the Govern^t. of the U. S. to make me the bearer of a compliment to his Royal Highness on his new title, and I allow myself to believe that this choice would not be disagreeable to him.

I am [etc.].

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 13, 1822.*

SIR: By the ship *Oryza* which sailed eight days ago for Baltimore I had the honor to address you three packages, the last of them containing the very interesting Decree for the convocation of a Brazilian Congress at this place. This measure can hardly I think cause you any surprize after perusing the Documents which I had remitted to you some time before. Yet still it is highly interesting in as much as it brings, I conceive to an issue the great question pending between Portugal and this Country, breaks as it were the almost last link, which bound America to Europe, and may eventually be productive of great benefits to the trade of the U. States.—I cannot help observing also that it gives a high relief to the character of the Prince, who, as long as he live, will I believe rule over this rich and fertile part of the American Continent: and considering him as a young man whose personal disposition and abilities in the actual state of this Country may contribute to its advancement and prosperity, I cannot help wishing as much as I hope that he will be treated by the Congress with the dignity and respect which he deserves and that a sufficient share of power will be left him to enable him to follow the active and liberal bent of his mind.

The message of the President of the U. S. to Congress about the recognition of the Spanish American States and the report of the Commission which I received some days ago and immediately communicated to the Secretary of

State for foreign affairs Jose Bonifacio de Andrade appeared to give him particular satisfaction and I have always observed that a union and good understanding with the U. States was a matter very near his heart.

The Constellation arrived from Valparaíso three days ago and will probably sail again for Norfolk the day after to morrow, but as she will touch at some of the W. Indies Island, tho' I mean to write you again by her, I would not lose the chance of this vessel (the Cadmus) which is a fast sailor, to send you duplicate of the Documents that went by the Oryza.

The arrival of the Diana from Alexandria has afforded me the satisfaction to learn that my several letters had been received at Washington. Accept my thanks for the file of newspapers which I received by the same opportunity, and allow me to add that you will always find me ready to use for the interest of the U. States whatever personal means I may possess, or whatever confidence may be placed in me.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 14, 1822.

This convocation of the General Cortes of the Nation, contradictory as it were to the answer made by the Prince to the first Representation of the City Council, and determined upon without expecting the concurrence of the other Provinces, which ten days before appeared at least desirable, undoubtedly looks as a little too hasty and I think the necessity of it was not sufficiently made evident to the Public. At the time of its publication it came accompanied by the Proclamation of the Prince, which speaking of dangers led many well informed persons to think that some great design or conspiracy against the Prince and Jose Bonifacio had rendered it expedient and that these matters would soon after be disclosed. Such was also my own opinion strengthened by what I heard from every quarter. However up to this moment nothing has transpired that can in the slightest degree justify these surmises. They can now be said to have fallen to the ground and every one is left to form his own judgement upon the expediency of the measure and upon its own intrinsic merits.— You can therefore not be surprized that on that ground I should in writing to you be sparing of my own comments. But as being on the spot with an extensive Brazilian acquaintance, my impression, is that the Provinces will not on such an occasion stand upon etiquette and that their hearty concurrence followed up by the immediate nomination of

the deputies can almost with confidence be anticipated. As to Jose Bonifacio with whom I have had occasion to converse on the subject he does not entertain, or at least manifest the slightest doubt about the matter, and as if the Constitution of Brazils was actually made and the attributes of the Prince established upon its foundation, he has more than once said that the *Executive* was going to send Diplomatic Agents abroad.—In our last conversation I ventured to throw out a hint about the greater dignity which such a step might have, if taken after the opening of the Cortes, which I said would in my opinion insure the immediate and unconditional recognition of the Independence of Brazils on the part of the U. States and England—to this he answered, “My dear Sir, the Brazils are a Nation and will take its place as such without waiting for or soliciting the recognition of the other powers. Public Agents or Ministers will be sent to them. Those who shall receive them upon that footing and treat with us as Nation to Nation will continue to be admitted in our ports and their trade favored—Those who shall refuse to do so shall be excluded from them.—Such will be our plain and undeviating policy.” I of course concurred in its propriety and we spoke of other matters.

Tho’ perhaps this conversation has nothing in it worthy your attention I thought it correct to relate it to you.—To form reasonable conjectures about the turn which affairs may ultimately take in this Country it cannot be unimportant to know the character and turn of mind of Jose Bonifacio and particularly of the Prince Regent whose destinies are now so closely connected with it.—I have therefore in my former letters taken some pains to give you correct impressions of him and to resume them all in this I will say that in matters of state I believe him possessed of a more truly liberal way of thinking than any of his Brazilian or Portuguese countrymen that I have ever conversed with or heard of.—If after all, this opinion were not correct, he must be pronounced the most accomplished of all deceivers.

I was made to expect eight days ago for the next day an Official communication from this Government about these new measures; but neither I nor any other foreign agent have received any thing.

I am [etc.].

*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 8, 1822.

SIR: I have had occasion to write you often during the last two months in order to keep you informed of the political state of this country. My last communication was I believe under date of the 14th June² by the Constellation.—Since then nothing very interesting or really serious has happened unless we should consider in that light some disturbances which have occurred at S^t. Pauls (the cradle of *our* regeneration) where an old Portugeze, former Governor of the Province, John Charles Oyenhausen who thro' respect for his years has been appointed President of the Provisional Government, refused to obey an order or request sent him by the Prince for coming over to this place, and made an intrigue to support himself in this refusal, by which he succeeded in expelling from the Government and even it should appear from the Province itself, Martin Francisco de Andrade, (brother of Jose Bonifacio) who endeavored to support the orders of the Prince, and who arrived here three weeks ago with the first news of the event.— But notwithstanding I have often seen both brothers and have been assured by them that there was nothing serious in this affair, my mind misgives me that there is more in it than they are willing to acknowledge and as a friend to the good cause of union and tranquility, I could not help feeling exceedingly uneasy when I saw that the first blow to that cause proceeded from *that* quarter.—Another circumstance which gives me no pleasure is that since the arrival of Martin Francisco another Secretaryship of State has been created, as it were to make room for him, he having been appointed Secretary of the Treasury & the new Department called Secretary of Justice given to the former Treasurer, a most upright and respectable man.—These two or rather three principal Departments to wit, Interior, foreign relations and Finance, united in the same family, considering also the mode of Martin Francisco's translation to this Province, to say no worse of it, does not look well at the present moment, and tho' nobody has yet attempted to publish any thing against it, yet I know that such feeling exist in the judicious few.—The worst of all is perhaps that should this produce a change in the Ministry, I know of no men that could be placed in the lieu of these two. Let us therefore hope that nothing of the kind will happen.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 363.

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, August 8, 1822.

SIR: In writing to you again probably for the last time and informing you that Mr. C. Raguét the new appointed Consul to this place has not yet arrived but is daily expected. . . .

I now enclose here a Decree and a proclamation of his Royal H. the Prince Regent, which no doubt are of a serious import. War is declared in it, if not to Portugal at least to the Portuguese troops of the Lisbon Congress who may attempt a landing on this coast.—As you no doubt are well acquainted with what is passing in Lisbon you will be able to form a judgment about its consequences.—Our Congress will probably meet in the course of six weeks and there is undoubtedly a good deal of painful anxiety in the people here; but the measure is rather popular than otherwise. Our troubles are beginning and the government look silently with anxiety and yet not without confidence towards their brethren of the north.

I am [etc.].

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*José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, Secretary of State of Brazil, to P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro*²

[TRANSLATION]

RIO DE JANEIRO, August 14, 1822.

The Brazils which considers itself as free as the Kingdom of Portugal, having shaken the yoke with which the brother Kingdom pretended to enslave it and having proclaimed its Independence and required a Legislative Assembly within its own territory with the same attributions as that of Lisbon, save a due and decorous union with all the parts of the great Portuguese family and under one only Supreme head Dⁿ. João VI at present oppressed in Lisbon by a desorganizing faction and in a state of slavery which of itself would have been sufficient to prevent the Brazils from acknowledging any longer the Lisbonian Congress or the orders of its Executive which being forced upon it are nul by law (by right) and it being necessary in order to avoid the fall of the Monarchy and the confusion of

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² *Ibid.*, enclosed with Sartoris to Ad ms. August 31, 1822, which see below. pt. III.

inter reigns that all the authority and plenitude of action should be devolved on H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Brazils, heir to the throne and legitimate delegate of H. M., who in effect, being thereto required by the People has reassumed all the authority of his Regency in order to make of it a Constitutional use, all which is fully expressed in the Manifest which the same August Lord, has just addressed to the friendly powers; it behoves me by order of H. R. H. who wishes to give every publicity to the purity and justice of his proceedings, to transmit to you the same Manifest, in order that you should carry it to the knowledge of your Government, as well as some other Documents which are relative to it and will serve as illustrative of it.

H. R. H. hopes therefore that the Legitimate Governments and civilized nations, who value themselves as being liberal, will give a due weight to the sacred cause which the Brazils proclaims & which the same Prince protects and will defend in the interest of the whole Portuguese Nation.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer you the assurance of my particular consideration.

God keep you many years [etc.].

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*Translation of a letter written in French by P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, Secretary of State of Brazil*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, August 21, 1822.

SIR: I had the honor to receive the letter which Your Excellency deigned write to me on the 14th of this month remitting me the manifest addressed by H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Brazils to foreign nations, relative to the political attitude which he has thought proper to take as well as some other documents essentially allied to this. I feel flattered in finding myself yet the intermediary thro' which the Government of the United States will receive this interesting communication which I shall have an opportunity to forward in the course of three or four days. In the mean time, tho' I am not, nor could not be authorized to make any declaration on the part of the Government relative to this state of things, if it be permitted to judge from the late proceedings of Congress upon a message of the President respecting the former Spanish Colonies, and from the impression which these proceedings had upon the people, it can hardly be doubted that the news of the political Independence of Brazils will be received in the U. States with enthusiasm. The

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I, enclosed with Sartoris to Adams, August 31, 1822, which see below, pt. III, doc. 368.

nation which laid the first basis of the Independence of America cannot see with indifference the accession of this fine Kingdom to the great American family pact.

I am [etc.].

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, August 31, 1822.

SIR: The delay of Mr. Raguet's arrival, whom I daily expect with great impatience, procures me the honor of writing you again and of being the intermediary thro' which you will receive a manifest which H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Brazils has lately addressed to foreign nations. This was officially remitted to me thro' the Secretary of State Jose Bonifacio and accompanied by a letter. You will find here enclosed the translation of that letter as well as my answer² to it, in which I felt myself called upon to say something more than a mere acknowledgement of having received it. I hope you will not think that I have in it, either exceeded or fallen short of what it behoved me to say. Your approbation of this as well as of the whole tenor of my conduct in this Consulate at the moment of retiring from it would be gratifying to my feelings; and I cannot abstain from thinking and saying that if purity of intentions, unceasing and invariably effectual exertions give a title to such approbation, I have a right to expect it from your politeness and sense of justice.

I am [etc.].

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*P. Sartoris, Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, September 17, 1822.

SIR: I have the honor to remit you enclosed a copy of my last respects of the 31 of August,³ to which I add a copy of the two manifests alluded to in that letter. Mr. Raguet arrived here ten days ago & thro' some trifling exertions on my part, has this day received H. R. Highness' pleasure to admit him as Consul of the U. S. and leave to enter upon the duties of his office without waiting for a regular Exequator. I shall therefore tomorrow give

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above. pt. III. docs. 366 and 367. under dates August 14 and 21, 1822.

up to him the Documents Books & Seal of this Consulate and will render him besides every assistance in my power to save him the trouble of apprenticeship.

He has just informed me that it still devolved upon me to inform you of our political situation, which I proceed to do as well as I am able.

I informed you a couple of months ago of the disturbances which had taken place in S^t. Paul the first seat of our Independence. These disturbances which were stated to be trifling had however taken so serious a turn, that the Prince resolved upon going there (a distance of about 400 miles in bad road &c) He returned on Saturday last and I am assured has succeeded in settling every thing in a satisfactory manner.—His return here has however been marked by the arrestation of seven individuals who were very violent in their attachment to the Portuguese Party, and their freedom of language. It is said that they were the heads of a conspiracy against the Brazilian Cause. Be this as it may their imprisonment was perhaps in the actual state of things necessary; they had been intimated to leave the Country some time ago, and not complying with this request, they have been sent to the Fort of S^{ta} Cruz whence they will simply be embarked for Portugal by the first vessel.

The Prince on his appearance at the play house the day after his arrival was received by an immense number of people with the greatest enthusiasm, he was greeted several times with the title of King Peter the first &c and wore on his left arm a green cocade inclosed in a triangle with the device of Independence or death.—Most of the people had procured on that night similar cocades; the military and other public officers had taken out of their hats the Portuguese cocade and to day not one is to be seen;—the hat therefore is without cocade and the green knot is worn on the left arm.—The Prince says that the Congress will determine about the Brazilian cocade and flag and has only adopted the green knot as a signal of *hope* for their speedy installation.

I need I suppose make no comments on all this and have only to request you will forgive this lame account given in great hurry & without method.

By another vessel going in a few days, I shall have the honor to write you again for the last time & perhaps with some further news for we are evidently not at this moment in a very settled state.

I am [etc.].

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *September 17, 1822.*

My residence here has been of too short a duration, to have enabled me to make any communication to you upon the subject of the political state of this Country. I can only say, that the enthusiasm with which the motto of "Independence or Death" promulgated on the 15th Inst. has been apparently received, and the general striking of the Portuguese cockade on the same day, and the substitution of a green favour worn on the left arm, in imitation of an example set by The Prince, seem to indicate a determined resolution to separate Brazil from the Mother Country. Mr. Sartoris has intimated to me his intention of writing to you by this opportunity.

With great respect I have the honour [etc.].

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*P. Sartoris, ex-Acting Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, *September 23, 1822.*

SIR: I had the honor to write you eight [six?] days ago² by the Brig Eliza Reilly, and having since made delivery to Mr. Raguet of the Consulate I had under my charge, I would not now presume to take up any of your time if I were not pressed to do so by that same Gentleman who says he does not feel yet fully competent to inform you of the political state of this Country at this day.—On my part I feel equally diffident on the subject and having had no intercourse with the Secretaries of State since I presented Mr. Raguet, I can only give you such news as you might expect from any other private individual. You will therefore have the goodness to consider this in no other light than that of a private letter.

My last informed you of the return of H. R. H. from his journey to S. Paul after settling apparently every thing in that Province to his perfect satisfaction.—The enthusiasm which this return was expected to produce (he being much beloved) among the people and soldiery, was it appears calculated upon for the purpose of propelling a little faster the great Brazilian Cause that is the Cause of Independence of this Empire from the Kingdom of Portugal:—

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 260, his letter of September 17, which is doubtless the one he had

The Documents you will find contained in a sheet under this cover will show you the rapidity of our motion.—The little knowledge I possess of the character of this Nation and of the general state of the Country lead me to wish perhaps more than I expect that every thing may go on without stoppage. I think it may safely be asserted that the mass of the people are not yet sufficiently enlightened for the establishment of a system of Government like ours. They could not reach a settled state under such a system without commotions the result of which could not well be foreseen and if as I think they may expect a liberal spirit and policy under this Prince it is perhaps upon the whole better that things should have taken this decisive turn before the meeting of our wise men (I mean the Cortes) who probably will now give way to it without opposition. We must not forget that $\frac{3}{4}$ if not $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of the population of Brazils are Blacks who must both be watched and kept in awe by an army, unanimity and the appearance of respect on all sides.—The only point in which I find some difficulty is to know now whether the rest of the Provinces will be as loyal and unanimous as this. They have no doubt been prepared for it,—but then they are so far from the *Sun*, that its light or heat cannot be expected to have so sudden or so certain an influence upon them as upon us.

Therefore notwithstanding the greatest enthousiasm prevails here and every thing and every body is preparing for festivity and coronation for the 12th of next month, I still do entertain some doubts of its being carried into execution on that day.—Perhaps the Prince himself will assume the merit of repulsing the Crown till it be presented to him by the Congress itself. Then indeed every thing may be expected to go right and the postponement could not be a long one since it is expected that a quorum (51) will be able to meet within less than two months from this day.

In the mean time General Madeiro at Bahia is strengthened by fresh troops from Lisbon and will it is expected be able to detach from the next expedition a couple of strong men of war to blockade this Port. I have been informed by a person who left him eleven days ago that such was his intention.

I am [etc.].

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, October 1, 1822.

SIR: I have advised you by three opportunities of my arrival here on the 8th Ult. and of my being admitted to the performance of the Consular duties on the 17th. As Mr. Saratoris has informed me that his letter² to you by

the Blucher which sailed hence for Baltimore on the 27th Ult. was the last he should address to you as U. S. Consular Agent here, I shall now commence the discharge of the duty which I perceive by the Consular instructions devolves upon me, of communicating such political and commercial intelligence as I may think interesting to the United States. Taking it for granted that Mr. Sartoris has kept you advised of events up to the period of my arrival, I shall begin my statement at that date.

On the 14th of September The Prince Regent, after an absence of a month, returned from a visit to the Province of St' Paul's whither he had gone to quell some disturbances, an undertaking, in which, it is said, he succeeded. On the 15th he appeared at the theatre, without the Portuguese cockade, and bearing on his left arm, a green knot placed within a golden angle, upon which was inscribed the motto "Independence or Death." On the 16th the Portuguese cockade entirely disappeared, and the knot and motto were introduced as fast as they could be fabricated, and at this time there is scarcely a white man to be seen in the streets, foreigners excepted, who has not one or both.

On the 21st a decree was issued by The Prince, setting forth, that there were probably yet in Brazil some persons disaffected to the great cause of Her political Independence, who, through extreme ignorance, or blind fanaticism, might spread rumours injurious to the Union and tranquillity of all good Brazilians, and in consequence thereof ordering, that all who were not disposed to embrace the actual system of Brazil, should leave the place of their actual residence, within thirty days, and *the Kingdom* within two months if they resided in the maritime cities, and within four months if they inhabited the central cities, from the date of the publication of the decree in their respective Provinces. A general amnesty for all past opinions was announced, excepting from it, those who had been arrested and were to be proceeded against, of whom it is said there were seven persons apprehended at Rio, within the week preceding the date of this decree. Every European Portuguese, or Brazilian who was resolved to defend the country, was invited to wear the green knot and the motto, and the penalties due to High Treason, were denounced against all who should by word or writing, attack "the sacred cause of Brazil."

On the same day a proclamation was issued by "The Command" of Rio, (which is the municipal authority, or City Council, and which, in consequence of there being no Provincial Government established for the Province of Rio de Janeiro, under the former system, has assumed since January last, the powers exercised by the other Provincial Governments,) declaring, that as it appeared to be the unanimous wish of the People that the Prince Regent should be proclaimed "Constitutional Emperour of Brazil," it was desirable, that so important a measure should not be *precipitately* taken, lest it might be viewed as originating with a faction; and announcing, that the necessary

steps would be taken, for the performance of that solemn ceremony on the 12th day of October, the birth day of The Prince, not only in the City of Janeiro, but in all the other cities of the Province.

On the same day two decrees were issued establishing the *green and white* cockade, the national banner and the mercantile flag. The printed descriptions of these are said to be incorrect, and we must wait for a correct edition before a proper description can be made.

On the 22^d of September the names of the eight deputies chosen for the Electoral college, to represent this Province in "The General Assembly of Brazil", were solemnly announced in one of the Halls of The Marquis of Saint Bento, after which the deputies moved in procession attended by a vast concourse of citizens, to the Palace square, and every demonstration of joy, usual upon great occasions such as fire works, illumination &c, was exhibited.

On the 28th the erection of triumphal arches for the 12th of October commenced, and every preparation is making for the contemplated ceremony on that day, which will complete the 24th or 25th year of The Prince's age. In the mean time every thing moved on with tranquillity, without commotions, riots or outrages, until yesterday the 30th, when some 600 Portuguese troops which had been landed here in March last, voluntarily remained in Brazil, expressed their dissatisfaction, and demanded their passports to return to Europe. This demand was complied with, and the applicants to the number of 60 (some say more) were publicly flogged on one of the City squares, in the presence of the grades, of a large body of Militia and volunteers, and of The Prince and of his Ministers. At 9 o'clock last night all commotion had ceased, the disaffected soldiers were ordered to prison, after being, it is said, *generally* sentenced to hard labour in chains.

Intelligence from Portugal to the 10th August, confirms the previously received of the intention of the Cortes to embark a militia for Bahia, where General Madeira with a Portuguese force of 4000 men still maintains his ground, although it is said, that the Brazilian army has advanced so near to that City, as to cut off from it, many necessary supplies. Every preparation is making here for the defence of the Country, by organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia and volunteers, and by garrisoning the fortifications. On the 29th of Sept. a squadron consisting of one frigate, two corvettes and a brig which for some weeks cruizing on the northern coast of Brazil, returned to port, after a passage of 13 days from Pernambuco. This squadron was despatched in pursuit of a Portuguese squadron, which it fell in with at Bahia, but the crew being principally Portuguese, impressed into service, had refused to fight. A trial is now going on against *the men* some of whom it is thought, will be executed.

Such are the political events of which I have to advise you up to this period. As additional ones occur, I shall communicate them.

Enclosed I transmit to you copy of a letter received by me on the 26th Ult. from Woodbridge Odlin Esq. Consul of The United States at St. Salvador, accompanied by a communication addressed to him by the American merchants and other citizens of The United States residing there, in which they make known their alarm at the danger which seems to threaten their persons and property, and express a desire that the United States would employ one or more of their publick ships on this station. This communication anticipated my intention of making to you the suggestion, that in the existing state of this country, the presence of an American ship of war or two, would be attended with the best effects. There are now in this port six French national ships, and British vessels are always kept in this quarter to protect the persons and property of their respective citizens, in case of unforeseen disturbances.

As far as I have been able to ascertain this Government is desirous of cultivating the most friendly relations with the United States. Every attention has been shewn to me, which I had any reason to expect, in my intercourse with the Secretary of State, who made me a personal visit, and invited me to a free communication with him. Availing myself of this offer, I addressed to him a note under date of 25th Ult. to which on the 28th I received a reply, the substance of which I shall communicate without delay to the merchants of the United States through the gazettes. Of both these papers you will find copies enclosed &c. By the reply of the Secretary you will perceive, that it is the intention of this Government to send an agent to The United States. This, I had previously been informed by Mr. Bonifacio would take place soon after the 12th of this month.

Amongst the rumours of the day, there are some, which perhaps may be worth communicating and should they prove to be unfounded, no evil can result from their being related to you. It is said, that after the 12th of October, or after the meeting of "The General Assembly" which is expected to take place in December or January, this Government will

Issue Letters of Marque and Reprisal against the ships and property of Portugal, in expectation of which measure, *vessels are already preparing.*

Issue a decree tolerating all religions, and particularly inviting the Jews to return to Brazil—

Provide for the immediate or gradual abolition of the slave trade.—

Remove the discriminating duties which now exist in favour of Great Britain, allow the importation in foreign vessels of China and India goods, which could heretofore only be introduced in Portuguese bottoms, and facilitate the transaction of business at the custom house by a reform.

It is also reported, that the Prince has invited Lord Cochrane to command of the Navy of Brazil, and that strong invitations will be sent out to *foreign seamen*, to engage in the Brazilian Navy, which finds itself destitute of native officers and men. It is thought that the Emperor of Austria will be the first to acknowledge the Independence of Brazil, and the father of the Princess. New coinage is spoken of, which will probably be the *milrea* of the weight of our dollar, so as to make the denomination correspond in hard money to the depreciated currency of bank paper and copper.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, October 19, 1822

SIR: My last communication to you was of the First instant² per the ship *Philadelphia*, bound to Philadelphia, a duplicate of which, *without* the alterations referred to therein, you will find herewith enclosed. The occurrences of which I have to advise you, subsequent to that date, are the following.

On the 10th Inst. a general meeting of the inhabitants of this City, in conjunction with the Camara was held, in pursuance of a public invitation previously given by that body, for the purpose of consulting upon matters connected with the projected acclamation of The Prince Regent as "Constitutional Emperour of Brazil." The proceedings of this meeting were officially published in detail, and I herewith transmit you a printed copy thereof.

In pursuance of the arrangements previously made, The Prince Regent was on the 12 Inst. solemnly proclaimed "Constitutional Emperour of Brazil," apparently to the great satisfaction of the People and troops. The proceedings on this day, together with the "act of acclamation", the address delivered to him on the part of the People and his answer to the same, have been published, I also enclose you a copy thereof. I also forward to you a copy of the decree establishing the national coat of arms, and flag of Brazil.

Every thing here remains tranquil. The Emperour and Empress are present at all times, day or night, at the theatre or in the streets, and are greeted wherever they go, in a manner which indicates a strong attachment to the persons and to the Brazilian cause.

Some unexpected consular duties having devolved upon me just before the departure of this vessel, will oblige me to defer until another occasion any additional matter I was preparing to communicate, and in the mean

I have the honour [etc.]

*Antonio Manuel Correa da Camara, Brazilian representative in Buenos Aires, to John M. Forbes, Special Agent of the United States at Buenos Aires*¹

[TRANSLATION]

BUENOS AIRES, *November 21, 1822.*

SIR: Being authorised by the Court of Brazil to give the accustomed publicity to the Installation of Brazil to the Rank of Empire, it is my duty to transmit to you this agreeable and important news assuring you that on the twelfth day of October last, The Prince Regent, Hereditary Defender of the Monarchy has been solemnly proclaimed by the general wish and consent of the Nation in the Capital of Rio de Janeiro, under the Title of Peter the First, Constitutional Emperor of the Empire of Brazil.

I have the honor to enclose in this Note correct copies of the Decrees which preceded this equally glorious and memorable event, and in Virtue of which the National cockade and flag have been changed.

There can be no doubt, Sir, that the United States, the father of Independence in America, will applaud the happy accession to this same Independence by a friendly and fraternal people. It is then deeply convinced of this truth, that I have the honour to present to you, Sir, the two Manifests of His Imperial Majesty, while only Prince Regent, to his People and to all friendly Nations and Governments.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*Condly Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *November 25, 1822.*

On the 12th Inst. intelligence reached here of the arrival on the 2d or thereabouts at Bahia, of a squadron from Portugal, consisting of one 74, two frigates and six transports carrying about 1300 men. This force has strengthened the power of Madeira the Portuguese commander there, who was supposed to have had from 3 to 4000 men before, and he will probably be able to maintain his position there for a long time. This Government is exceedingly destitute of means to carry on a war in a distant province, from which it is separated by almost impassable roads, The treasury of this capital is *the*

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Buenos Aires, II, enclosed with a dispatch of January 3, 1823, from Forbes, the special agent of the United States at that Capital. Presumably Correa de Camara was the Brazilian representative at the same place.

² MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

treasury of the province of Rio de Janeiro, and I am credibly informed, one dollar has yet been contributed by any of the Provinces to the fund. Those of the interior, are so secure in their retirement, and so their movements, having also it is believed, some distrust of the po signs of those now in power, that I doubt if much can be expected fr Brazil, before she can reach the repose of Independence, must enco share of the calamities, which are inseparable from revolutions. those who would have struggled hard in a contest, the successful which, would have established their political freedom, will now re engage in a cause, which from the late transactions, seems to prom little more than a change from one species of despotism to another.

In the mean time, with the enemy at the gates, and with a blocka port threatened, the rulers of the nation are busily employed in am people with preparations for the coronation which is to take place a day, perhaps on the 8th of January. But not a word is said of the co oath, which was spoken of at the town meeting on the 10th of Octob is not probable that any will be taken. As a contract between a and his subjects, the acclamation of the Emperour presents this c spect. In the Province of Rio de Janeiro, he was proclaimed witho tions, and no oath was taken on either side— In the other provi people swore fealty, but the acclamation was conditional that the E should *previously* take an oath, that he would swear to the new Con

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, December 7

SIR: My last official communication to you was of Nov. 25,² of duplicate has also been transmitted. Since that date, the only event, of which I have to advise you is the coronation of the Emperor took place here on the First Inst. somewhat unexpectedly. The ori assigned was the 24th of November. It was afterwards fixed for th December, and as that day approached, more distant periods were r the various reports, which were circulated. The proceedings on this may collect, from three publications, which I enclose to you, viz. T

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 375.

monial—The Gazette Extraordinary of 3d Inst. and The Espelho of same date.

Since the battle which took place at Bahia, on 7th Nov. between the Brazilians and Portuguese, in which the latter were discomfited, no accounts of military movements have been received. Our last dates are to 26 Ult.

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*Woodbridge Odlin, United States Consul at San Salvador (Bahia), to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SAN SALVADOR, December 8, 1822.

SIR: My last report of the 11 Ultimo I had the Honour of forwarding you, was by the Brig Curlew Capt Wills via Boston, Since then the army continue skirmishing and the Brizilians approach nearer the City—we have it not in our power to ascertain the number lives lost there being no official Statement made known—the Hospitals have very considerable number of the wounded in them,—there being so many different Reports any statement would probably be Erroneous. I enclose you a Copy of two Communications—one from the Heads of the Brazilian Government of this province and the other from their General who commands the Brazilian Army outside this City—a Negro man left at my office at different times—when he came with a letter from the General he left one at my office for the British Consul—I immediately made known to the Americans in this port the contents of Such part as was Interesting to them in the General Letter—the English Consul—Very soon after receiving his Communication called on General Madeira as I understood and made known to him the contents of said communication—which I considered improper for me to do without being requested by General Madeira. The British Consul also Called a meeting of the English Merchants in this port—they are now embarking their Property on board Vessels to remain until the result is known between the contending Armys—I did not receive the General Communication until 4 days after it was dated. Since then I have understood the french Consul has Rec'd a Similar one from the General—the British have a frigate in port under command of Commodore Hardy the same Gentleman who commanded on our Coast the late war, & he has also a Sloop of War a Waiting to know the result The french have also a frigate—the portuguese have a 74 Gun Ship a new frigate & Sloop of War & some armed merchant vessels in Government Service, flour has been Very abundant here & the price about 8 to 9 milreis a barrel—a Vessel has been brought in under the new Flag—bound to pernambuco—I have not

¹ MS. Consular Letters, St. Salvador, Brazil, II.

understood what the Government intend to do with her. It is rep she will be condemned—It is the first under the Brazilian flag made its appearance here that I have heard of—

Very respectfully [etc.].

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*Condy Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, *March*

SIR: I last had the honour of addressing you on the First of February, which day nothing very material has occurred.

My anticipations relative to the employment of Mr. Da Cruz, have not been realized, as despatches have been lately addressed to him by the Emperor. This gentleman owes the distinction lately conferred upon him by the Emperor, to a curious incident. The American papers in Brazil, on account of the persons who attended the funeral of Manuel De Torres, a Minister from Colombia, mentioned the Representative or Minister for independent Brazil. This excited immediate enquiry, and I was apprehensive of an explanation, which I readily gave: This annunciation in the papers produced the impression, that M Da Cruz, was a man of considerable influence in the United States, and attracted towards him, the eyes of the Government, which if it had any knowledge of him before, could only have known him as the agent of the short lived Republick of Pernambuco, and as the author of political opinions directly at variance with those of the present Ministry.

From Pernambuco we learn that the place is in a very unsettled state, and that the authorities have refused to receive the new Governor sent by the Emperor, and to execute the decree confiscating Portuguese property. I am also informed by an American who was lately at the headquarters of the general Labattut near Bahia, that when some reinforcements were sent from Pernambuco, he was given to understand, that they were not considered as sent for the purpose of assisting to extirpate the Portuguese from Brasil, and amounting to no pledge to stand by the existing Government. It is also thought that the besieging army, after they shall have succeeded in taking Bahia, will be found to advance sentiments towards the Portuguese very different from those, which have been professed, whilst the Emperor had need of his money, arms and troops, and in fact unless the doctrines and principles of "The Holy Alliance," which have been to a certain extent maintained here, be abandoned, it will require no prophet to foretell the result. Portugal, Brasil is lost to her *irrevocably*, and all efforts to regain it are vain.

be unavailing, but as to the idea that the Northern Provinces of this vast territory which by the operation of winds at certain seasons are more distant from Rio de Janeiro, than is *Europe*, can remain subject to a Government with the seat of which there can be scarcely any intercourse, the thing is preposterous, and it only requires perhaps the open declaration of the Independence of one Province, to induce most of the others at both extremes, to imitate the example. Even *the people* of the neighbouring provinces of St. Paul, Minas, and Rio Grande, are said in reality to be *cold* towards the present system, and it really excites the astonishment of all foreigners, to see within a few months under the same Ministry, so entire a change in the views and policy of the Government.

I stated to you in my last, that it was *reported*, that the General Assembly would meet on the 20th February. As that day approached the 26th was named as a more *appropriate* one, being the anniversary of that upon which the Prince swore to support the *Portuguese* Constitution. The time however drew near without the exhibition of those preparations which would give the public an assurance that their hopes were about to be realized, and some people were so devoid of faith, that they asserted they "did not believe there would be any Cortes." This indiscreet language excited the anger of certain persons, and on the 19th of the month, an anonymous publication, circulated with the "Diario do Governo," and evidently proceeding from a high source, denounced those disturbers of the public tranquillity for attempting to excite doubts respecting the *Constitutionality* of the Emperour. Finding it dangerous to say, that there would be *no* assembly, these *agitateurs* pursued an opposite course, and industriously circulated the report, that the Cortes would actually meet on the 7th of March, the anniversary of the arrival of The Royal Family in Brasil. In this assertion too, they were countenanced by the Public authorities, who began to lay a platform from the Congress hall to the Chapel, for the Deputies to walk upon, as illustrative perhaps of the intended union there ought to be, between *Church* and *State*. But unluckily the patience of the people was doomed to a further trial. It was found that a quorum could not be mustered. The Camara of Rio de Janeiro, had been ordered by the *Emperour* on the 20 Feb to choose two deputies in the place of Ledo and some other who was too old and infirm to serve. On the 22d the Camara replied, that they had doubts about their power to do it, but would immediately convene the electors, a course which the Emperour on the same day approved, and the election held on the 2d Inst. resulted in the choice of Martin Francisco Andrada, *Secretary of the Treasury*, and another person, as I am informed, connected with one of the departments. But even this step would not produce the requisite number, for it appears, that the Provisionary Government of St. Paul's, has returned as Deputies four individuals who had not the highest number of votes, in consequence of which His Majesty has called them to a severe account, by a decree which appeared on the 4th

Inst. Thus, what with one delay and another the seventh of March suffered to pass by unnoticed, and as nothing but *great* days, such as the *Fourth of July* (of which the annals of Brasil are as full, as the people of England and Peru, say, *their country* is of *Washingtons*) are appropriate to great occasions, I suppose the meeting of the Cortes will be fixed *by the public taste* on the 26th of April, or the 13 of May, the anniversaries of the days respectively upon which the King left Brasil, and the Prince was proclaimed Defender. Jose Bonifacio has been elected a Deputy for St. Paulo, but as he cannot *appear* to hold two publick trusts at a time, it is probable he will take his seat in the Cortes, and resign his office of Secretary of State in favour of somebody who might need a little help. Antonio Carlos, the third brother of the Andrada family, who was one of the promoters of the Revolution at Pernambuco in 1817, is also, it is said, a Deputy elected for St. Paulo's. Some persons here have a *notion*, that the session of the Cortes will be a short one, inasmuch as the Ministry with the view of abridging their labours, have as they suppose, already prepared the Constitution, and that His Majesty will be willing to *give* to His subjects, whereby an *absolute* Government is reserved to the Monarch, and a senate or house of Peers to be chosen by the King indirectly by His influence, is to be created. These matters however are not only caught in *whispers*.

In the early part of the month of February, a number, from ten to twelve, of highly respectable inhabitants were arrested and imprisoned. This was a pure excited considerable sensation for a time. The parties were all *sons*, and all that I have heard of the charges preferred against them is, that they had in some way denounced one *Padre* Sampayo, editor of the *Union* newspaper, and a member of their fraternity, for his *ultra*—devotion to the cause of one, who had broken up their lodge, and persecuted as a schismatic, a body of which he was himself the Master, and his Prime Minister a member.

I have reason to think that the project of dismissing the foreign Ministers has been abandoned.

On the first of February or thereabouts an Ex-Governour and a Bishop, who had returned from the Portuguese Cortes from Goa in India, who stopped here on their way to Lisbon, were imprisoned, in consequence, it is said of their having endeavoured to excite the people there to take part with Portugal against Brasil, as was much desired by this Government.

It is said, that the Count De Palma has been named Minister to the Emperor of Vienna, for which City he will shortly set out, and that he will be *charged* to announce the birth on the 17th of february of the Princess, who was baptised on the 24th, not with the name of all the Princesses of the Provinces of Brasil, as it is said was first intended, but with the names of Paula, Marianna, Joanna, Carlota, Faustina, Mathias, Francisca, and

On the 15th of February, a statement of the affairs of the Bank of Brasil was published, by which it appears, that the Government *old and new*, owes to it, about six millions of milreas. A new President has been lately elected, which has excited some distrust amongst the merchants, who think that the change has been brought about by Governmental intrigue in order to have access to the coffers of the bank, which commenced with a capital of 2,400,000 milreas, and long ago was considered as having sunk a great portion of it, by bad and doubtful debts.

The Brig Dick arrived here on 23d Ult. left the ship Franklin at Valparaiso all well on 3d of January. The Captain states, that by the earthquake on 28 Nov. all the houses were more or less injured, and half of them besides all the churches were thrown down. Mr. Hogan and family escaped, but about 250 to 300 persons perished. Symptoms of a revolution in Chili had been exhibited, and the province of Coquimbo, it is said, had declared its Independence.

Our latest news from Montevideo is to 1 Feb. at which time the place was declared to be in a state of seige and blockade by General Lecor, whose advanced posts were within 3 or 4 leagues of the town. From Bahia we have accounts to 17 Ult—There had been on the 15th, an affair of posts in which the Brasileans succeeded in taking two positions in the suburbs. A general attack was expected on the 19th that being the anniversary of Maderia's taking possession of the town.

It is understood, that the invitation given to Lord Cochrane to take command of the Brasilean navy has been recalled—*Lisboa*, the banished Editor of the *Correio* was so silly as to return here from Buenos Ayres on the 17th Ult. to settle his affairs as it is reported. He was immediately arrested and lodged in one of the forts, and it is thought, will be sent to Portugal.

The *Diario do Governo* of 24th January contained the first *recantation* by a Provincial Camara, of the clause in the acclamation of The Emperour, which required a *previous oath*. The paper has since been full of them, and I will take an early occasion to explain to you the progress of that most extraordinary measure.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, May 12, 1823.

SIR: My last communication was of the 9th of April. On the 12th of that month, the frigate *Nitherchy*, Capt. Taylor, and on the 17th, the

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

schooners Leopoldina and Catharena with the fire ship Luiza, supposed to join the squadron of Lord Cochrane. From *him* no news yet been heard since his departure, but the arrival of a re-inforced Lisbon at Bahia, sometime in April, is known here.

A battle is reported to have taken place near Monte Video about the 10th of March, between some of General Lecor's troops and the Montevideans, in which the former were repulsed, and the General narrowly escaped taken prisoner. A letter from Buenos Ayres of 4th April, our latest date, says, "Sante Fe and Entre Rios openly, and Bueynos Ayres tacitly espoused the cause of the Monte Videans, and the Brasileans will do the hard work. Doctor Joze Augustin Gomez, who has been to Paris on a diplomatic character, visits your Court as Envoy from this Government. His object is supposed to be to treat for the evacuation of the Banda Oriental, perhaps he may wish to meet the deputies from Spain." Doctor Gomez has not yet arrived here, but is daily to be expected. The deputies from Montevideo sailed hence for Bueynos Ayres on the 8th of April. One of them Doctor Luiz Perreira, is a respectable intelligent liberal minded man, who has resided here as an agent of Spain for some time. The other gentleman, who lately from Europe to join his colleague here. The object of their mission is to adjust matters between Spain and Bueynos Ayres, and I should judge from the character and disposition of Mr. Perreira, whom I personally know, and have introduced to Mr. Forbes that an accommodation will grow out of this measure. From Bueynos Ayres we learn, that an attempt at Revolution was made in the night of the 19th of March by a party of upwards of 200 persons, who entered the City with hostile intentions, but were speedily repulsed by the Government party; and from Chili we learn, that on the 28th of February, O'Higgins was compelled to resign.

Affairs at Pernambuco, are said to have been tranquil at the date of our last advices, of about the 16 of April, but it appears from various publications that there exists in that City, a strong Republican spirit, which it is difficult to suppress. By the official decrees of the Government, there appears a manifest discontentment in various parts of the Empire, North, South and West. Quarrels and contests for power, between the civil and military authorities—disputes, jealousies & rivalries, between the Juntas and local Governments of Provinces, cities and towns, for the supremacy and even jurisdiction—complaints about the unfairness of elections & of the distribution of power by corporations and officers civil and military—with the influence of factious individuals, are perpetually occurring, and I cannot help thinking that the Government has its hands full. Some of the decrees admit that the orders of the Emperour have been disobeyed, and it is well known that Pernambuco has refused to interdict the intercourse with Bahia, and to institute legal process, against the persons charged with non-adherence to the cause of *the Emperour*.

The question of issuing Letters of Marque and Reprisal has not yet been again stirred, and probably will not soon be—The Brazilian Frigate *Caroline*, commanded by a very respectable Englishman, named Thompson, lately arrived from London, sailed this morning, and two other small vessels are preparing to follow, *all* bound, as we suppose, to Bahia.

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 4, 1823.*

SIR: My last was of 12th of May,² in duplicate, as all my communications to your Department have been.

Intelligence to the 11th of May from Bahia, states, that there had been some shots exchanged between the Portuguese and Brazilian Squadrons off that port, but that no general action had taken place. Lord Cochrane's plan will probably be to avoid a battle, until his crews become better disciplined, and in the mean time, to occupy himself in intercepting vessels bound into port with provisions, which have become so scarce and dear, that it is difficult to conceive, how *Madeira* can hold out much longer. The present moment is one of peculiar interest in this City, but so confident is the Government of the early fall of Bahia, that addresses to the inhabitants of the two Provinces adjoining Cisplatina, have been already issued by the Emperour, promising them the assistance of the navy, in expelling the Europeans from *Monte video*, and an intimation has been given in the "*Diario do Governo*," that the Buenos Ayrean agent expected here to treat for the surrender of the *Banda Oriental* will be sent away in 24 hours after his arrival. I am informed, that he had not sailed for this port at the date of the last advices. . . .

A curious circumstance occurred here lately, which would seem to indicate that the ligatures which once bound Brasil to Portugal, have not yet all been cut asunder. The 25th of April, the birthday of The Queen of Portugal, was celebrated here by salutes, the display of flags, and the congratulations at Court customary upon a gala day. This matter was regarded as an expression of filial respect on the part of The Emperour, but when the birthday of *the enemy King* came round on the 13th of May, a majority of the members of the Cortes, convinced no doubt of the impropriety of solemnizing it by any

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 379.

act of theirs, did not think proper to omit their session of that day. This step excited the displeasure of the Monarch, to such a degree, that he wrote a note to the hall on the morning of that day, expressing his wish, that in honour of his father, the Cortes would adjourn and attend the Court. However, to guard against the risk of a non-acquiescence, kind nature contrived it, that several of the ministerial party fell suddenly sick, leaving 43 who could attend, which was eight short of a quorum, and as people who get sick in this climate, are not restored to health in a minute, the session also passed without a quorum, as did also *the next*, upon which, waiting for two deficient members, one of the Deputies, who had become lame, at the slow progress of the convalescence of the absentees expressed, on hearing of the audience, some sentiments indicative of a belief, that the King was in agitation to stop the wheels of the new government. On the 23d however, fifty one members appeared in their seats, and as there were only 53 on the spot at that time, it was very *wisely* resolved, in order to prevent the absence of so small a number might not defeat the formation of the Cortes, that henceforth *forty six* should be the quorum of the body, thus preventing, exhibiting an error of a more dangerous tendency than the one which was conducive to it. The King's birthday was celebrated with great pomp and parade, the firing of salutes, morning noon and night, and various demonstrations of joy, and what is remarkable is, that this very day was the anniversary of that upon which the Prince was invested with the title of "Perpetual Defender", and yet in the notice of the festivities of the day, published in the Government paper, the whole were ascribed to the King, and not the least mention was made, of the latter event. . . .

P. S. June 7. Since the date of the foregoing, we have news from the 23d Ult. at which time, the Portuguese squadron had returned into the port, was expected to go out again in a few days. Notwithstanding the return of the port, several vessels with live stock and provisions had got on shore. It is said, that His Majesty begins to express dissatisfaction, at the arrangements of Lord Cochrane.

*Condty Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *September 10*

It is beyond all dispute, that for some days here in July and August, a project of a *reunion* with Portugal was entertained by many persons.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

in the Governmt., and there were strong reasons to fear, that the Emperour who is almost entirely surrounded by Europeans, might be induced, in consequence of "not often hearing the truth," and flattered by his late restoration in Portugal to the right of legitimate heir to the crown of the *United Kingdom* to favour the scheme. All distrust however upon that subject, I think, will now disappear. A proclamation issued in Pernambuco on 22 July, rejecting the overtures lately made to the Provisional Government of that Province, by the new absolute ministry of Portugal has been approved by an Imperial decree published on 4 Inst. in which the Independence of Brasil is fully adhered to. In addition to this, the *Seventh* of the present month, (the anniversary of the day, upon which in the province of St. Paul, the Independence of the country was last year proclaimed) was celebrated with all the parade, military, civil and religious, appropriate to so important a festival. I have no doubt that this day was selected in order to settle the publick mind and to avoid the effects of a delay until the 12th of October, the anniversary of the acclamation of the Emperour, which I have always thought was the true day of the declaration of Independence, inasmuch as all preceding publick acts had some commixture with the old leaven, and even Jose Bonifacio, did not cease before that day, to entitle himself, "of the Council of His Most Faithful Majesty." This decided stand taken by the Emperour, will be followed by a manifesto from the Cortes, who, sensible of the impolitic and erroneous ground used here as the cause of the separation, viz. the measures of "the pestiferous," and, "demagogical" Cortes of Lisbon, now find it necessary to declare for the first time, that Brasil has separated from Portugal, because of right she ought to be independent. It is probable that the late revolution in Portugal, was brought about in a great measure, by the delusive expectation, that the overthrow of the Cortes, against which so much abuse had been levelled from this quarter, would bring back the colony, and when the people discover their mistake, they may perhaps be more exasperated against the usurpers of their rights, than they were before. A frigate is reported to have sailed from Lisbon for Rio, with Commissioners, but they will hardly be permitted to land, if they come to propose a reunion. Mr. I. C. Appleton, who arrived here on 2d Inst. from Cadiz, brought to the Emperour from his sisters, letters addressed to "H. R. H. Prince Royal of The United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarves." . . .

P. S. Sept. 10. Enclosed is a copy of the project of the Constitution published this day. A commissioner from Portugal has arrived, but the contents of his despatches are not known.

*Condy Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 16, 1823.*

The person mentioned in my last² who arrived in the Ship *Treze de Maio* with despatches from Portugal on — Sept. was permitted to land on account of bad health, but it appears that he came here to await the arrival of the Count of Rio Maior and other commissioners who reached this port on the 17, “in the vessel of war” *Voadora* which entered the port under *Portuguese colours* and fired a salute which was not returned. The commissioners were not allowed to land and after a correspondence with this government, which declared explicitly, that unless the former were authorized to acknowledge the Independence of Brazil, no further communications could take place, the commissioners were transferred to the *Treze de Maio*, and Sailed for Lisbon about the 2d Inst.

On the 30 September we received intelligence that Lord Cochrane, after having captured 50 or 60 sail of the Portuguese fleet, put into Maranhon on the 26 of July, did enable the inhabitants who were prepared for the act by previous consultation, but had been deterred by the presence of some Portuguese troops, to declare their Independence of Portugal and their adhesion to The Emperour. For this enterprize, which it is said was undertaken without the orders of this government he was created “Marquis of Maranhon” on the 12th Inst. by the Emperour after having received a vote of thanks from the Cortes. This, by the way is the only instance of a title of nobility having yet been conferred by this Morarch.

Early in this month we received intelligence, that a Bernarda [?] in favour of the absolute Emperour had taken place at Villa Rica, the capital of the Province of Minas, and there was a strong impression prevailing, that such a manouvre was intended to be practiced here on the 12 Inst. the anniversary The Emperour’s acclamation. The day however having passed by, without such a proceeding, renders it probable that no such attempt will be made unless the Constitution should too much limit the Monarch’s power.

The news from Pernambuco and Bahia indicates a strong disposition on the part of the people and authorities to declare those Provinces independent of The Empire. At the former place, the governor at arms Almeida was deposed on the 15 September and sent to this port where he arrived a few days since, and at the latter place it was rumoured, that the 12 Inst. was fixed upon for the declaration, but I think matters could not have been sufficiently ripe for such a step.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

General Labattut arrived here from Bahia about the first instant and is confined as a prisoner of State in one of the forts. This officer it is said, was sent from this place to besiege Bahia with 4 or 500 men and the sum of 2500 dollars, and certainly whatever merit is due to the besieging was the result of his exertions. The necessity which was imposed upon him to maintain his army by forced contributions, and perhaps by plunder rendered him unpopular in the Province, and led to his overthrow, which was much facilitated by the circumstance of his being a foreigner.

General Lecore has been openly pronounced in the Cortes on 30 September as suspected of treachery, to the Brazilean cause, but probably without sufficient ground. Monte Video held out as late as the last advices (say 10 Sept) but the ships sent from here to blockade the port, had not then arrived. It appears by a late document, that the Province of Matto Grosso has been entered by some hostile Spanish troops.

Several Portuguese vessels have lately arrived from Lisbon and Oporto with cargoes under guarantees from the King, that his Son would not molest them, but they have been sequestered.

We have heard that the King of Portugal had asked 15,000 troops from France—that The Tagus was blockaded by a British force for the purpose of intercepting 4000 men who were destined to Lisbon, and that an agent is to be sent here from France, to negotiate as a mediator between Portugal and Brasil—

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*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *November 10, 1823.*

From Pernambuco we have dates to 22 Ult. A report had reached us, that Independence of the Empire had been declared there, but the news was contradicted by the last arrival. It seems however, that Barata, editor of the "Sentinella da Liberdade," has been placed at the head of the Civil Government. This man as a political writer possesses great talents, and is certainly the father of the liberty of the press in Brasil. So much was he feared by the Government here, that as soon as the Andradas were deposed, the Minister of Police was directed to address him a letter of conciliation, which was done, but without producing an entire suspension of his attacks upon the Ministry and the Court. He was a deputy to the Cortes of Portugal, and was also elected for the assembly of Brasil but he was fearful from the begin-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

ning, that the liberality of his views would not suit the sphere of R very cautiously concluded to stay at home, and enlighten the pul with his writings, which he has eminently done, by diffusing th principles of liberty. It also appears, that a general convocation Camaras of that Province has been recommended, *ostensibly* for th of annulling the diplomas of three of their deputies, whom they c having too much inclined to the Court party, but it is quite probab measure has *other objects in view*. One of the Deputies denounced resignation to the Cortes on 4 Inst. It was referred to a Committee not yet been accepted, and perhaps will not be. The Permanbu clare that the officers of their government shall be natives of the and from what I hear, they seem to be bent upon a republican for ernmt, as soon as they think the proper moment has arrived.

From Bahia, we have dates to about the last of October. Mar are far from being tranquil. Since the evacuation, great jealousy b between the Provincial and northern troops, and the "Battalion o perour", sent from Rio, owing to a difference in political opinions, being said by the others to be too much devoted to the Monar jealousy rendered so uncomfortable the situation of Lima, who appointed Commander in Chief after the arrest of Labattut that h Early in October it was reported that Lima intended on the 9th of t to proclaim the Emperour absolute, having abandoned his old f Liberales, and to counteract this, it was circulated that on the r would be a Republick proclaimed. Great alarm prevailed and mar went for security on the latter day on board the shipping, but passed without disturbance. One of the members of the civil go there Felizberto Caldeira, has been appointed Governor at Arms. ies in the streets, & personal assaults upon the natives of Portuga common, and occasionally there are assassinations. A strong pa vour of a Republick exists, and I cannot help thinking, that negoci progressing between the Northern Provinces for a simultaneous n It is said, that a Deputy the other day on the floor of the assembly that if Pernambuco wished to be independent of the Empire she ha right to declare off, as Brasil had to separate from Portugal. S ments were hardly to be expected from one who had sworn to ma integrity of the Empire.

The story of a Bernarda [?] in favour of the absolute Emperour mentioned lately by me, was not true. The measure was prevent check given to the treason at Rio Grande, where a devassa has bee to be opened by the Cortes, to discover the authors of the plot.

In St Paul's, there are said to be discontentments "almost amou rupture," and "inquietude tending to republicanism." A party e

From Monte-Video we have no advices later than September. The blockading squadron from this port had reached there, and been repulsed. The frigate *Piranga*, Jewitt is fitting out, probably for that quarter, and it is likely that Cochrane may also be despatched to participate in striking the last blow.

The "*Estrella*" a paper which I informed you was lately established here to favour the views of the Holy Alliance, gave up the attempt after 6 or 8 numbers, and has transferred to another French editor, the original one, who came from the office of the "*Drapeau blanc*" in Paris, having ascertained that his politics could not be maintained here. The "*Atalaia*," formerly an advocate of Legitimacy, has been abandoned.

Your original letter of 22 July reached me by the Commodore Barry, which arrived from Philadelphia, on 27 Ult.

I am [etc.].

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*Condty Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, November 12, 1823.

SIR: When I commenced my last letter of 10th Inst.² which accompanies this, little did I imagine that the rupture between the Brasileans and Portugeze, therein anticipated, would so soon take place. I have now to relate some occurrences of an important and very alarming nature, which cannot fail to have a powerful influence upon the future fate of this Empire, and which may be followed by a catastrophe as lamentable as that which rendered so horrible the revolution of St. Domingo.

It appears that a petition was on the 7th or 8th Inst. presented to the Cortes by Pamplona, the apothecary was attacked on the 5th complaining of the outrage and calling for redress. This petition was referred to a committee which reported, that the matter belonged to the Judiciary department and not to the Cortes. The report of the committee was to be taken up on the 10, and it is said, that the previous days were occupied by the *Andradas* and their friends in exasperating the minds of the Brasileans against the Portugeze, and in inviting a strong body of their partizans to be present at the discussion, for the purpose of sustaining by their cries of *appoiado*, any sentiments which might be uttered favourable to their prejudices. Intelligence of these proceedings and of the growing spirit of jealousy, reached the Emperour, and he, as a step towards conciliation, made an unexpected change of the Ministers of State—The Treasury—War—and Justice by the appointment of Bra-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I. ² See above, pt. III, doc. 383.

sileans, of which he advised the Cortes on the morning of the 10th himself in his City Palace which is near the hall of the Assembly, result of their deliberations on that day, having perhaps taken stationary measures. It seems, that the crowd assembled, was so great that it could be accommodated in the galleries, and a motion was made to throw open for that day to the people the lobby which surrounds the members, which was soon filled by Brasileans, most of whom were armed, in order to repel any attempts which might be made by their leaders, the Andradas. At about one o'clock, the report of a riot on Pamplona's affair came up, when Antonio Carlos arose and made a speech expressive of all the vindictiveness displayed in the Tambores during the outrage, forgetting, that when the editor of the *Nalagueta* had been massacred by Brasileans neither he nor his brothers thought of the cognizance of the Cortes. His short speech, delivered with much excitement and passion, was followed by another from Martin Francisco of more violent and ferocious character, in which it is said (although the copy does not contain the expression) that he declared, "if blood be the blood of the Portuguese." He insinuated that the massacre had been committed by the order of *the government*, and concluded by a declaration—"Do these monsters live among us, and do they live to do us the offence was not an abuse of the press, but his being a Brasilean one: Great God! is it a crime to love Brasil, to be born in it, and to defend her Independence and for her laws! They yet live and yet we suffer from the bosom such wild beasts." At this point he was interrupted by the cheerings of applause from the audience, and by some faint expressions of approbation, and the tumult became so great, that the President of the Cortes came alarmed and immediately adjourned the Cortes. The people then proceeded after carrying in triumph to their carriages, in their arms, the banners which they who had thus enflamed them.

Upon being apprized of this occurrence, the Emperour ordered the Portuguese friends ordered out the troops of the regular army, and they marched after night to the palace of St. Christopher, five miles from the residence of His Majesty, where they remained under arms. The Militia also were ordered on duty to preserve order in the City. As the whole movement was secretly executed, few people knew of these preparations, although all apprehended some disturbance the next night, but happily there were none.

In the morning of yesterday, the Cortes reassembled at 10 o'clock, at the usual hour, having a great crowd assembled around their hall. The first proceedings was to declare the session *permanent*. They then sat during the day and all night and have declared their determination to continue without adjournment until a final adjustment of the affair. They are still under arms at F't Christopher to the number of 3 to 4000.

negotiation is now progressing between the Cortes and the Emperour. It is difficult to learn exactly how the matter stands, but it is said that the Cortes yesterday, sent a message to The Emperour to know the object of this military movement. His reply was stated to be, that it was made for the purpose of avoiding a conflict between the Portuguese and Brasilean soldiers, which he was apprehensive would grow out of the excitement lately produced. It is also said, that the Cortes have informed The Emperour, that they will not proceed in their deliberations unless the troops are marched to a distance of six leagues from the Capital, and it is also said, that the Portuguese officers of the army have complained to The Emperour of the abuse heaped upon them in the newspaper and have said that they must resign if not defended, or take the redress in their own hands. This complaint has been laid before the Cortes.

It is now about noon—A general gloom pervades the City, and the apprehension of some disastrous issue to this conflict, is entertained by most people. Should the Emperour in this warfare with the Cortes, where the Brasilean feeling predominates, take a decided part with the Portuguese interests, he will probably dissolve the Cortes, and advocate a reunion with Portugal. *In any event* his situation is highly critical, and I am inclined to think, that the breach is too wide to be healed except temporarily. It is also said, that the Cortes have declared that he must give up the command of the troops to the Senior officer.

5½ P. M. I had left the foregoing unclosed with the intention of adding any thing which might occur before night. At one o'clock my attention was called to a Regiment of mounted artillery passing my door in the direction of the hall of the assembly, at a slow deliberate step. Soon after two, three American gentlemen called to inform me that they had just witnessed *the dissolution of the Cortes*. They stated that they were in the gallery when the regiment of artillery arrived, and placed their fieldpieces so as to bear upon the hall—that Antonio Carlos moved that enquiry should be made as to the cause of the appearance of armed troops before their doors, when an officer was announced, with a message from His Majesty. This message was a decree declaring in substance that The Emperour, having with a view of avoiding anarchy, and establishing a firm constitutional government in Brasil, had on the 3d of June 1822, convened a Cortes—that the said Cortes in violation of their oaths, had pursued a course not adapted to ensure the ends for which they had been convoked, and were therefore *now dissolved*, and that at an early moment, it was the intention of His Majesty to issue a decree convening a new Cortes, to which he would present a *Charter* more liberal to the people, than the projects lately under discussion. A copy of this decree was then taken, and the body broke up without making any observations, having preserved from the time of the appearance of the troops, a dignity and composure hardly to have been looked for. On leaving the hall, Antonio Carlos,

Martin Francisco Montezuma a member from Bahia, and Roch of this province, were arrested by the military, and conveyed to the forts. At half past 2, the Emperour passed my house, with a retinue of soldiers, and populace and was saluted as he paraded the streets, with the shout of *vivas*.

The events of this day, can hardly be considered otherwise than as the abandonment of the Independence. There are more natives of the City of Rio de Janeiro, than Brazileans, and it is possible, that some of them will be invited to return. It is probable also, that the Provinces will soon form Independent Governments, and organize a confederation of Republicks. The die is cast, and God knows where the trouble will end. All now seems tranquil, but it may be the tranquillity of amazement. The forts are now firing an Imperial salute of 100 guns, and we shall to-morrow night have an illumination.

I am [etc.].

*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, November 13th, 1822.

Towards the evening of the 13th, a proclamation of The Emperor appeared, posted up at some of the corners, justifying the proceedings of the day, renewing his protestations of adhesion to the Imperial system of The Empire and the Constitutional system, and declaring, that the Imperial Assembly not been dissolved, "Our holy religion would have been preserved, and our garments would have been stained with blood." It declared that the object of the arrests which had been made, was to save the lives of the Emperor & that a new Assembly *had been* convoked, which would as soon enter upon the discussions of a project of a Constitution, which was in the present, and which he thought might even be adopted provisionally.

The Count de Gestas, with his Lady, a daughter of Mons. Chateaubriand, arrived on 13 Inst. from France, as Consul General, and (*as representative of the Emperor*) des Affaires, bringing with him a private letter from The King, a cordón of the order of the "Holy Spirit," and of St. Michael, for the Emperor, "The Prince Royal of Brasil." This letter, it is rumoured, contained an offer, of services, such as was made perhaps to Ferdinand of Spain, by the Emperor, probably to King Don John Sexto.

On the same day arrived off the harbour the Portuguese brig of the name of

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

bearing a flag of truce, and bringing despatches for the Count of Rio Maior, from Lisbon, dated 20th Sept. By stratagem these despatches have fallen into the hands of this Government, and the instructions to the Count, have been published in the *Diario do Governo* of 15th Inst. Luiz Paulino, the Portuguese commissioner, permitted to land here on the 8th Sept. on account of bad health was ordered on 15th Inst. to prepare to depart in the *Gloria* notwithstanding his indisposition continues.

The 15th of the month, was the day of St. Leopold of Austria, and a customary court day in honour of the Empress. The Emperour and his friends seized upon it as an occasion to put a bold face upon matters. All those who were really in favour of the late proceedings, or were frightened, or were fearful that their absence might be construed into a disapprobation, assembled at the palace, but there was, notwithstanding this effort, an observable absence of Brazilians. The English, French, and Spanish Consuls General, who are the only individuals of the Consular Corps who are in the habit of attending Court, graced the company with their presence, as did also the Marquis of Marazan, who was reported to have advised the Emperour against the dissolution of the Cortes, as he was known to have been with him on the morning of the 12th.

On the 16th and 17th, arrived from Bahia, the Battalion of The Emperour 73 h strong, having Colonel Lima at their head. They sailed on the 7th, and report that matters were tranquil, and that the Pernambuco troops were about embarking for their Province. Still we hear, that as soon as this battalion had embarked, outrages against the Europeans had been commenced. At Marannan also, it is reported, that before Cochrane sailed there were personal combats between the Europeans and Brasileans. . . .

The Manifesto intended to be published by the Cortes, declaring the Independence of Brasil, as anticipated in my letter of 8th Sept.¹ never appeared.

Portarias were issued on the 11th & 14th Inst. directing the prosecution of the officers, who had attacked Pamplona, and the other reputed author of a libel upon the Portuguese officers, and they have been arrested. Placards and incendiary proclamations have appeared, and on the night of the 14th, it is said one Portuguese was attacked in the streets with clubs. It is a great blessing that we have here a good police, and excellent subordination in the military so that thus far no disturbances have taken place. Most of the troops are still encamped, some of them having been, it is said, sent a few leagues off. Those belonging to Minas and St. Paul's, it is reported, wish to go to their Provinces.

It is rumoured; that the alarm of The Emperour, at what he had done, was so great, that at one time the idea of re-assembling the Cortes was formed, but was abandoned in consequence of its having been ascertained by the private sounding of the members, that the thing was impossible. That he has

¹ See above, pt. III, doc. 381.

been much humbled by the late events, and by the anticipation of the consequences, is manifest to every one. I have seen him with the Imperial family several times within the last three days, pass my house on horseback, in plain attire with a few attendants, but no military escort, in the pouring rains which have drenched them to the skin, and I have been fully persuaded, that these exhibitions have been made for the purpose of exciting publick sympathy.

Yesterday, appeared a manifesto from The Emperour, dated the 15th of October, detailing at length the motives of his late proceeding. A copy was sent me today, with a note of which I send you a translation. This document hardly satisfy those Provinces, in which the predisposition to secede from the Empire, only wanted a pretext for an open declaration. Viewed in a fair under the aspect which is presented to us here, it is probably the final issue will be the embarkation of the Imperial family for Europe. The matter should be so long delayed as to afford time for a re-union of Rio and Lisbon in which case, a re-inforcement of troops and vessels from Portugal and France would enable them to keep possession of the time of the principal sea-ports, where the Portuguese population is numerous and wealthy, and perhaps retard the emancipation of Brasil from the Empire. The Emperour's throwing himself into the arms of the Brazilian people appears now to have done, would have been a judicious course at an earlier period, when it could have had the appearance of a voluntary accession. It comes now too late to heal the wounds, and the withdrawing from the Empire of Araujo Lima, and Barros leaving. I believe *all* the Members of the Counsellors of State *citizens of Rio de Janeiro*, would seem to have lost all want of faith, in the stability of the present state of things. As the Emperor has never have now assumed an appearance of tranquillity, it is possible that the disaffected party here, will keep quiet, until they see what effect will be produced in the Provinces by the late events.

The news of the occupation of Cadiz on the 5th of October by the British army, with Ferdinand's proclamation of 30 Sept, was received here on the 17 Inst. by H. B. M. Ship Spaitiate, which brought out Sir George Cockburn to relieve on this station, Sir Thomas Hardy, who returned here on the 14th from Bueynos Ayres, whither he had gone to endeavour to settle the difference between the Government there and the Commander of the English war Brazen, but in which he had failed, the former having sent him to London to seek redress.

I send you herewith the Diario do Governo of 15. 17. 18 and 19. 14. 17. & 19 Inst. which contain all that has yet appeared respecting the late transactions, except a short sketch in the Diario of 13th which I could not procure.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *December 3, 1823.*

We have news from Monte Video, by the papers of Bueynos Ayres to the 31 October. On the 24 of that month, a negociation was proposed by the Portuguese, Commander, for an evacuation of the place, and it is probable that early in November the arrangement was accomplished. It is thought that these Portuguese troops will come here!!

The Brazilian frigate Maria da Gloria, it is reported, is fitting out to go to Lisbon, with a commissioner, and the impression is very general that the object of the mission, is to negociate for a re-union. So fully persuaded are many people of this fact that they have no hesitation in asserting that none of the Portuguese property seized will be confiscated, and some even question whether any more of Cochrane's prizes will be condemned, than sufficient to save appearances. The mass of the Portuguese are, beyond all doubt in favour of a re-union, and fondly anticipate such a measure, and many of those who sincerely joined in the scheme of Independence, have now changed their opinions in consequence of the jealously propagated and cherished latterly by the Brasileans. These latter, on the other hand, are excessively enraged at what they suspect is in agitation, but their late discomfiture has laid them prostrate, and deprived them of all present power of action. The suggestion however of any intention to reunite with Portugal is strongly reprobated in the *Diario do Governo*, as the work of disorganizers, and really it is difficult to imagine, how a Brazilian Ministry, whatever might be the Emperour's wish upon the subject, could consent to such a step. I am somewhat inclined to the opinion, that amongst the despatches addressed to the Count de Rio Maior, which fell into the hands of the Government here, on the 13 Ult., some indications have appeared of a willingness on the part of Portugal to acknowledge the Independence of Brasil, upon conditions perhaps of a favourable treaty of commerce, and the establishing of the house of Braganza upon the throne. From what has appeared of those despatches, published in the *Diario* of 15 & 24th Ult. (the former of which I have sent, and the latter I will send you herewith) it is evident that the Government of Portugal is excessively anxious for some sort of compromise, and that it was weak enough to believe, that the war waged against the mother country, was only a war against the Cortes. Had a fair understanding subsisted here between the natives of Brasil and those of Portugal—had there existed an entire sincerity upon both sides, and an honest desire to cooperate Portugal would have been soon obliged to submit to the terms of compromise, which Brasil might pro-

pose, but under present circumstances matters may assume a new bon, and a real disposition to conciliate on the 20th of September converted into hopes of ultimate subjugation. When I stated that the natives of Portugal were more numerous in this City than eans, I meant free white males, of which there are said to be 20,000. A loan of three millions sterling lately obtained in England by Portugal be in part employed in an expedition to this country, headed by Beresford (*as is apprehended by many Brasileans*) there would be found here ample materials for carrying on a long and sanguinary

The *Diario do Governo* of 27 Ult. announced that Barrata had been ordered by the Provisional Government of Pernambuco, to leave the city within five days, and that upon his demanding his passports for Portugal he was told that they would be granted only for Rio de Janeiro or for any other point out of the Empire. This notification appeared altogether strange, considering his late popularity, and it will probably prove to be that he has been notified that the General Assembly had passed a resolution declaring that he must take his seat as a Deputy for Bahia, for which Province he had been elected. It would be an extraordinary play of fortune, if the monarch should avoid the Cortes ever since its installation, in the persuasion perhaps *that* would happen which has actually taken place should just arise at the moment of all others, when it would be adviseable for him to appear in the present.

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *January*

The late events here have wrought an astonishing change in the parties of this Capital. At the time of the declaration of Independence in 1822, the population as you know, was divided into two principal parties, those who advocated the separation from Portugal, and those who were opposed to it. The party of the Independents comprised perhaps the native Brasileans and a portion of the Portuguese, the residue of the population seeing themselves defenceless, by the course which the Prince Regent pursued, no recourse left but to abandon the country, which many of them did, to hoist the new cockade, and to appear to favour the Revolution. The Br silean however, as well as amongst the Portuguese, the

tion, there were, what are nick-named "*Corcundas*," who advocated a high-toned monarchy, with the absolute veto, and most of the regalia, which give to the Sovereign, power and splendour. At the head of this party, *after* they came into office, and established an influence over the Prince, were the two ministers Andradas, who were the instruments in abolishing at the time of the acclamation of the Emperour, the condition requiring that he should previously swear to support the Constitution, which should be made by the General Assembly, and to which he had absolutely promised *in the Masonic lodge where he was first proclaimed*, to accede. The mass of the people however, were decidedly the advocates of a liberal constitution, were opposed to the absolute veto, to the creation of a nobility, and to most of the prerogatives which the others deemed essential, and although many of them were supposed to favour a republican form of government, yet they were satisfied, that it was not practicable to form such a one under the existing circumstances, and therefore resolved to fight, at least for a time, under the banners of the limited-monarchists. During the high-handed ministry of the Andradas, they persecuted most unrelentingly, all those who did not favour their views, both as to the Independence of the country, and to the high tone of the Monarchy. Ledo, Clemente, Nobriga, Januario, Lisboa and others, some Brasileans and others Portuguese, but undoubted friends to the cause of Brasil, were imprisoned or banished, because they advocated a liberal form of government and as most of the natives of Portugal were of the same sentiment, the Andradas contrived to construe their dislike to the policy and measures of the Government, which they much reprobated, into an opposition to the Independence of the country, and the appellation of "*pe de chumbo*"¹ equivalent to our "*Tory*" became generally applied, in the way of odium, to the natives of Portugal.

A new modification of parties took place in the month of June, at the time when a proposition highly offensive to the Portuguese, relative to citizenship, was introduced into the Assembly, which occasioned the disturbance on the 20th of that month, which I once described. The Liberales in the house espoused the cause of the Portuguese against the Andradas and their party, for the purpose of bearing down their despotic system, and perhaps the part which those Ministers acted upon that occasion may have led to the organization of the plot which on the 16th of July was contrived to eject them from the Ministry. You will no doubt recollect the story of the letter delivered by disguised armed men to a servant of the Emperour. *That whole story is now believed to have been a fabrication.* The Emperour observing the detestation of the Andradas towards the Portuguese, and suspecting that their ultimate aim was to send him and the Empress out of the country, retaining the

¹ *Pe de chumbo* (lead-en-footed), from the shoes heavy with nails worn by the Portuguese troops, who used to boast to the Brazilian soldiers, that they could not *run*, because they

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children, that *they* might govern during the minority of the Princes urged on by the numerous Portuguese individuals who surrounded him. Strived, it is supposed, that farce to give some colour to his sudden expected dismissal of those Ministers. This suggestion is altogether possible. The change of Ministers was regarded at the time, as I mentioned to you, as decidedly favourable to the Portuguese party, and the actors in the masquerade have never been apprehended, nor perhaps looked for.

After their fall, which to soften, was called a resignation, an effort on the part of the Andradas and their supporters was made to get up among the people, an address to the Emperour, to re-instate them in the Ministry. This had been practiced on the 30th of October 1822, when they were being dismissed, but the scheme did not succeed, and finding their case hopeless, they established their paper the "Famoyo," gained over to their interests by the "Sentinella" and turned the whole of their forces towards the excitement of the innate Brazilian jealousy and hatred against the Portuguese. The height to which matters had arisen here on the 10th, 11th, and 12th of November, added to the accounts of the persecution of the Portuguese at Bahia and Pernambuco, so completely displayed the views and dispositions of the natives of Brasil, towards the natives of Portugal, that the latter immediately found it necessary to rally around the Emperour, knowing that he was their "Perpetual Defender," against Brazilian vengeance, and even those who were formerly in favour of Independence and a liberal constitution would now generally consent to a re-union with the mother country on *any form of government*. The fact is, the Andradas have managed the affair very badly from the beginning, and of this it is said, they are sensible. Joze Bonifacio, observed in prison before his embarkation, told his companions "I deserve all this,—aye, and more—It was I, who was the instrument of detaining the house of Braganza in Brasil."

As to the course matters are likely to pursue, one can only conjecture. The sailing of the Portuguese brig Gloria (and not the frigate Maria Theresa as anticipated) for Lisbon on the 6th of December, having on board General Paulino, the Commissioner of whom I once spoke, has given occasion to a pretty general impression that some overtures have been made to the Portuguese government. To counteract this impression, the Ministers have by their characters implicated by the suspicion, spare no pains. They endeavour to be of the *Corcunda* mould, and have not the confidence of the greater portion of the Brasileans, although they are themselves all natives of Portugal. Wherever any expression can be introduced into a portarid [*sic*], declaring the Emperour's determination, to maintain the Independence of the country, it is not neglected. Great military preparations for defence are at present going on, and even decrees have been issued, rendering more difficult the admission of a Portuguese to citizenship, and ordering some who have lately arrived, out of the country. Notwithstanding all this how-

questrations upon Portuguese property, under various pretences are frequently raised, the trials of Cochrane's prizes, estimated to be worth 1,500,000 dollars, proceed slowly, and doubts of their condemnation still continue to exist—and the number of Portuguese individuals and families, flocking here daily from the other ports, and even from Europe, have given this City, a character so entirely European, that it is the general belief of foreigners, that if an expedition were to come out from Lisbon, it would be admitted here without hesitation.

There is little doubt but that France has made some promises to the Emperour, and it is very clear, that French influence now predominates at this court. The "Estrella," which was established with the view of promoting the politics of The Holy Alliance, and perhaps the commercial interests of France, has declared that that power has impliedly recognized the Independence of Brasil, and this paper, with the *Diario do Governo*, has uncerimoniously proclaimed, that the Emperour is the *point d'appui* upon which the Monarchs of Europe rely, regarding him as "a counterpoise to the democracies of North and South America"—that Brasil's salvation from the fangs of the Holy Alliance, consists in her being governed by "a legitimate Monarch"—and that as the mania of the Holy Alliance is, that all constitutions shall proceed from the Monarchs and not from the *Canaille*, the Emperour has an additional claim upon their regard, by his recent adoption of their system.

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*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, February 1, 1824.

SIR: The want of an opportunity for the United States during the month of January, has prevented me from transmitting to you, before this time, my letter of 20th,² which accompanies this.

On the 22d Ult. The President's message reached this port by the Torpedo from Baltimore, and excited great interest in the publick mind. The few copies which were brought by the captain soon found their way into circulation. Although the name of Brasil is not mentioned in the document, yet the general terms of "any part of America," and "government *de facto*," were seized upon with avidity, and construed by the real friends of Independence, as a pledge to stand by this country in the event of any interference on the part of the Holy Alliance. I send you the *Estrella* of 26", which contains some complimentary observations upon, and some extracts from the

message, a part of which has also been translated for the *Diario*. I think the Government is a little puzzled to know how to take it, as the Emperor and his Ministers have had my copy for several days to examine but I rather hope, the most favourable construction is put upon it.

Mr. Rebello is to sail in the brig *Morris* from Baltimore, and I have furnished him with several letters to gentlemen in Congress. I do not think the Government is yet prepared to abandon the slave trade, and as many of the distinguished citizens are favourable to the abolition of it, the making of a *sine qua non*, on our part, *even supposing there were no other obstacles in the way*, could not be taken in such bad part, that should Portugal herself join the contest, our refusal would be construed into a real hostility to the Emperor's form of government, and therefore leave behind jealousy and bad feelings injurious to our commercial interests.

We have news from Bahia to 20th Ult. The new President appointed by the Emperor had been installed "with rejoicings." A vessel had arrived there with a commissioner from Pernambuco, who, it was said, was to continue his voyage to Rio, but the object was not stated. They had refused to install at Pernambuco the new President, but on the 8th Jan. held an election for one, which resulted in the choice of the incumbent. The number of Portuguese passengers, who continue to arrive here from both those countries, give room to believe a rumour which is current here, of frequent assassinations of Europeans.

Several reports of a change in the Ministry have circulated here, which though at least premature, indicate a want of harmony in the Cabinet and a dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Emperor, who, they say, *wishes to do things in his own way*.

The attempts to impress men for the army carried on here for a number of months have given great dissatisfaction. The Emperor said, he was determined to raise 6 or 8,000 additional troops and called upon the Province of Minas for her quota, which, it is said, she declined.

I have received a letter from Mr. Rodney dated 8 Jan. at which time he was convalescent after an attack of extreme illness.

We have news from Lisbon to 22 December. The return of the Count of Rio Maior from Brasil, which took place on the 20th, occasioned some excitement, and we have now rumours here of two opposite natures, one, that an expedition was preparing to come against Brasil, another, that Don Miguel, the second son of the King, was to marry an Austrian princess, and that Portugal was to recognize the Independence of Brasil, thereby ensuring to both nations, the paternal protection of the Emperor of Austria.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Condy Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *March 8, 1824.*

Whilst these matters were in progress, accounts were received from the North, of a complexion not calculated to remove the impressions formed long since of the existence of a revolutionary spirit there. Although the state of affairs at Bahia as late as the 20th of february was represented to be tranquil (the Provincial Government having proved itself faithful, by the refusal to treat with the commissioners sent from Pernambuco to propose a separation from the Empire) yet enough is to be seen by letters and gazettes, to satisfy any unprejudiced mind, that there exists there a strong republican party, the influence of which is much dreaded. The same in fact may be said of the other Provinces, and is even admitted by the Estrella in the following words—"disguised enemies of the Imperial Government and of our beautiful Empire, exist unhappily *in all the Provinces of Brasil* without any exception, and would to God, they were less numerous, and less influential!" The stand however taken by Pernambuco is little short of rebellion. Since the dissolution of the Cortes, they have made no communication to this Government that we know of—their newspapers express themselves freely and harshly in relation to the transactions of November, and have even gone so far as to call the Emperour a tyrant and a traitor, and this under the eye of the Provincial Government. They have decreed the expatriation of the natives of Portugal—have persevered in their refusal to instal the President appointed by the Emperour—they establish their own commercial regulations, and in fine, disregard all orders from the Government at Rio. Still however, they make a shew of adhesion—act in the name of His Majesty—and even profess a confidence in his *personal liberalism* and *Constitutionality*, ascribing his despotic proceedings in November, to his being co-erced by the troops, to avoid the influence of which, upon any future occasion, they recommend, that the original Cortes shall be re-assembled, in some Province distant from the Court.

To be prepared to quell this rebellious spirit, the Government has been ever since December, using all its efforts to fit out a naval expedition, which they have not until lately been able to accomplish. On the 3d Inst. the frigates Nitheroky and Piranga, brig Bahia, schooner Leopoldina, and transport Gentil Americana, all commanded by Englishmen, but very badly manned, sailed from this port, accompanied by a *French sloop of war*. The object of this expedition, as announced by the Government in a circular to the foreign Consuls, of which I enclose a translation, is to enforce at Pernambuco,

obedience to the orders of The Emperour, and in case of refusal, to block the port. Rumour asserts, that it is to demand the installation of the mate President, and the surrender as traitors of Carvalho the revolutionary incumbent, and as many of his aiders and abettors, as will terrify into submission, the remainder of the *demagogues*.

With a civil war perhaps on the eve of bursting forth, and surrounded by a population, which contains not a few individuals destitute of moral or religious restraints, it can readily be imagined, that some anxiety must be felt by those who are responsible for the publick affairs. In fact it is said that the Emperour is exceedingly alarmed, and by way of conciliating the party the liberales has lately endeavoured to attach to his person, Nobriga, by appointing him an aid-de-camp, and Ledo, Clemente and Januario, by decorating them with the insignia of the order of the Cruzeiro.

*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, April 12, 1836.

Monte Video was evacuated by the Portuguese troops on the 8th of March, and the Province "Cisplatina" was on the same day here declared to be united to the Brazilian Union. The American ships Panther, Austin, and Cook were employed as transports with 4 or 5 other foreign vessels, and we have understood from Monte Video, that these vessels had not sufficient water for a voyage to Lisbon. One of the transports an English ship, was here *in distress* on the 7th Inst. and another, a Swedish vessel on the 10th, which has excited much suspicion. Thus far however, they have been incommunicable with the shore, but so much occasion has been given for mistrust at different times that it seems to be next to impossible for *certain persons* to regain the publick confidence. It is said, that prior to the sailing of this fleet, the Portuguese commander received despatches from Lisbon directing him to hold out, as the Government would shortly send an expedition for his relief, but, it seems, they came too late.

Our last news from Lisbon is to the first of February. Some rumour appeared in the papers of an intended expedition to Brasil, but such an undertaking is now looked upon here as so improbable, that it produces no sensation, nor is any preparation for defence in activity. . . .

We learn that in the Province of Ceara, some revolutionary movement

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, I.

took place on the 9th of January, on which day a Republick was proclaimed and all adhesion to the Emperour and the house of Braganza renounced, in consequence of the dissolution of the Cortes. Filgueir as a principal leader in these transactions, is represented as a man of abilities, fortune and influence. Not a word upon this subject has appeared here in print, and the Northern gazettes, which contain the accounts, are in possession of very few persons, and these lend them with extreme caution. Parahiba is said to be in league with Ceara on this question but I can learn no particulars.

Early in March an attempt was made, at Pernambuco to get up a publick meeting to recommend the adoption of the Projecto of the Constitution but the efforts of the Imperial party were unsuccessful. On the 18 of the month some military commotions took place. The 1 & 3d batallion of Cassadores, seized Carvalho the President and imprisoned him in the fortress of Brum, from which he escaped to Olinda by the aid of the 2d battallion of Cassadores, and being joined by a regiment of artillery, he marched back and was reinstated in the Presidency on the 20th, when his opponents were driven from the City. These latter then went to join the standard of the Legitimate President, who was not very distant, with the intention as the Estrella asserts, of bringing him to the City for the purpose of forcing his installation. It is said, that some persons were killed in this affair, but as the vessel which brought the news, sailed on the 21st, we have no knowledge of the issue. The squadron had not arrived, nor could it have reached there before the 1st Inst. having been spoken on the 25th Ult. as far south as the Abrolhos. The province of Alagoas is said to favour the views of Pernambuco, and the individual appointed by the Emperour as President, who is a native of the latter, and a Libérale of 1817, has declined the appointment.

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*José Silvestre Rebello, appointed Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

WASHINGTON, April 20, 1824.

The undersigned Commissioner Judge of the mixed commission in Rio de Janeiro, and Chargé d'Affaires (carregado de negocios) of his imperial Brazilian Majesty, near the Government of the United States, has the honor to send, herewith enclosed, to his Excellency John Quincy Adams, Minister, and Secretary of State of foreign Affairs, a succinct, and just narration of the motives, which have urged the Emperor, and the people of Brazil, to declare this same Brazil an independent Nation.

The Undersigned hopes, that this Narration having been once read, a Day and Hour will be appointed him for his presentation to his Excellency the President of the United States, as the Chargé d'Affaires of his Majesty, the Emperor of Brazil, near the Government of the United States.

The Undersigned reminds his Excellency, that the English and French governments seek, and that with great assiduity, to have influence in the Cabinet of Brazil; and to this end, they have proposed to recognise the Empire—but as the propositions were made with the advantages, not mutual, they were not received; but which will, probably, be attentively considered as soon as they are proposed to be Reciprocal.

It is evident, that the government of the United States has the most direct interest, in opposing all European influence in America; and the better system to pursue, appears to be, the presence of Diplomatic (*Agents*) of the United States, in the Courts of the different Nations, who compose the great American family, to make them, manifestly a part of the political chain of this part of the Globe, under the influence and aid, of the most ancient Nation which here exists. In Rio de Janeiro, then, it is necessary, that a Diplomatic Agent of the United States should immediately appear.

Montevideo, Sir, is the only military station of Brazil, whence attacks upon the Republics, formerly, Provinces of the Vice-Royalty of Buenos Ayres, should be commenced— It is evident, that Brazil for its own advantage, and that of its Brethren, will maintain its rights; but it is also clear, that a new Cabinet will proceed with prudence and energy, assisted by the counsels of a Diplomacy, skillful & accomplished, who [*sic*] would be well received in Rio de Janeiro.

The undersigned, in transmitting this Note, and the enclosed succinct and just Narration, translated into the American Language, has acted thus, purely, in compliance with the desire, which his Excellency manifested to him; but he rests assured, that this compliance will never be cited as a precedent: and he will consider as unaltered, his right to continue, or not, to do the same; and not only will he consider himself at liberty, but also, those Agents, whom his Imperial Brazilian Majesty shall think proper to order to reside, near the Government of the United States.

The Undersigned repeats [etc.].

[ENCLOSURE¹]

SUCCINCT, AND TRUE EXPOSITION OF THE FACTS, THAT LEAD THE
PRINCE, NOW EMPEROR, AND THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE TO
DECLARE BRAZIL A FREE, AND INDEPENDENT NATION

Brazil was a Colony of Portugal until 28th January 1808, on that day John the 6th, now King of Portugal, and Algarves, and then Prince Regent, on his

¹ This translation, made by the Brazilian Embassy, is printed with all of the idiosyncrasies of spelling, etc., of the document in the archives of the Department of State.

passage to Rio de Janeiro being at Bahia, or S. Salvador, by a Law declared the Brazilian ports free, and open to all Nations.

The same Monarch arrived at Rio de Janeiro the 7th March, and on the 16th December 1815, Brazil by a Law was categorically advanced to a kingdom, and the King titled King of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves; and as such he has received Ministers from all Nations, and with others those of the United States of America. As a Kingdom then Brazil existed politically till 26th April 1821: At Rio de Janeiro were created Departments necessary for Brazil in her new political Capacity; Portugal, although the Court was at Rio de Janeiro, maintained the same Departments as a sister Kingdom.

On the 26th of the same month King John sailed for Lisbon, and his Eldest Son Peter, now Emperor of Brazil, was appointed Prince Regent of Brazil with all powers necessary to support the political frame of this Kingdom, then a part of the Portuguese Monarchy.

Nine Months prior the Portuguese People finding themselves, by the free intercourse of Brazil with foreign Nations, not more the master of the Brazilian's property, riches, and blood, and wishing to regain once more the lost monopoly, created a Revolution headed by military men, and although the corruption, and abuses of government were proclaimed as causes of the insurrection, yet the regress of the Court to Portugal, and the mercantile, and political monopoly upon Brazil were the perceived object.

The subsequent events, that forced the then Prince Regent, and the Brazilian People to proclaim their Independence, will be Read in the following document published at Rio by authority, and impartially translated with its principal features.

The Prince Regent of Brazil's Manifest to all governments, and friendly Nations.

I. and the People that Recognises Me as the Prince Regent desiring to maintain the political, and commercial Relations with governments, and allied Nations with this Kingdom, and continue to deserve that estimation, and approbation so well merited by the Brazilian People—It is My duty to explain in a succinct, and true narrative those facts, and motives, that forced Me to accede to the general will of the Brazilian People, who proclaim to all the world their political Independence, and as a Kingdom, and Independent Nation are Resolved to keep unimpaired those invaluable rights, against which Portugal has allways attempted, and more so after her, so high shouted, political Regeneration of the Portuguese Monarchy by the Lisbon Cortes.

When accidentally Cabral met with the Brazilian Region so vast, and so Rich, and ever since the covetousness, and Religious feeling, promoters of modern colonisation, took possession of the Country by conquering, and framed Laws founded on shameful passions; and the same base covetousness rooted the Portuguese tyranny.

The wild Indian, and the European colonist were put upon the same footing in the path of misery, and slavish dependence. So soon as they

the barbarous duty of the fifth part to the crown was imposed capitation the heaviest of all contributions. It appears that the intention of the government of Portugal has allways been to oblige the Brazilians to pay duties so multiplied, that the Respirable air of the earth itself has been assessed. This industry, and the establishment of manufactories was prohibited, and more than one loom has been broken in pieces by the fiscal agents. The cultivation of vegetables, and the transplanted by individual industry, as the spice trees, were prohibited, and the trees themselves were rooted out. Works performed without water with immense labour, and great expense for deviation of course with the intention to seek the Diamonds lurking beneath, were barbarously demolished by a set of agents, paid by a cruel Court of monopolists.

The Rich and plentiful productions of this luxurious country were unloaded only on the wharfs at Lisbon, and Oporto, and the communication between Brazil, and the rest of the Portuguese Empire was prohibited with few exceptions on the African coast; the consequence was what it would be, the Brazilian received in payment for his labour the products of the two portions of the world Europe, and Africa, seldom of good quality, and always with the price forced by the merchants of Lisbon, and Oporto at their own pleasure. If a stranger appeared off the land, whatever be the port, on the Brazilian coast immediately two, or more gun Boats assailed her, the landing was prohibited to the crews, and hastily under inspection of armed soldiers was provisioned, and sent away as an excommunicated, and unchristianised being.

Still if the Brazilians wished to get universal instruction, they were forced from their country fire sides to go to Coimbra, where the sciences never were well cultivated, and more than one Brazilian scholar, whose school was detained at Lisbon by intrigue, and carelessness, was impeded to return to his native country, where he could diffuse a little light on political rights the ignorance of which was the first, and the most objectionable object of so tyrannical a government.

In this very small, but true narrative is described the situation of Brazil for three centuries. Colonists, and Indians, conquerors, and conquered, their sons, and grand sons, all were under the same violent and tyrannical system, and all groaned under the same unnatural yoke, every day reinforced by a set of governors, and place-men, who were one proud when returning to Lisbon to exhibit the gold, and the Diamonds acquired by distraining their brothers, their nephews, and cousins, and all breathing rational Brazilian creature.

Although the Brazilian People was so justly offended with their grievances, yet they received the King, my most respected master, with the most cheerful satisfaction; they did more still, they met him with open arms the nobility, and Portuguese People, who were amongst them a refuge against the persecutions of a man, that was more. He took upon himself the charge of a Court. He made the splendour of the Thone, and what is the most generous,

has the Brazil gained with so generous a conduct? What??? a true narrative will explain it to impartial minds.

When in Portugal the cry was raised for the political regeneration of the Monarchy; the Brazilian People confiding in the inviolability of their dearest rights, and by their own generous feelings, estimating other's, hoped to be considered as a Kingdom, and if not on the best, still on an equal footing.

The manifest published by the self created Regency at Lisbon was read with mistrust, and scorn; in which it was asserted that the opening of the Brazilian ports to universal trade had been one of the events ruinous to Portugal, and that its political existence should not continue, the Capital of the three united Kingdoms being at Rio de Janeiro. This manifest, being the work of a few, was scoffed at, and from the Cortes liberality, candour, and fraternity was expected.

Yet those printed documents awakened the conservatory spirit of the Brazilians, and they prayed my most respected father, King John the 6th then at Rio de Janeiro, not to depart, demonstrating that if the existence of the Monarchy, as it was then, were to continue, his Capital must be Rio de Janeiro, and that it was not prudent to abandon the fifteenth part of the terrestrial globe for a piece of Land, called Portugal, with more facility to be found in history, than on the Maps. In spite of such evident truths my Father went to Portugal conveyed by a perfidious, obscure, and villanous manœuvre.

The Cortes had, before they knew of the arrival of the King, in the twenty first article of the Law, entitled basis of the constitution decreed, that the new Laws should not be considered as made for Brazil untill their Deputys arrived, and when reunited should declare their consent, and the will of the Brazilian People.

But so soon as they had ensnared the King, and had him in hands, they decided that the decisions of the Congress were Law for all parts of the Monarchy, although the third part of the Brazilian Deputys had not yet arrived; that every Province of Brazil was one of Portugal; that every one of the Provinces should receive a separate government composed of elements newly invented, which was, that every head of Department was only responsible to the government at Lisbon, in consequence the vexed individuals must seek for redress at the distance of two thousand leagues. The Brazilian debt, contracted by the government departed, was set aside, and the Provincial Administrations were ordered to send to Lisbon the over-plus of the treasuries consigned to the Brazilian Bank, the only considerable creditor, as being responsible to the public for the valour of their Bank notes in circulation, which represented the abovementioned debt; and arbitrarily seized for the Lisbon treasury the Administration, and the selling commission of the Diamonds, and other effects, that the government had confided to the same Bank, and which was one of the greatest of its dealings.

The Cortes not satiated with such scandalous blunders decreed My regress to Lisbon, and the annihilation of all departments of the central Brazilian government established at Rio de Janeiro in the King's time for the public Administration, although such at Lisbon had also existed at time, that the Court resided in the former City. Portugal allways having been administered as a sister Kingdom. In the appointment of

Counsellors of State, and what is still more scandalous, of governors for the Brazil, not one native Brazilian was concidered.

It was then that the Brazilian People begged Me not to depose a central government should be maintained in their country; the new Administration would begin to be popular, being composed of a Council of State appointed by the People of the different Provinces. My consdesention to such just claims was instantaneuous, and I accepted. It was in conformity to my own personal ideas, the frame of a government founded on popular power.

So just, and natural a Resolution was considered by the troops then in garrison at Rio de Janeiro, as a Crime; they run away, and we were obliged to surrounde, and shipp them off to Lisbon. As soon as the first Counsellors appointed by the People were received, the Brazilian Assembly was convoked, and I received the warmest assurances from every city, and Town, and the most positive assurance of their rights, and My personal safety with their blood and treasures; and the People offered Me the Title of their Perpetual Emperor, which I was pleased to accept.

Those upright proceedings made at Lisbon no impression on the People of Brazil. The government decreed null, and void all the acts of the Rio de Janeiro government, and personal Responsibility to the Emperor, his hering servant; and My immediate regress to Lisbon, or to Portugal. The Brazilian People then lost all ideas of brotherhood, and now kept up with Portugal.

Finding myself then by an especial act of the Divine Providence at the centre of a Country populous, and rich; surrounded by Countries, appointed by the People, with all rights that nature grants to the individual, the right of Repelling violence by force. I with the assistance of the popular Counsellors, and in the presence, and under the sanction of Almighty God, Declare, and Proclaim Brazil a Free, and Independent Nation; and the government established in all its parts, to be a government Independent, and Sovereign.

And to all friendly Nations I declare, that the Brazilian Empire is free, and open to their Commerce; that Ministers, or Public Ambassadors, may be received, and Ours sent with equal Diplomattick Characters; that all existing Treatys should be fulfilled, and that Brazil is to be considered by them as a free, and Independent Nation.

PETER PRINCE ROYAL

August the 6th 1822.

It is to be considered here that Laws in the Portugueze Monarchy were enacted allways from the Throne, or if solicited, the petition never was presented to a general Assembly, but only by the Citys and Towns. The reunion of the Cortes had been forgot. The Brazilian People acted with the throne, and the Regent in the same manner in the declaration of their Independence.

Afterwards the Brazilian People considering themselves so much more free, than Portugal, and their country destined to be a greater Nation; it

bid the People not to burst in Imperial Acclamations before the twelfth day of October.

Upon that day the 12th of October 1822, being the Prince Regent's birthday, the Counsellors appointed by the different Provinces, the Deputy's respectively of the Cities, and Towns met so precisely at Rio de Janeiro, and proclaimed Peter, Prince Regent, as their Emperor.

Then His Imperial Majesty Peter 1^o. was proclaimed free and unanimously by the Brazilian People as their first Emperor, and Perpetual Defender, and this August Title to be transferred to His successors for ever, and a public document was made as follows.

Record of the Acclamation of H. Y. Majesty Peter 1^o, Emperor Constitutional of Brazil, and its Perpetual Defender. On the most happy Day, the twelfth day of October one thousand eight hundred, and twenty two, the first of the Indence [*Independence?*] of Brazil; in this City, and Court of Rio de Janeiro, in the—Palacete—situated in the square called—St Anna—were reunited the judge President of the Town-house, the Counsellors of the same, and the City Attorney general, with me the City Notary, and all those citizens formerly Counsellors in the same Town-house, and the respective heads of the City incorporate bodies, and the Attorneys of all the Towns of this Province hereunto undersigned, with the sole intention to proclaim H. Y. Majesty Peter of Alcantara, Constitutional Emperor of Brazil, uniting the title forever of their Perpetual Defender, Himself, and His successors, as it has been resolved in their last public meeting. And the whole of the people of this Town, and Court, being present in the square, where there was also reunited all the regular troops, and the Militia; at ten o'clock appeared the same personal Sovereign with His spouse, and His elder Daughter Dn. Maria da gloria; and being admitted in the—Palacete— He was received with the greatest applause by all the People, Troops, City Deputies, and Provincial Town Attorneys; the new Town Colours waving in the hands of the City Attorney general with the new Brazilian Arm. And to the same Personage was tendered by the Judge President of the Town-house a Message in the name of the People, in which it was proved that it is general will of the People of this, and all the Provinces of Brazil, as they had been informed by particular correspondence with the different corporations of the different Cities, and Towns of the respective Provinces; that they all were resolved to maintain the Independence of Brazil, proclaimed by the then Prince Regent Peter of Alcantara according to the general will of all the Brazilian People; and to Proclaim Him on this most happy Day, Emperor Constitutional of Brazil, and its Perpetual Defender, in Himself, and His Successors uniting for ever the two Titles.

His Imperial, and Constitutional Majesty then was pleased to give the following answer—I accept the Title of Emperor Constitutional, and Perpetual Defender of Brazil for the reason, and consequence that the Counsellors of the Provinces appointed by the People had advised Me to do so; and by representations of the different Cities, and Towns I am convinced that it is the general will, and that if there is not now reunited all the Attorneys of every City it is by reason that the time

has not been sufficient for a general reunion.—This answer being read to the People, and Troops, the same Proclamation was claimed legally, and solemnly by the City Town house, the Heads of the City corporations, the People, and the Troops. The Judge President of the Town-house shouting the following words, which were echoed by the People— Long live Our Holy Religion—Long live Our Majesty Peter the first Emperor Constitucional of Brazil—Long live Our Perpetual Defender—Long live the Constitutional Emperor and the Dynasty of Braganza established in Brazil—Long live the Independence of Brazil—Long live the Constituted, and the National Assembly of Brazil— Long live the Constitutional People. So soon as this act was made H. Y. and Conl. Majesty Peter the Imperial chapel under a Canopy, where the—Te Deum was sung, and the most humble prayers to the Almighty read.

And for perpetual memory this record was ordered by His Imperial, and Constitucional Majesty by the President and Members of the Town-house present, and by those that were before, by all the Heads of the different corporations of the Town, and the Attorneys of the Town of the Province—.

And I Jose Martins Rocha Recorder of the City have signed—Emperor—and after following all those &c. &c.—

In every subsequent Day, it must be said, a Deputation arrived from the different cities, and Towns of the Provinces with respectful addresses complimenting the Emperor upon His new Title; it was done so soon after those Places, that were evacuated by the Portuguese Troops in the subsequent Year 1823; all compromising themselves to maintain with fidelity and treasure the Independence of Brazil, and the Title of Emperor of Brazil to Peter the First, and His successors for ever.

The Emperor being Proclaimed, and Coronated, the first Brazilian Emperor was reunited on the 3th [?] of May last year. He opened the Session on the Throne with a great discourse shewing the improvement of the Administration during the time of His Regency, and Empire, and demonstrated that the Army had been augmented, the Marine increased, the Treasury with money, and some of the old creditors paid; it is, and will be, a legal Administration, which was explained for the first time by the Monarch to a legal Body of Representatives of the Brazilian People united in Brazil under constitutional forms according to the wishes of the Brazilian People.

This Assembly was composed of only one Chamber, and experienced soon proved, that a Legislative Body in this manner arranged, corresponds to the desired end.

From the commencement it was headed by a party, fortunate

government went on regularly, but so soon as the imprudence of a man, and the caprice of another compelled the Emperor to alter the Administration, the Assembly declared itself in opposition to the government. Yet some laws were made, and approved, and the best certainly was that, which regulated the government of the Provinces. They made a Project of a constitution in 272 articles, and at the end of six months, they had only debated fourteen; the time was spent in futile questions. The People were anxious and wanted a Constitution; and as the Project should be debated twice, it was calculated that going on so, it could not terminate in three years.

The Assembly soon after interfered in the different Administrations to the extreme point to advocate to itself a judicial question. Two military men struck an individual supposing him the author of a libel against them, and some Officers. When the question was called up in the Assembly great insults were offered against the military; they in a body went to the Emperor, and begged redress. He to evade civil war ordered the troops under arms near him in the night of the twelfth November, and on the next day the Assembly declared itself in permanent session; it was necessary to dissolve it; the Decree of the dissolution convoked another, recommending to the People to elect prudent, and well meaning Citizens.

The Emperor appointed four Counsellors of State, which with the Secretaries of State composed the existing Administration. The Cities, and Towns have sent Deputations with addresses for the measure of the Dissolution, and promising to appoint new Deputys.

The Emperor with the ten Counsellors have presented to the People the Project of a Constitution in 179 articles, which was sent to every part of the Country to be examined, approved, or corrected according to the general will; it is framed on the principles of the American, and English Constitutions. The Legislative Body divided in two chambers. The Administration of justice independent, and the Executive Power vested for ever in H. Y. M. Peter the First, and His Successors according to the English Constitution.

The People at Rio de Janeiro begged that the Project should be considered as the Constitution, and so it has been done by the nearest Towns; and so it will be done by all Brazil according to the most popular ideas.

In the Administration of the different Provinces, which has been appointed according to the new law, the greatest part of the Deputys of the dissolved Assembly was attended to in those appointments, and the country was in peace at the end of last January.

Brazil has then a government—defacto—established. The Administration of Justice is independent; the liberty of the press is regulated by Law; Trial by Jury had been practised. We have an Army paid, and well ammunitioned; a Navy that expelled from Brazil all the Portuguese, that were still at Brazil, capturing the greatest part of the Convoy, that escaped from Ba-

hia, or St. Salvador; although it was protected by fourteen vessels of force, and at the same time forced the Montevideo governor to capitulate, and to sail off to Europe with some remains of troops. The Treasury has money, and there is Economy, and public accounts. The debt contracted by the old government amounts to fifteen millions of Dollars, and is represented in stock by Bank notes, which circulate as money, and being received by public Administrations, exempts the government from forced payments. The Civil body is paid every month. Finally the Brazilian Empire is supported and established in the Person of H. Y. M. Peter the First as Emperor Constitutional, and Perpetual Defender; and His Dynasty. And as God promises to be always amongst those, that love to live in enjoyment of political, and religious liberty, the Brazilian People expect that their Empire will last to the time prescribed for all things by Divine Providence.

In the Declaration of their Independence the Brazilian People have imitated the People of the United States in their own. The People of the United States declared themselves Independent of England forced by encroachments that the English government then wished to lay upon them. The Brazilians declared themselves Independent by reason that the government in Portugal had robbed Brazil of their political category as a Kingdom, which was by declaring every Province of Brazil respectively; by framed Laws annihilating its Commerce, and evinced the clearest proof. Her intention was to reduce it once more to the Colonial State.

To frame the act of Independence the People of the United States received their Representatives as it had done before in National questions; and from this Body emanated the act of Independence. The People of Brazil appointed Counsellors for the then Prince Regent, and from Him with advice emanated the Declaration of the Brazilian Independence; which the People received very joyful, and afterwards thanked with the most flattering addresses.

The government in the United States is composed of a Legislative Body divided in two Chambers, and has as Chief of the Executive Power an elective President. The government in Brazil has, divided equally, a Legislative Body in two chambers, and as Chief of the Executive an Emperor hereafter to be elected at once according to the popular ideas, and the opinion of many publicists.

In the report of the committee on Foreign Relations read, and committed to the House of Representatives on the 19th March 1822, it was said— In this examination it cannot be necessary to inquire into the right of the People of Spanish America “to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth that separate, and equal station, to which the Laws of nature and nature’s God entitle them.” The right to change the political institutions of the state has, indeed, been exercised equally by Spain and by her Colonies, and for us to deny to the People of Spanish America

right to independence on the principles which alone sanction it here would be virtually to renounce our own.—The political Right of this nation to acknowledge their independence without offending others does not depend on its justice, but on its actual establishment. To justify such a recognition by us it is necessary only to show that the People of Spanish America are in fact independent. With them as with every other government possessing and exercising the power of making war the United States in comon with all have the right of concerting the terms of mutual peace, and intercourse.—

This report, which was approved, is exactly applicable to the Brazilian's political existence; and their Right to expect their recognisance as an Independent Nation by the government of the United States is still better founded, than was that of Spanish America; as Brazil declared herself Independent to repell violence by force: To do that every creature has the right of nature. The right of Brazil to expect this recognisance is founded not only in its actual existence as an Independent Nation, but in the most universal principle of justice, the act of self preservation.

The President of the United States in his last message to Congress says—Our policy is “to consider the government—*de facto*—as the legitimate government for us.”—In Brazil there exists a government—*de facto*—*ergo*—it must be considered one by the government of the United States.

It is not necessary here to state the reciprocal conveniencies existing between Brazil, and the United States in their commercial, or political relations; but it is very reasonable to expect that the government of the United States would have allways present, and in mind that those political relations must be stronger, if the government of the Uninted States presents, and evinces to the world an immediate recognition of the Independence of Brazil, having as its Sovereign H. I. Majesty Peter the First as one of the Sovereigns now reigning.

It is know that England, and France dispute who should be the first to intervene in the Brazilian gabinet. Lord Amherst passed by Rio de Janeiro in his way to India as governor general of the British East Indian dominions; and not only himself, and his Lady went to pay their personal respects to the Emperor, and Empress, but on a subsequent gala Day he with all his retinue attended the court with the same ceremonies as if it was an old European court. The French government sent Count de Gestas lately to Rio de Janeiro with a public caracter, and although his commission was not published, yet as he departed from Europe in September 1823, their papers must have been directed to the Imperial government, and probably they are more than Consular papers.

The government of the United States must certainly be informed that it is

soon as the government of the United States recognise the Independence of Brazil, and the Empire established in Peter the First, and His Dynasty exists.

That it is the political, and commercial interest of the United States so instantaneously is evident, and that They should do so are my warmest wishes.

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*Condry Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *April 22*

The last news we have from the Northern Provinces, is of sufficient importance and seems to engage much of the publick attention. It seems that after the receipt of the news from Rio about the middle of March, of the sailing of the squadron for Pernambuco, a good deal of excitement was occasioned, which shewed itself in the usual way of attacks and outrages upon the Portuguese inhabitants. A strong feeling was manifested for the success of the Pernambuco cause, and a subscription was raised to purchase arms and provisions for that port, which was shipped on board a brig called *The Thetis*. This vessel on the 30th of March being regularly cleared out and at anchor at the outer fort, was cut out by barges from the Imperial vessels of Bahia and Atalanta, and carried to sea, but whither, we are yet ignorant, although we look for her here. This transaction occasioned a considerable disturbance, and led to a plot to overthrow the Provincial Government, which however did not succeed. Matters had again, in consequence of the Government's having acceded to some demands made by a tumultuous assemblage on the 1 of April, of the nature of which I am not apprised, assumed an apparent tranquillity as late as the 7th Inst. but the numerous Portuguese families, perpetually flocking to this city from that Province, a strong index of the apprehension existing there.

From Pernambuco we have news down to the 9th Inst. On the 10th of March, 500 troops were marched to attack the Imperial party, who had joined the standard of the Legitimate President at Cape St' Augustus, estimated at 300, but no account of the result was known. On the 31st of March Taylor's squadron arrived off the port, and in consequence of his representations to the Government, a Council was convened on the 7th Inst. to consult upon them, at which it was resolved, that Carvalho should be nominated in the Presidency. Taylor had circulated proclamations calling

loyal Brasileans to rally around the standard of their Sovereign, and these were immediately followed by counter-proclamations from the Government of a character said to be violent and incendiary, but still, as I am informed, not declaratory of a republican independence of the Empire, although one report says, that a new flag was hoisted. On the 8th the port was declared in a state of blockade, and what took place subsequently we know not. Some persons now anticipate that the time is not distant when the aid of the French ships of war on this coast, probably amounting to 6 or 8, will be called in, and after that it will require an adroit politician to prove, that the existing contest, is not one, between Independent Brasil and the Holy Alliance.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*José Silvestre Rebello, Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION BY THE LEGATION]

WASHINGTON, April 29, 1824.

The undersigned, commissary Judge of the Mixt commission, and Chargé d'Affaires from H. I. M. the Emperor of Brazil to the government of the United States, has the honour to say to H. E. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; that he received a file of Rio de Janeiro government Gazetts, and some more, till 28th of February; in which is read that to H. M. the Emperor were presented in that time tirthy three Addresses from different Cities, and towns of the Empire; in some He is complimented by having dissolved the Assembly; and in others He is prayed to swear, and order to be swaired the Project of the Constitution, as one efective: The Project is it that was organised by H. M. the Emperor with advice of His counsel of State, and sent to the People for examination, correction, and adoption, as they should will; as I informed in the succinct, and true narrative of the Brazilian success sent by me to You under my Notte of 20th.²

It is to be understood clearly in those papers, that the English, and French gabinets, and principally the last one, do the most quick diligence to get the beter in the friendship of government, and Brazilian People; and to facilitate to You, and the government of the United States a clear idea of that diligence, I sent inclosed some of the papers, without translation; by the reason that as You can read the Spanish, as You told me, it will be ease for you to understand the Portogueze printed. I sent so a copy of the Project of the Brazilian Constitution, which, as I say, very soon shall be swaired as Constitution, and that probably would be done in the 3th of next May.

¹ MS. Notes from Brazilian Legation, I.

² See above, pt. III, doc. 391.

The printed papers are the work of a Frenchman, who clearly de Country party; he is the editor, and answers in Law for all that is p it. The No 4 should give you an idea of the civil situation of Per and although some words had been printed there against H. M. the yet if to the party, that calls himself Republican, it should be per retain the command, he would be the first to shout—long live the E the question is who should govern, and when every one has obtain whole are imperial; but those, that have not share, turned thems publicans with the only but, to try if they can get power. In Braz to be found six men with true Republican principles.

The undersigned hopes that the government of the United States give particular atention to the last part of No 3; as the printed paper a Frenchman, there is clearly seen the great concern that the F take to persuade the Brazilians that the French government consid one Independent Nation. From a government paper it is infered th St. Maurice arrived on the 20th February he answered tho [*sic*; to?] ing officier—Mr. de S. Maurice Secretaire de la Legation Française c cour.—

According to this exposition the undersigned thinks his dutty t folowing questions. The government of the United States is [*it*] re permit, to whatever Nation it may be, to reap a most glaring pa *other Nation to have a greater share than itself in*] the friendship, and c of the government, and Brazilian People, than He must catch? [*s* ing in the Portuguese justifies the last four words.]

Is it just to permit that Europe should have the smallest influer American gabinets? Iis it Racional that America should form a Body according to their own interest, which are not and canot be a accord with Europeans? The necessary organization Political of of the globe might it be made by others, than the government, and the United States?

What part attempt to do the government of the United States in t the greatest that was ever performed by the human race? How government of the United States forgett Brasil, having with him commercial relations, that 20 merchant vessels entred at Rio de Jan in 25 days February? Is it to be expected that, in this point of Republics formed from the Spanish colonies can never be so profita People of the United States, although they should be considered co

If the government of the United States had recognised the Inde of those Nations according to their sound policy, and their interests detained himself [*why hesitate*] in proclaiming the Independence of with whom He has the same sound policy, and more strong co relations?

different political, and civil organization of the two countries? Not and positively not. The undersigned forms two a great idea of the liberality, and natural principles of liberty, engraved in every American soul to suspect, that the government of the United States is discomfited with the idea, that every People has the right to govern himself as he thinks.

The undersigned protest the greatest respect [etc.].

*José Silvestre Rebello, Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION BY THE LEGATION]

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1824.

The undersigned, Commissary Judge of the Mixt Commission, and Chargé d'Affaires from H. M. the Emperor of Brazil to the government of the United States, had the honour to acquaint H. E. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; that he having to receive, or not, according to the opinion of H. E. the President, an written answer, in which it shall be declared the reasons, which has the government of the United States not to recognise presently the Brazilian People, and their government in its new political organisation as an Independent Nation; according to the promise by H. E. made to the undersigned in the conference held on the 5th of the current month; and the undersigned being persuaded, that he can receive conjointly a written answer to questions, highly interesting to the government, and Brazilian People; he expose the same questions in the following manner.

American Subjects sell, and buy in Brazil what they like; their ships entering with National Colours on the different ports, where they are cared by the government as individuals, and property of an Independent People.

War American Vessels enter, and depart from the different Brazilian Ports firing salutes, and receiving its from the Imperial batterys, and Vessels; by so doing recognising the government, and Independence of the Country, where they are. Consuls appointed by the government of the United States, and recognised by H. M. the Emperor of Brazil do their Consular duties, protecting the merchants, and facilitating to the Marines what they wants allways in conformity with the public Laws, that are observed between Independent Nations.

Reciprocity of rights is so necessary between Nations for conservations of peace, and the relations or universal society, as it is wanted between individuals for maintaining public tranquility in whatever country, then

¹ MS. Notes from Brazilian Legation, I.

Brazilian subjects must come, and sell in the United States; there are permitted by law and Brazilian merchant vessels may enter the Ports with their National colours, and their Cargos may be landed at Custom House, as individuals, and property of an Independent Nation.

Brazilian War Vessels must enter, if they like, on the same terms as the United States, and they must receive all those courtesies which are showed to War Vessels of Independent Nations.

To protect the first ones, and to enable the seconds in the same manner, Brazilian Consuls must reside in the United States.

The undersigned then ask the following question. Brazilian ships, entering under Brazilian Flag on the United States Ports, are entered at Custom House, and will enjoy the liberty of commerce as the vessels of different Independent Nations?

Brazilian War Vessels entering on the United States Ports, will receive the same salutes, that maritime courtesy has established for the Vessels of Independent Nations?

Consuls appointed by H. M. the Emperor of Brazil can reside on the different Ports of the United States? and will they be recognised by H. E. the President, and authorised to perform the same duties, as do the Consuls of different Independent Nations?

The undersigned think not convincing the obvious answers given to the above mentioned questions; it is, that the Brazilian Government must be recognised before that all those acts should be performed; because if Brazil is an Independent People, and his government is presently harbour, protect, and countenance individual, and corporate rights; how can it be conceived that individuals, and Brazilian ships, not meet instantaneously in the United States equal reception and countenance, that the government there owed to them, as they do to those liberalised in Brazil to American Vessels?

If salutes of American War Vessels are returned now in Brazil, as they are of civilised Nations; how can it be comprehended that Brazilian War Vessels entering on the Ports of the United States, will not receive the same courtesies as the practised courtesies?

If American Consuls are now every where in Brazil to protect American property; where is it to be founded the regularity of sending instantaneously Brazilian Consuls to reside on the Ports of the United States to protect individuals, and Brazilian property?

The undersigned could have supported this Note with the best masters in public law; but he thinks that as a necessary principle, ideas are so well known, and so well founded on reason, justice, and that it is not want the support of another authority.

Brazilian Subjects will be certified that by the government of the United States they are in the mercantile way considered as Independent Nation; as are so American subjects now in Brazil treated by the government of the land, practising with them, and their propertys all obligations of a legal, and Independent government.

The undersigned renew [etc.].

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*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 14, 1824.

SIR: On the 20th of May, some vague reports not sufficiently embodied to assume a distinct form at the date of my last letter of 24th, per Cyrus & Scio, were circulated, the purport of which was, that dissensions had shewn themselves amongst some of the troops, arising from political distinctions, and that a plot was maturing amongst the Brazilian soldiers to expel or massacre the Portuguese, and with them the Emperour. In consequence of what was told the latter, he went on the 21st in person to the quarters of the Battalion "*do Imperador*", which had not been disbanded as was once intended, and made some enquiries of certain of the officers, who on the day following, publicly denied the existence of any misunderstanding in that Corps, which being almost entirely composed of natives, was viewed as the focus of the conspiracy. It would seem, that by the apparent advancement of the Pernambuco, cause which has here a large party of well-wishers, the malcontents had become daily more inspirited, and as they are entirely aware of the impossibility of succeeding in their schemes, whatever they may be, without having the troops on their side, they resorted to the stratagem of infusing distrust, as to the intentions of the Emperour, and their success has probably been equal to their expectations. Amongst others, reports were propagated, that letters had been received from Europe advising that 10,000 German troops were coming to Brasil under the character of Colonists—that there was no doubt of the existence of a systematic plan between the Emperour and his father to unite Brasil to Portugal, and that this was manifest from the hostility displayed by the Ministry towards the foreigners in the naval service, with the view of driving them from it. Thus, by the combination of truths and falsehoods plausible enough, the publick mind was wrought up to a state of distrust almost incredible, and which was well nigh striking a fatal blow at the moral force of the Government.

In this state of things, some events occurred of a nature not calculated to make matters better for those in power. On the evening of the 24th of May,

there arrived here from Para, the Brazilian frigate *Imperatriz* (which had been captured there) under the command of Capt. Grenfel, the Emperor's officer, who was charged with the horrible massacre that took place in Para. The Emperor, having been informed, that there was on board of her a large sum of money which had been seized at Para, and suspecting that she would take it into his safe keeping, as he had done the large amount of money at Maranhão, unless prevented, immediately after she anchored at the board of her, and finding that the Captain had already gone on shore, he personally ordered and superintended in person, the transfer into his own possession of all the boxes of money and papers he could find, including as Grenfel had the very documents of his justification. This officer has been since concealed, and has published several letters, declaratory of his conduct, in which he affirms has been misrepresented, and has probably been so to some extent. This affair produced in the navy, much excitement, and it was thought would lead to the resignation of Cochrane, but it seems, that the entertained hopes of a favourable decision, or of a compromise, although the inferior court had on the 10th of May, decided against him in relation to the property taken at Maranhão.

Whilst discontentment on this ground, was growing in the navy, a mutiny took place on shore, which seemed to corroborate the suspicions that were so strongly excited some days before. On the 3^d Inst. it was announced that all the regular troops, which are probably 3 to 4000, were to be moved from Bay to Praia Grande, distant three miles, a spot rendered memorable for being that to which the Portuguese troops were expelled by the Brazilians on the first appearance of revolutionary symptoms in January 1822. The object of this movement was not stated. Every one was left to his own conjectures, and as on the same day, a sudden and false report got about, that accounts had been received of the actual sailing of an expedition from Rio de Janeiro on the last of April, it was easy to inculcate the suspicion, that it might be the intention of the Emperor, to place the troops where they could be more successful in repelling an invading force. Some not quite so distrustful, were disposed to believe, that a *Bernarda* was brewing in the army, and that to prevent its bursting out, and perhaps to avoid the corruption of the City, the troops were to be scattered or kept in motion, whilst others imagined that the Emperor, observing a gradual loss of his popularity and influence among the people and troops, was about to court the confidence of the latter, by giving them a festival, as he had done in 1821 to the Portuguese military. On the 10th some of the light artillery and cavalry embarked and crossed to the other side, but returned on the following morning in consequence of orders from the Emperor it seems, had been taken suddenly ill with an *epileptic* seizure the preceding evening (having been subject to such attacks, five years ago) and was thereby prevented from executing, what was then announced as his intention, to drill the troops in person in the field. You will perhaps

tonished when I tell you, that so great was the incredulity of the mass of the people, that they did not believe the story of the Emperour's illness, and persuaded themselves, that it was a mere fiction invented to conceal an awkward fact, which was, that it was ascertained that some of the troops *would not go*. His Majesty was able to attend to business on the 5'', and to go out on the 6'', and has since continued without a relapse.

On the 5'', we received advices as late as the 23 of April from Lisbon, confirming the usual report of an intended expedition against Brasil, and leaving no doubt upon the minds of any body here, of the sailing of a squadron at some early period, for some part of this Coast of 5 to 10,000 men. As if awakened from a sleep, the Government put itself in motion to make preparations for defence, but in such an extraordinary way that scepticism was rather strengthened than diminished. Whilst on one hand, high wages were offered to foreign seamen, and the arm of force used to impress the subjects of the Empire, the Superior Court on the 9'' Inst. confirmed the decision of the Court below in relation to Cochrane's prizes, notwithstanding the appearance on the 31 of May, of a sensible and well written protest drawn up by the captors, which left little or no doubt upon the minds of disinterested persons, of the justice of their claim. The *Estrella* anticipates from this decision the abandonment of the service by Cochrane and the other foreign officers, without whom it openly asserts the navy can be of little use, and it is even said, that my Lord has told the Emperour, that without some equivalent, not a foreign officer or seaman, will put a match to a gun for him.

If this mode of giving vigour to the marine service was not the most judicious that could be resorted to, *that* adopted for the army, had no greater claims to a preference. On Sunday the 6'' Inst. the troops like a band of Janissaries, were let loose in the streets in small parties, with orders, perhaps more or less restricted, to seize and carry to their quarters, such persons as they might be able to lay their hands upon. Under this authority outrages of a most infamous sort were perpetrated. A foreign Consul informed me, that he had gone on the evening of that day to extricate his servant who had been seized, and that he found at one of the barracks, several hundred persons of *all colours* and ranks from the servant to the wealthy merchant, and even dignitaries condecorated with the emblems of an Order closely crowded together, and writhing under the insolence of the soldiers, who, it afterwards appeared, permitted during the night, those to depart who had the means to pay for their liberation. This system of violence, which was repeated on the next day, shews the idea entertained by these rulers, of the *rights of the citizen* so liberally defined in the *Constitution*, and if it was not, as some imagine, a scheme to please the troops by indulging them in a sort of licensed robbery, it is difficult to conceive what motive could have induced a *patriotic* ministry, to perform an act, which could not fail to produce a general disgust, and

A combination of the causes I have mentioned varnished by the the *demagogues* to suit their purposes, and aided by the intrigues, been on foot touching the election of Senators and Deputies, growing disaffection towards the Imperial Government, which was more manifest, and especially the *unconcealed* confidence which the Portugal entertained in a *Re-Union*, finally produced a sort of necessity upon the Emperour to renew his declaration of adhesion to the cause of independence. This he did, in a Proclamation which appeared on 11th Inst. to "all the subjects of the Empire," in which he protests, nay exhort anew, his readiness to shed the last drop of his blood in opposition to the Imperial Government, and in defence of the Independence of Brasil. How far, I know not, upon the old theme of "Jacobinical and Machiavelian Cortes of Portugal" may please the *Constitutional* Portuguese here, and how far his popularity, and his anxiety about leaving the Brasileans in anarchy, in case he were to be removed from them, may claim the gratitude of the native *Liberales*, I know not. It will take some time for the public opinion to be made up, and if it does not succeed in removing all doubts respecting his *Brasilean* popularity, it does not what can do it, unless it be, *the reorganization, at some place other than the Capital, of the Constituent Assembly dissolved on the 12th of May*, which some politicians consider as the only mode of establishing a new government.

Our last advices from Pernambuco are to the 20th of May. Brazil had obliged all the vessels except the Piranga to go to Bahia to refit, and had lost all her cables but one. Carvalho maintained his influence and popularity, and what much annoys his enemies here, the tranquillity of the Empire. On the first of May, he addressed a manifesto, to the Provinces of Brazil, containing a summary of political occurrences, and the sound political principles of a *Constitutionalist*, but still declares no wish to withdraw his allegiance from the Emperour exercising powers defined by a *Constitution*. He is duly authorized by the people, the true and only source of power. The City was well supplied with provisions, and there appears to be a great unanimity amongst the inhabitants. The Governor at arrival in Rio on the 12th issued a proclamation, inveighing against the conduct of the Imperial Government, and containing some harsh personalities, respecting his abandonment of British service.

It is whispered here, and I am inclined to believe it, that it has been decided by the Council of State, that Carvalho is to be confirmed in his office, in case it appears that Mairick [?] the second gentleman in the Ministry, has not met with the approbation of the people, and that orders have been given to Taylor to announce it and to raise the blockade. The latter part

of Rio de Janeiro, that they may act with efficiency in the approaching contest.

Jewett, in the latter end of May was sentenced to two years imprisonment, has been subsequently pardoned by the Emperour, and was a few days since reinstated in the command of a frigate, I believe the *Imperatriz*.

The electoral college of the Province commenced its sessions on 13 Inst. for the choice of Senators and Deputies, and orders have also been given for the election of *Juries* to try cases of libel. The answer given by this Government to the Count de Gestas in relation to the publication, which led to a change in the title of the "Diario do Governo," was published on 5" Inst. from which, *had it not been for the fact of the said change*, the former appears to have taken a dignified stand, alleging that the press in Brasil is *perfectly free*, more so than in France, and quoting an expression used by the French Government to the Brasilean Agent who had made a similar complaint. This freedom of the press in Rio de Janeiro is no doubt very ample in theory, but in practice somewhat restricted, seeing that since the 12" of November, except Mr. May who has lately given us, Malaquettas No. 3 and 4, no one has been bold enough to express in print, the sentiments which abounded here before that day. Lisboa, former editor of the *Correio*, I understand has gone to Pernambuco, having left this harbour in a boat, and been picked up outside, by the vessel which conveyed the Deputies. He is a perfect master of the politics of Rio de Janeiro, and may perhaps revive his paper in the North.

By the *Homer*, which sailed for Baltimore on 8" Inst. I transmitted to you a packet, forwarded under cover to me by Mr. Tudor, who was on board the *Franklin* at Callao, on the 1 of April, waiting for an answer from the Vice Roy, as to his reception as Consul.

The merchant vessels which are here called national are generally Portuguese, which carry two sets of papers and two flags. They trade to Europe, and I believe directly with Portugal.

It is said, that the Pernambuco cause continues to gain ground at Bahia, and that the *Morgado de Cabo* who had fled from Pernambuco to the Province of Alagoas had been driven away with his followers, by an armed force from the interior commanded by a Deputy of the late Cortes. In the Province of Sergipe d'El Rey, there have also been troubles.

Under date of 12" Inst. I have drawn upon your Department, in favour of George Campbell Esquire, for \$157, and in favour of George Campbell trustee of Catharine S. Raguét, for \$700.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Condy Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, A

SIR: By the U. S. Ship Franklin which arrived here on 19th inst. I had the honour to address you a few lines under-
ing all I have written since the 14th of June, the date of my
Riley and Virginia.

The proclamation of the Emperour, issued on the 11th Jun
devotion to the cause of Independence, was accompanied a
acts, which at least had the appearance of sincerity. Orders
the immediate raising of 3000 militia, in the Province of Min
transmission, with some regular troops from St. Paul's, St. C
other places, to this City, as being the point most likely to be
garrisons of the forts here were strengthened, new batteries
fortifications in the vicinity completed or progressed with,
local military arrangements made, but all this had not the e
ing every one, that in the event of an expedition from Portu
our was to be relied upon. Indeed it is almost impossible t
utterly lost, with no inconsiderable portion of this people, is
confidence in the Imperial word, and indeed it is not to be wo
it is recollected, how many Royal examples have lately been
practical illustration of the doctrine:

Tis he that makes the oath, that breaks it
Not he, that for convenience takes it.

Whilst these operations to encrease the land forces were in
efforts were made to recruit for the naval service, by impress
creasing the wages of seamen, and pardoning deserters who
An addition was also made to the number of ships by the pu
ing of a merchant vessel or two, but the great dispute betw
officers and the Government remained unsettled. The Cou
their hostile career, declaring bad prize, vessels captured by
Portuguese papers and colours and navigated entirely w
crews, sentencing the captors to exorbitant damages and co
timating that the Admiral was liable to *corporal punishment*.
policy and display of gratitude towards those who had exp
from the country was brought into the view of the publick, b
cussion carried on in the *Estrella* and *Diario*, by writers who

to be Cochrane and his colleagues on the one side and the Minister of the Marine and his partizan Judges (Who are chiefly natives of Portugal) on the other, in the course of which, a latitude was given to the press, which would not have been tolerated from any other quarter. Direct charges of injustice, imputations of Portuguese predilections and of a desire to paralyze the strong arm of defence were wielded without reserve and the exasperated captors not only availed themselves of arguments drawn from *the Law*, but from *the Prophets*, giving as the motto to one of their attacks these significative words—"Away with the wicked from before the King, that his throne may be established in righteousness." On the other hand, his Lordship was accused of loving *money* rather than *glory*, and of having in his chase of the Bahia squadron prudently avoided the danger of a battle with the ships of war, and solely occupied himself with the capture of the unarmed and defenceless vessels. This paper warfare was kept up until the 21st Ult. and is probably suspended for the present, by circumstances which you will understand from the sequel.

The various conjectures which had been formed as to the object of the intended military excursion to Praia Grande of which I spoke in my letter of 14 June, and the cause of its defeat, rendered it necessary, that the affair should not be suffered to pass away, leaving bad impressions behind, particularly as the news which immediately succeeded of an intended expedition from Portugal, rendered it more important than ever, that the army should be practiced in field manœuvres upon a large scale. Accordingly orders were given, and in pursuance thereof, the whole of the regular troops, probably 4000 passed over to Praia Grande, on the 21st and 22nd of June, where they were reviewed, and drilled and feasted by the Emperour in person, until the last day of the month. This expedition, it was thought, was not attended by that enthusiasm and eclat, which were anticipated. Many of the officers were obliged to incur expenses which their moderate revenue could badly afford, and as the ostensible motive, that of exercising the troops, for which ample room was to be found on this side the bay, did not in the opinion of many, justify such an expensive parade conjectures were entertained, that other objects than those alleged, must have been in view, on the part of His Majesty. These were supposed to be, the courting of the favour of the officers and troops by personal intercourse with them in the field and at the table and the enjoying of an opportunity of convincing them by toasts and otherwise of his sincere devotion to the cause of Independence, and of sounding them in the same way as to the extent to which he could rely upon them, for an expedition against the rebels of the North. The two first points, were to all appearances accomplished, but it is said, that the result in relation to the last was not quite as satisfactory as was expected indications having appeared, that the native troops of this place, would with some reluctance march against their compatriots.

The measures of this Government being almost entirely influenced by the

vacillation of affairs in Portugal, no sooner had news from Lisbon of May, detailing the events of the treason of Don Miguel reached 30 June, than all apprehensions of an invasion from the enemy were and the Ministry immediately set to work to restore internal tranquility and the renewal of hostilities against Pernambuco. . . .

On the 21 Ult. by the Torpedo from Baltimore we received a note from that City, of the 29th May, stating that Joze Silvestre Rebello on the 27 of same month, been presented to the President, and been received and recognized as Chargé des Affaires from the Emperour of Brazil. The story flew about with much rapidity and was by degrees acquiring the character of an absolute recognition of the Independence of Brazil, by the United States. In order to avert erroneous impressions, I sent on the next day the minister for Foreign Affairs, a newspaper containing the paragraph and a note, stating, that I had no other notice of the circumstance than was related, and therefore did not vouch for its authenticity, of which he had not reason to doubt. The article appeared immediately, in the *Estrella* and *Dario*, with editorial remarks, indicating the reception of Rebello, as a step towards a recognition, which would be flattering and hoped, would not long be delayed. I believe that no communication had been received from Mr. Rebello since his arrival in the United States. I am persuaded, that this Government has been waiting with great anxiety to know the nature of the reception, he would meet with.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*Condy Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, August 21

By an arrival from England on 2d Inst. with dates to the middle of the month, the first intelligence reached here, of a rumour that negotiations for the recognition of the Independence of Brazil, had been opened in London between the Portuguese Ambassadour and the agents of this Country. The recent English and French papers speak of it, as so probable an event, that many people here are inclined to believe it, but I have reason to think that the Government here, has had no further information upon the subject, than that the Portuguese Minister and the Brazilian agents in London have been frequently seen walking arm in arm. Should such an accommodation take place, under the influence of England, that nation will no doubt end

intrigue for some advantages in favour of her commerce with Brazil, perhaps if not overtly, at least under cover of the mother country and I cannot flatter myself, that the wisdom of this government could penetrate deep enough to discover a tax paid to Great Britain, under the form of an indemnity to Portugal, or that there is a spirit of Independence, unalloyed by Portuguese predictions, sufficiently strong to resist demands, which might in fact, under another name, be a mere perpetuation of the Colonial system. . . .

Letters from Buenos Ayres to 24" July, contain many rumours unfavourable to the causes of Independence. Bolivar is said to have been defeated (dates not mentioned) near Truxillo—the Spanish ships of war had arrived at Callao—Chili is reported to be in great confusion—The Governor of Cordova has promised Olanetta, a favourable reception—in Mendoza, there had been half a dozen political changes in eight days—and it is even said, that fears are entertained for the safety of the Provinces of La Plata, now threatened by the Spanish arms.

A second squadron of vessels, is about sailing per [*sic*] for the North, under the command of Capt. Jewett. The news from Pernambuco to 23 July, & from Bahia to 5 Inst. is so contradictory, that it is difficult to say, whether it be more favourable to one party or the other. The result of Cochrane's expedition is looked to, with much interest.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *September 12, 1824.*

The inference drawn by Mr. Rebello from his presentation to the President and the strong character given to it here by the Government, did not impress all minds alike; The foreigners were undoubtedly taken by surprize, for none of them (and I doubt if the Government itself did) believed, that our Government would be the first to adopt a course, at least indicative of a friendly spirit, and I presume the gentlemen of the Holy Alliance will be equally astonished, when they hear it in Europe. The Portuguese party, as you may imagine, were excessively enraged, for there is scarcely a native of Portugal here, who has not been dreaming of a reunion with the Mother Country, and some of them indulged in bitter execrations, maintaining that it was a disgrace for a monarchy to solicit the patronage of a Republick, and of one so *insignificant* in the scale of nations. The Ministry I have no doubt were

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, II.

much gratified, and I am persuaded that the Emperour was French Abbé of my acquaintance who was tutor to the *Prince* daily companion of *The Emperour*, tells me, that he was measure, that he could hardly contain himself when he he pressed himself thus to him a few days ago—"I was always have the good will of our neighbours The United States. I am and as I am not now pressed about the matter, Europe may but she cannot long delay to follow the example." I take that the mass of the nation will also be pleased, but I find the erales, somewhat alloyed by a notion they have taken into the form of the recognition of Mr. Rebello as it has been representation of approval of the form of the government. You will perceive which I have transmitted to you, that such a complexion has been both by the Ministry and Mr. Rebello, whose services have been as I am told, by an encrease of his salary from 3000 dollars per annum. On the 27 of August when a salute (*not* an Imperial one of 100 guns) in honor of the event, there was a very faint illumination of the city, doubted, others, disliked and as there was no order on the subject was left to pursue his own course.

The British Consul General had got hold of a story (I presume that Mr. Rebello had asserted at Washington, that before the French Minister had arrived there, and he seemed to be impressed with the idea, that our Government had been influenced in taking the matter by some such representation. He did not speak to me on the subject suspected from his enquiries on other points that a little jealousy was excited in consequence of the apprehension, that we should take the matter, so important to Great Britain in a commercial point of view, to collect seeing in the national Intelligencer of May 3 a short notice from Brazil, which I felt assured, was furnished by Mr. Rebello. It contained, the following passage: "On the 20 (February) last a ship arrived from Brest having on board Mr. S. Maurice, as Secretary of Legation to the Brazilean Imperial Court. He announced that he had capacity to the visiting officer." The fact is, that frequent representations have been made here to impress the publick mind with the belief, that the Consul General, was a Diplomatic agent with credentials as such from the Emperour of Brazil. Even he himself, is giving notice of a letter on the day of St. Louis, 25 Ult. announced it as the Mass of the "celebration" and on the evening of the birth of the last Princess, the Palace with such diplomatic promptness, as to see the child (I may say) within half an hour after its birth but after all, it is very probable by the other Consuls, that the credentials upon which he was acting have excluded the agent of any other nation, with the exception of The Mons. St. Maurice, above referred to, soon after the ne-

early in August of the displacing of Mr. Chauteaubriand (the *Uncle* of the Lady of the French Consul General, and not the *father* as I once stated) from the Ministry, returned to France on account of the death of a sister.

The Seventh of the present month, was announced and celebrated as the second anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence of Brazil, but certainly not with the pomp, parade and magnificence, which will be displayed on the 12th of October the anniversary of the Emperour's birth and acclamation, but in these celebrations *the people* have no part.

General Labattirs [?] with his family, embarked for Gibraltar on 18 Ult. This man merited at least the reputation, of having done towards the expulsion of the Portugueze from Bahia, all that was done, by, the land forces.

I am informed that an officer is to proceed by one of the first vessels to Philadelphia or Baltimore, for the purpose of contracting for some ships of war for this government. Arrangements I believe are also making, for the appointment of Consuls or Commercial agents to foreign countries, who will probably be maintained by the revival of the old imposition of certificates, of which, I procured the abolition, soon after my arrival here in September 1822.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, October 5, 1824.

The arrival however on 2d Inst. of intelligence from Pernambuco down to 19 Inst. has dissipated all the fears of one party, and the hopes of the other. A summary of the events from 20 August to 17 Sept. has appeared in the gazettes, from which it appears, that the menaces of Cochrane to bombard the City had produced great alarm, and that many of the inhabitants fled into the country—that on the 3 of September fourteen natives of Portugal were massacred by the soldiery in revenge for the murder of one of their countrymen by a Portugueze—that on the 5th intelligence was received that the Pernambuco troops had been driven by the Imperialists to within four leagues of the City—that on the 11 the squadron commanded by Jewett arrived off the port,—that on the same day; the Imperialists had advanced to the river Afogados, three fourths of a league distant—that on the 12th, the Southern parts of the City, called San Antonio and Boa Vista, were attacked and entered by the Invaders—that upon that day, a brisk warfare and cannonading was kept up between the contending parties, until the 17th when early in the morn-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, II.

ing the part of the City called the Recife, was entered by the the forts of Brum, Buraco and Olinda, were simultaneously a men landed from the squadron and carried. Carvalho it see the 12th took refuge on board the British ship of war Tweed, was transferred to The Brazen, the commander of which re him up, and was shortly after to sail for England. *Lisboa* i panied him. The principal officers of rank, made their escap rior, but *Rogers* who commanded a schooner which was activ hostile operations, was taken, and it is said, was to be the fi military commission.

Of the events which succeeded this fall of Pernambuco, v ceived no intelligence, but if the panic which appears to ha Carvalho (whose flight was concealed until the 15) should tak Chiefs of the other rebellious Provinces, the submission of th looked for. Of the number of killed and wounded, we have n counts. That on the part of the Imperialists, is represented a that of the others is said to amount to several hundreds. I a that a report is current that Mr. Ray an American merchant nambuco, has been arrested on a charge of some interference concerns of the place. None of the Americans here have rece from these correspondents there, since the 19th of August and whether any mischance has befallen there any of our country siege. . . .

We have news from Portugal to 10 August by which we lear squadron was "ready to sail, but as there does not appear to ha sponding arrangement for the embarkation of troops, no fears of an expedition. A report however, has obtained currency not a few, that the King had resolved to come to Brazil, with most persons suppose who give credit to the story, of retirin *life*. It is not at all probable, whatever might have been h other circumstances, that Don Pedro will renounce his crow considers it completely established by the overthrow of the N licans.

Of the negotiations said to be in progress at London, betwe Brazil and those of Portugal, we have no additional particula rangement may be anticipated. Last week, several vesse under the Brazilean flag, direct from Lisbon and Oporto, and am told had none but *Portuguese* papers. A number more v different ports of Brazil, and as there appears to be no dispos vessels so circumstanced, it may be fairly inferred, that an exists which will ultimately lead to the general raising of the s Portuguese property of which partial examples occur very fre

tion of the Independence of Brazil, on the part of Portugal, but a formal renunciation of all claims to the crown of the latter, by Don Pedro and there is a rumour, but I know not, with what foundation, that such renunciation will be made, on the 12 Inst. the second anniversary of his acclamation.

Dr. Joshua Bond of Maryland, residing at Monte Video, has applied to me, for the appointment of Consular Agent at that port, which I declined conferring, upon the ground of its being beyond my commission, which extends only to Brazil proper, and not to a conquered Province. From the character given to me of him by Mr. Forbes and others, I should cheerfully have acquiesced in his wishes had it not been for that difficulty. I think the encreasing commerce of the United States would be benefitted by a consular appointment at that port. . . .

If I might be allowed to give an opinion upon the policy of our Government, I should respectfully suggest, that should it resolve upon a recognition of The Independence of Brazil, the consummation of such an act, *before any other nation*, would give us an influence, which otherwise we never can possess. The form of this Government, the ties of consanguinity and family, with the principal monarchs of Europe, and above all, the secret dread of the moral influence of our Republick, must have a perpetual tendency to produce a coldness towards us, on the part of the *Government*. The impression has no doubt always existed here, that our feelings towards South America were grounded in a community of interest, and that we cared no further for her emancipation, than so far as she embraced our political doctrines. The reception of Mr. Rebello, has certainly had a tendency to lay the foundation for a change of opinion, and if followed promptly by the other measures which are here looked for, we may be able, by producing an effect upon *the nation*, to assume a stand which every exertion will be used to prevent by England and France, who are desirous to see Brazil as ever heretofore, direct her eyes to Europe, and not to North America.

I am not acquainted with the practice which has existed at Washington, of publishing when information is called for, the communications received from publick agents. I can only say, that in my letters, I have been so unreserved in speaking of the affairs of this country, that I should be very sorry to see any of them in print, as long as I continue to reside here, and would therefore beg, if it can be accorded without injury to the publick service, to be kept out of view, my appointment of Commercial Agent being known here only to a few of my countrymen.

I have the honor [etc.].

*José Silvestre Rebello, Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington,
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION BY THE LEGATION]

WASHINGTON, January 28,

SIR: The Government of Brazil convinced of the effective declaration made by the Government of the United States in the President's message in the first session to the 18th Congress, in which was stated—in relation to those American Countries, that have declared their Independence, and maintained it, and whose Independence we have, on great consideration, just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interpositions with the purpose of oppressing them, or, controlling, in any other manner, than as they may be, tiny, by any European power, in any other light, than as the manifestation of an unfriendly [*sic*] disposition towards the United States.—

And supposing, as it is to be hoped, that the aforesaid European Government, enlightened by the true ideas, that all governments ought to have, and just principles, that caused the Brazil to declare its Independence, will not interfere in the question he has with Portugal; nevertheless as men are men, and those Governments are composed of men, and as it is possible that some Governments, contrary to all the rights, reason, and Justice, and against their own interests wish to help the exhausted [*sic*] Portugal to reconquer the Brazil, for which he so inconsiderately [*sic*] hankers after; and as the Government of the United States in such a case will exhibit those principles of policy announced in the aforesaid Message proving the generosity of the consequence congenial to him; and as he can not do it without sacrifice of men, and wealth; and being contrary to reason Justice, and right that the Government of Brazil should receive such sacrifices gratuitous, he is ready to accede to a convention with the Government of the United States, the object shall be to maintain the Independence of Brazil in the support of Portugal being auxiliated by any foreigner. Pour in his thoughts of chimeric intentions of recolonising the Brazil.

The Government of Brazil not having acquired yet, owing to the short time of his existence as Independent Nation, those ideas of policy which abound already in the Administration of the United States Government, and therefore wished that the Government of the United States will let him know what shall be the conditions in which is to be formed the proposed Convention which after being transmitted to the Court of Rio will have an answer.

The Government of Brazil considering also that the Independence of the Countries before Spanish Colonies, is established; as there are in the Colonies governments established and regular Administrations, has no objection

¹ MS. Notes from Brazilian Legation, I.

pendence; the many benefits that the United States annua Great Britain will proof it evidently.

3d That whatever may be the form of the different Nations His Imperial Majesty and the Brazilian Government wi of them according to the Diplomatic *Etiquet* that has united for different Nations of Europe, where Monarchies and Republics nally, without a word said, or caused the odious distinction of d of Governments to be felt that so brutally provoked the effe Republic, such delirium His Imperial Majesty and the Govern will do all that lies in their pour to calm, proclaiming to all Nati ernments the sacred principles of Peace, Commerce, industry
May God Bless Your Excellency—

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*Condly Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to John Q
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *Januar*

Until very lately, the idea was strongly inculcated that the progressing in London, between the Brazilian and Portuguese ers would shortly terminate in the recognition of The Independence It was said in the *Spectador* here in referring to Lisbon dates of r that the receipt in Portugal, of the intelligence, that the Ind The Empire had been recognized by the United States, had pro sensation amongst the people, as well as in the Government, other considerations, could not fail to bring about a speedy Within a week past however, we have had it reported, that the have been broken off, and that it is now in deliberation in th issue a decree, prohibiting entirely the introduction into Brazi ductions of Portugal. I can not however vouch for the truth At present the commercial intercourse between *this port*, and F fers nothing from the actual relation between the two countrie dates from Lisbon to the beginning of December, but nothing r spired. A Packet is said to be expected with intelligence decis subject of the negotiations. . . .

A Despatch to The Government was published on the 14'' I officer in the Province of Goyaz, dated on the 4'' of November, ing the receipt of a communication of 30 of August "informing

nition of The Independence of Brazil, by The United States of North America," in consequence of which, there had been a salute of 21 guns, a Mass, a Te Deum and an illumination. This is the only document which has appeared, announcing that the event had been celebrated at other places than this, although I had heard of its being noticed with much rejoicing at Bahia and Pernambuco, where the feeling towards our Country is more fraternal than here. I presume the Government must be in possession of many similar communications, but they probably withhold their publication, until it be known from The President's Message (which has not yet reached us) whether they have or have not been too precipitate in their conclusions. . . .

An English vessel lately arrived in this port, saw on the 29th December, in Latitude 40 South in the Atlantic Ocean, steering to the Southward, a squadron of *five vessels of war*, which are supposed to be *Spanish* bound to the Pacific.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*Condty Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *March 11, 1825.*

Prior to the 27th Ult. the current of news received here from Peru, was not calculated to inspire the friends of South American Independence with any sanguine hopes of a speedy termination to the contest.

The falling back of Bolivar upon Lima in November, was regarded as ominous of an ill fate to the patriot cause and the report of a partial defeat of the Independent Army, received 4 or 6 weeks ago, gave little room to expect the tidings which, have lately reached us. On the date above mentioned, we received via Bueynos Ayres, the news of the total defeat of the Royal Army on the 9 of December, near Huamanga, and on the second Inst. the intelligence was confirmed by the arrival at this port of The Vice Roy Lacerna, General Valdez, four other Generals, and a number of other officers on their way to *France*, in the French merchant ship Ernestin. This information, as you may imagine, produced an astonishing excitement, and seemed at once, as if by magic, to bring into existence, views and conjectures which in some minds had long remained dormant, or which, in others, had never before been conceived. The friends of freedom hailed the news with extatic delight. The advocates of absolute monarchy in this hemisphere, beheld prostrate their cherished hopes. All eyes turned to The Banda Oriental as the next seat of war, and many people for the first time began to reflect upon the pos-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, II.

sibility of maintaining a monarchy in the midst of Republicks. The Government, or at least some of its members, were known to be well wishers of the success of the Royal cause, and it is even said, that Don Pedro expressed himself in exultation when he heard a former report of the defeat of the Royalists. Finding now however, that the *point d'appui* of Royalty in America had crumbled into atoms and perceiving the folly of attempting to stem the tide of popular opinion, a council of State was held on the third Inst. and the Government paper of the following date, we could not avoid discovering the result of its deliberations, in an editorial article, commencing with the following unexpected words—"At length the prolonged contest of the Independents and Spaniards of America with the Royalists has ended, and the cause of Liberty and reason has triumphed: yes, Bolivar, that immortal Champion of the Independence of Spanish America, has succeeded in expelling at a blow the Spaniards from the American territory, the Vice Roy of Peru" &c. No particulars however yet been published in either of the papers and perhaps no pains will be taken by the Government to spread the tidings, and it is certain, that no publick demonstrations of joy, will be permitted. Baron Laguna, it is said, has called for 5000 troops for Monte Video should doubt the ability of the Government, to meet half his requisitions in this Province. Independent of the fear of an anticipated invasion, there has been said to have been lately some discontent in that quarter. The Baron is reported to have been at the bottom of the petition made by the Cabildo in favour of an absolute government, a measure which did not give satisfaction to all the inhabitants.

It is said, that the Brazilean Consul at Bueynos Ayres, had left that place in consequence of having his windows broken for not illuminating in honour of the victory of the Independents. He no doubt, thought he would have been able to resist his own Government, but it is reported that they say, *it served him right*.

I understand, that the Vice Roy Lacerna says, that the battle of the 2nd of December, was fought against his judgment, and that his army contained 900 Europeans, all the rest being Indians, who fled as soon as he was defeated. The Spanish ship of the Line Asia, had sailed for Manilla, the brig America for Manilla or Cadiz. The Spanish Consul here, thinks from what he has heard, that Olanetta, may be able to keep the field for a time, having 6000 men, but reports say, that the people in the district where he was mentioned, had declared in favour of Independence immediately after the battle. It is thought that the Spanish squadron which was seen in December, will fall into the hands of the Independents, owing to the impossibility of procuring supplies at Chiloe.

time policy which unhapily make yet an objet of doubt among maniments & having only in view his favorite object of peace, frindshversal commerce, I must beg leave to observe to your Excellency tably the Government of Brazil will not accede to any propositions the Government of the United States, that may tend although inddeclare as principles in the Law of Nations of such problems as somments have no visible disposition to accede to; but will embrace tpleasure provided they may become theorems in Public right by concurrence.

I expect that Your Excellency will apprise me of the sentiments of the United States's Government respecting the Proposed Treaty, that I may have the pleasure of communicating them to my Government, or if Your Excellency will let me Know what answer on these subjets I may give to my said Government.

May God prezeve Your Excellency for many years as I wish [e

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*José Silvestre Rebello, Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, to John C. Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION BY THE LEGATION]

WASHINGTON, *April 10*

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: I have the honour to inform your Excellency that I received Your Excellency's Notte of the 13th inst.² in answer to mine of the 28th of January and 6 of the present, & Your Excellency may be assured that never in my thoughts arose that the delay in answering was caused by disrespect towards the Brazilian Government I always considered it as necessary consequence of the elective Policy, which constitutes the Government of the United States, & which I consider very illustrious with a thorough knowledge of the due respect to Governments mutually due. I thank your Excellency's expressions in the aforesaid Notte and pay them those respecting my person.

From the contents of that Notte it is concluded that the Government of the United States does not expect that the other Governments will be concerned in the question between Portugal and Brazil, & consequently there exists no cause at present for the Government of Brazil & the United States to camming to especial engagements, which aught to take place only in

¹ MS. Notes from Brazilian Legation, I.

² See above, at p. 120, 126, and for Rebello's of January 28 and April 10.

of any Foreign Power interfering in the quarrel peculiar only to Brazil and Portugal.

It may be perceived from the same Notte that the Government of the United States does not wish to enter in an alliance offensive and deffensive with the Government of Brazil proposed by the latter, and to take place in case of Portugal taking possession of any Military Ports in Brazil & this *primo* in consequence of the almost certainty of peace going to be established between the said Nations recognising the latter the Independence and the Empire of the first & second because the Gov of the United States has been newter in the question between the Mother country & the before Colonies, lately agitated between two European Nations & part of America.

Respecting this I must reflect that from the Message of 2 of December 1823. another conclusion may be taken—witch is sayd— “In the war between those new Governments and Spain, we declared our new-trality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur, which in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponing change in the part of the United States indispensable to their Security”—Now the only occurrence that can according to the meaning of the announced propositions, make the Government of the United States alter its system of Neutrality is probably the conquest of part of the territory belonging to the new nations, consequently if it happens that the Portuguese Troops take any possession in Brazil, it is evident then that the Government of the United States aught to abandon the admitted neutrality and declare itself in alliance offensive and deffensive with Brazil, these acts are supposing that peace will not be established between the two Nations, although it is to be hoped Divine Providence will not permit it.

His Imperial Majesty and the Government of Brazil have such wish to unite the two Nations the Brazil & the United States in relations of Peace frindship & Commerce that even desires as I stated in my two last notes to unite them in alliance offensive & deffensive, as a proof of the United States having been the first in recognising the Independence & the Empire of Brazil, therefore will receive joiffully any propositions made by the Government of the United States that may tend to the desired effect, which propositions as soon as Your Excellency will transmit to me I shall forward them without delay to my Government that as soon as possible will let me Know its ideias respecting these interesting objects about which for the present I am not able to give any further explanations.

May God preserve Your Excellency for many years [etc.].

*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May*.

SIR: My last was of 16 ulto. per Pennsylvania and Sereno.

The subject which seems now chiefly to engage the attention of our Government, is the probability of a war in the Banda Orientale. On the 1st of April, the Bank was directed to furnish General Lecor, with an annual sum of ten thousand milreis per month, and several remittances of the same kind have been made to Monte Video. On the 28 ulto. there sailed from that port a squadron consisting of the Corvette Maria da Glória, the Frigate Rio da Plata, Real João, and Paquete da Bahia, and ten gunboats, the whole transporting 308 troops, which added to the Naval and Military forces already in the River Plate, probably deemed sufficient to prevent any attempts on the part of the Buenos Ayrean to cross the river. A vessel which had been sent to Buenos Ayres, as is supposed to ascertain the state of affairs returned on 8th of April, and brought the intelligence that the port can be relied upon, that no military preparations were there. We have had at times from Buenos Ayres, rumours that Lecor was preparing offensive operations and it was even said that a part of his army had entered the Province of Entre Rios. These stories I believe were without foundation, and I am not able to conceive how it is possible for our Government to commence hostilities against a Power, which by issuing privateer commissions could do such incalculable injury to her commerce, and draw off all her efficient seamen, and by the aid of her Allies in Europe could overthrow the Imperial Government in the Northern Province. Our Government paper however in speaking of the Republic of Buenos Ayres treats it with a dignified contempt, as a State which is not to be compared with "the most Powerful," and "most vast Empire of Brazil, and by the devaluation of her stability, we are lately, told that Chili, Cordova, and Montevideo, are in a very unsettled and revolutionary situation. . . .

By the British Packet, which arrived on 7 Inst. we learn that the Commodore Stewart had sailed from Portsmouth on 15 March, and was off Lisabon on the 21st. His arrival here is expected before the first of June.

On the 21st of April, we had the pleasure first to hear verbally that Mr. Adams had been elected President of The United States on the 4th of February,—This intelligence, gratifying to all the Americans here, was confirmed on 4th inst by the arrival of the Brig Brazil, from New York, bound to Lima, bringing papers to 10th March containing an inaugural speech, and a paragraph noticing the nomination of a

Affaires for Rio de Janeiro. This information was noticed in the *Diario Fluminense* of 6th Inst. and the speech was published at length in the same paper on the 10th, being I believe the first instance in which a similar speech or Message, has ever appeared in Rio de Janeiro.

I have the Honour [etc.].

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*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 20, 1825.*

SIR: Since the date of my last letter of 12th Inst. per Ceres, of which duplicate will go by The Phoebe Ann, intelligence has been received at this place of a nature not a little important to this Government. In the night of 16th Inst. there arrived here from Monte Video, in the unusually short passage of six days a vessel with despatches, and a few private letters of which some were dated as late as the 10th, announcing that a body of troops under the command of Brigadier Fructuoso Ribeiro, had taken up arms against the Imperial Government, and by a sudden, and unexpected movement, had marched upon the residue of the army under General Lecor, which had saved itself by a precipitate retreat into the City of Monte Video. The consternation which appears to have been produced by this unlooked for event, was so great, that none of the letters have furnished details sufficient to enable us to form a correct opinion, as to the origin and progress of this rebellion. It is however said, that Maldonado, and Seritto, were in possession of the revolted, and from the apprehensions expressed, in some of the letters, there is reason to believe that the Military force within the walls was much less than that without. An Embargo was laid on 17th Inst. upon all vessels in this port bound to the South, and the most active preparations are making for a military expedition, which report estimates at from 1600 to 3,000 men.

This Brigadier Ribeiro, is an officer of considerable skill, and of great influence, is a native of the Banda Orientale, was first in command in former days under Artigas, and latterly under Lecor—and has been recently rewarded by the European with the rank of Marshall and several con-decorations.

Should the war thus commenced in the Banda Orientale, be of long continuance, and of this there would be every probability if the City of Monte Video should fall into the hands of the Insurgents it is probable that Bueynos Ayres will be involved in the contest and that there will be a blockade of the River La Plata. In such an event, our extensive commerce to that quarter would experience great embarrassment and from the avidity of the foreign Offi-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Rio de Janeiro, II.

cers in this employ to possess themselves of an ample remuneration for their services, it is highly probable that Captures and seizures of American vessels will be made after the manner of those of the Exchange and Spermaceti, without any regard to the established rules of war, or the settled principles of justice of nations. I am therefore of opinion, and take the liberty to express, that I suggest that one or two Public Ships on this station, would be of great utility in preventing many outrages of the kind alluded to, particularly if the representative of our Government at this Court, should be authorized from an early stage, to assume that tone in relation to the violation of our rights, which best becomes a powerful nation when it requires nothing but the name of *Justice* and the mere manifestation of which, I feel persuaded, would put an end to all causes of national complaint.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Wood
Odlin, United States Consul at San Salvador (Bahia)*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, May 20

DEAR SIR: An Embargo was laid on 17th Inst at this Port, on a vessel bound to the Southward, in consequence of intelligence on that day received from Monte Video as late as the 10th Inst., announcing that a body of rebels under the command of Marshall Fructuoso Rebeiro, had taken possession of the walls of that Town, and had driven General Lecor, with his troops, from the walls of that Town. We are without any particulars, but I give you notice for the government of American vessels which may be bound to the Plate—

I am very Respectfully [etc.].

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry C.
retary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 1

Our intelligence from Monte Video, reaches no later than the 1st, which time Lecor was in possession of the City, and the rebels estimated at about 600 strong, and daily encreasing in sight of the City. Not

¹ MS. Consular Letters, St. Salvador, Brazil, III.

been published here, which throws any light upon the subject, nor do the letters furnish any particulars to be relied upon. I have however seen letters from Bueynos Ayres of the same date, received yesterday, from which I have extracted the following. "Sugars have risen within these few days, as there is some prospect of a rupture with Brazil. This Government has not taken any decisive step, but the Orientales are assisted by individuals from this place with arms and money to any amount. Many men have also gone over to join them, and continue to leave every night. Congress has ordered a force to be placed on the Uruguay as a precaution—we believe 1500 men"—"The Government here has not as yet compromised itself but the people are doing all in their power to assist the Orientale, with men, arms and money, which leave here every night. The enterprize will not fail for want of supplies—Congress has authorized the Executive to place a precautionary force in the Province of Entre Rios; it is said that 1500 men will be sent there." "Some speculations have taken place on account of the political change of affairs in the Banda Orientale, where there now exists a patriot army in number about 2000 Strong before the City of Monte Video. That place has been surrounded to surrender but General Lecor, still has possession of the town. The patriots are headed and commanded by Colonel Lavallejos, and Brigadier Functioso Ribeiro, this latter General having deserted the Brazilian cause and joined the patriots carrying over with him 5 to 600 of the best cavalry troops, who now form a part of the besieging army before the walls of Monte Video. General Lecor's situation in the town, is at this moment considered very critical, having only 5 to 600 men to defend the place, and much dissatisfaction amongst them—the gates of the City closed day and night to prevent desertion."

The expedition for Monte Video of which I made mention in my last was prepared with great promptness, and set sail on the 25 ulto. It consisted of the Brig of War Caboclo commanded by Capt. Grenfeld whose name will be remembered in connexion with the affairs of Para, and four transports conveying 1095 troops inclusive of officers. Besides these another transport conveyed a Brigade of flying artillery consisting of 85 men and officers, with four field pieces to be landed at Rio Grande from which Province it will march to the Banda Orientale, under the orders of Abien General of Arms of the former Province, who is understood to be already in the field; with some force. This is all which has yet been done, but the Government calculated upon the arrival of the 1200 men from Pernambuco, who not long since were relieved by a detachment sent from this port, and it is probable that they, or an equal number of other troops, will form a second expedition. From St Paul's, it is thought that not much can be expected on account of the previous exhaustion of its Male population to which I have once adverted, and as to the resources of Rio Grande, we have no certain information. The troops of the Orientalists are said to be chiefly of partizan cavalry, commonly called *gau-*

chos, dexterous with the *laco*, and uncommon agility. Those of Rio are, probably composed in part of the same species of warriors, but they have been and will yet be sent to Monte Video from this place were chiefly be infantry, and artillery. The embarkation of those which 25 Ult. took place on the 21st after having been reviewed by the Emperor when addressing to them a few words by way of encouragement, calling them "Comrades," and informing them that "the Integrity of the Empire had been assailed," marched at their head through the streets to the place of embarkation. There accompanied this expedition, a Lieutenant General Gessi who although styled Second, in command, it is surmised may be destined to supercede Genl. Lecor, of whom there are some suspicions entertained by some, of a want of sincere devotion to the cause of the Emperor. Decrees were issued on 18, 19 and 20 ulto. suspending in the Cisplatina since "all the formalities which guarantee individual liberty," appointing Military commissions to try persons accused of rebellion or desertion, and granting pensions to the widows of officers and soldiers who may fall in contest.

From the foregoing exposition, it may readily be perceived, that the position in which Don Pedro stands at this moment, is rather a delicate one. Indeed the common opinion seems to be that it was never more so, and several circumstances besides those above noticed, have assisted to weaken the moral force of his Government. Since the formation of his present Ministry and Council, most of the members of which came in soon after the dissolution of the Assembly, he has advanced by degrees, as affairs progressed, in favour: in the ambition of governing in his own way. You will perhaps be surprized, when I assure you as a fact, that not only does he sway the peace and order matters to his liking, but when opposed by arguments, he frequently known to fly into a passion, abuse his advisers, and insult them with the most ignominious and vulgar epithets. . . .

On the 24th Ultio. we received here the Argas of Bueynos Ayres of the same, containing an official account of the arrival of General Urquiza at Potosi on the 28th of March & of the total dispersion of Olanetta's Army. The death of that General on the 2d of April in consequence of wounds received on the preceeding day. Sucre had convened a Congress for Upper Peru, which was to assemble on the 25 of May, had declared his intention to return to the north, in the latter end of April, and had announced that the war would reach Potosi in the month of May, and that it was his intention to leave Upper Peru, wholly free as to the choice it might make, of uniting with to Lower Peru, as, to the Provinces of La Plata, or of establishing an independent Government.

From Lima we have news to the 28th of March, at which time Rosas held out at Callao. The Liberator was at Lima, & the frigate *Union* had gone to Valparaiso. Eighty-two Spanish Officers from the rank

adier down to Ensign, of the capitulated Royal Army, arrived here on 25th ulto. from Pisco, in the American Ship Portia on their way to Gibraltar. I am informed by some American passengers, that they unreservedly assert, that Cantarac betrayed the Royal cause, and that the surrender of the Army was a preconcerted measure between him and Sucre. This does not correspond with a suspicion which I have heard suggested, of a curious nature, which is, that the very articles of capitulation signed by Canterac, had been previously drawn up by Sucre for *his own use*, and had by the simple operation of the *mutatis mutandis*, been made to answer a very different purpose. This suggestion has derived some colour, from a letter received here by an English gentleman from Genl. Miller, which I am told represents the situation of the Patriot Army on the eve of the battle of Ayacucho, to have been altogether desperate and hopeless.

We have heard of Sir Charles Stewart's arrival at Lisbon, and he is momentarily expected here. This Government has fitted up and furnished at an expense of probably 12,000 milreis, a house for his reception.

Mr. Rebello has lately by the solemn decision of the Emperour, been permitted to accept of the honour of corresponding membership in "the Columbian Institute." He has advised this Government of my appointment as also of the nomination of Mr. Robinson, to succeed me in the Consulate, as I judge from the annunciation of both, in the Government paper of 28 ulto. I have reason to think, that the arrival of my credentials is looked for with some interest by the Emperour and His Ministers. Their presentmentation [*sic*], which like the *delivery* of a deed is deemed necessary to consummate an act; as yet only *signed* and *sealed*, before the arrival of Sir Charles Stewart, may perhaps be deemed important in giving a national character to the Empire; upon which it may plume itself in any negociations that may be entered upon: When the first vague rumour of my nomination reached here in a New York paper of 10th March, which by the bye, must have been premature, my neighbour the French Abbey, whom I have mentioned as the daily companion of the Emperour, was deputed to pay me a visit, for the manifest purpose of ascertaining upon what authority it rested, and on the evening of the 25th ulto. when the Hercules arrived, bringing some despatches for this Government from Mr. Rebello under cover and addressed to me, in a new capacity, the Captain of the port, sent a courier immediately to the Emperour's country palace, to announce to him that Mr. Raguet's despatches had arrived. I mention these incidents to shew, that the measure of acknowledging the Independence of Brazil by our Government is not regarded with indifference by the Emperour, but I have no reason to think that any parade will be made in celebration of the event. The Ministry having almost a year ago, notified the foreign Agents here, that they had received official information that the Independence of the Empire had been recognized by the United

event having been celebrated in most or all of the Provinces, it would not as admitting the error of the former construction if any ceremony should be ordered, and if any benefit is to be derived from priority of friendship, I can see no reason why we should be desirous to remove the impression, that we first regarded Brazil as an Independent State on the day of May 1824.

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*Condé Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry C. Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 9, 1824

From Monte Video and from Bueynos Ayres we have dates to 17th and 18th June respectively. The Troops which went from this port in May 1824 arrived at the former port. Scarcely any thing is said in the private letters of the state of affairs in the Banda Orientale, and it is almost impossible to arrive at any correct knowledge of their actual situation. Great exertions have been made by the Government party to disseminate the idea that Don Pedro de Almeida e Albuquerque had repented of his folly, that his troops were deserting, that he had found little support amongst the people of the Province, that he had received none from the Government of Bueynos Ayres, and finally that he had proposed terms of submission to General Lecor. Most of this however is probably erroneous. I have seen a Manifesto issued by Ribeiro on 16th June, in which he exposed the ground of his proceedings, declares that The Emperor has forfeited his claims to the allegiance of the people of the Banda Orientale, by dissolving the Constituent Assembly, by withholding from them a free government, and by having in his treatment of the Cabildo of Monte Video, whom he rewarded with honours for having prayed for an absolute monarchy, manifested his disposition in favour of such a form of government. I am also assured from a very authentic source, that a provisional government has been created in the Banda Orientale, and that a Deputy to the Congress at Bueynos Ayres, was at the latest dates, upon the eve of his departure for that place. I learn also, that one or two privateers (probably commissioned by this Provisional Government) had been fitted out by individuals at Bueynos Ayres, and have understood that Ribeiro had raised a Cavalry, and that there had been some skirmishes between the contending parties. Ribeiro had made, it would seem to General Lecor some propositions, but they were of a nature very different from those which the

vocation of the people of the Province, for the purpose of expressing their sentiments as to whether they would remain united to the Brazilian Empire or join the confederation of the States of La Plata, and promised his acquiescence with this decision. It is needless to say, that Lecor refused to accede to this overture. At present there appears to be no intention to send additional troops to the South, which would seem to indicate on the part of the Government, an impression, that the force already existing there, is adequate to suppress the rebellion. Several vessels have however sailed with ammunitions. . . .

The British Packet which arrived on 5th Inst. left the Wellesly, with Sir Charles Stewart on board 36 days before at Madeira, whence he was to sail on the following day for Rio de Janeiro. His arrival therefore is looked for every moment, and in the meantime, an infinitude of conjecture is afloat as to the terms of the arrangement between Portugal and Brazil, which it is understood has been negotiated by him at Lisbon. Some reports assert that the King of Portugal is to annex to his present title, that of Emperour of Brazil, and that Don Pedro is to be acknowledged as *Emperour Regent*. Others declare, that the Independence of Brazil is to be absolutely and *unconditionally* recognized, but that she is to pay the Mother Country 18, Millions Cruzados, and by treaty is to admit here products at half the duties imposed upon those of the most favoured nation. As I have no data upon which to form an opinion, and as I can meet with nobody who appears to have any positive information on the subject, I can only say that the present moment is one of deep interest, and perhaps a critical one for the Country. I know, that strong suspicions are entertained by the Liberals, that conditions for the furnishing of Portuguese troops to defend the Emperour from his external and internal foes, have been stipulated, and have even heard two Deputies elect of the Assembly say, that they were fearful, the country had been betrayed by the British. I mention these things to shew that there is great intensity of feeling as the matter draws to a point, and I have reason to think that the Ministers look with great anxiety to the opening of the budget. The two great parties, Portuguese and Brazilians, have opposite interests, and very different expectations. Any arrangement which shall have reconciled such conflicting views, so as to give satisfaction to both sides, will entitle the negociator to no small share of gratitude.

Felizberto Caldeira Brant one of the Brazilian Agents at London arrived in the last Packet.

I have been informed, that the vacancy in the board of The Mixed Commission, occasioned by the absence of Mr Rebello, is still kept unsupplied. The reason assigned is, that no successor will be appointed until the credentials of the American Chargé des Affaires shall have been presented.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *July 30, 182*

SIR: Since the date of my communication of 9th Inst. per Lascar Florida, nothing material has occurred here, except the arrival of Sir Charles Stewart in the Ship of the line Wellesley, which entered this port on Sunday the 17th Inst. As the mission of this gentleman to Brazil has been long anticipated, with much interest by the Government and people, some account of his reception, and proceedings as far as they are known may perhaps not be unacceptable to you.

On the arrival of the Wellesley, a salute was exchanged with the British Admiral's flag ship on the station, the Spartiale, but none with the forts, owing to the continuance of the regulation which was established in December last and of which I advised your Department, on the 9th of that month. On the 18th Sir Charles landed, as a private individual, at a retired spot on the bay, not very distant from the house prepared for his accommodation without any demonstration of publick respect, except the firing of salutes from the Spartiale, and the French frigate Arethusa, with their yards manned. The Emperor, who was at the Arsenal when Sir Charles left the Station, watched his movements, with the intention of throwing himself in his way about the time he should reach the shore. The plan was carried into effect with great precision, and was as neatly managed, as I learn from Mr. Chamberlain who accompanied Sir Charles, as it could have been by any Cavalier. His Majesty was driving his phaeton, four in hand— Sir Charles with his Suite had to walk a short distance to their carriages, and on this route the Emperor in plain citizen's dress passed them, wheeled around his horse with great skill, and stopped his coach— He then alighted, took off his hat, bowed to the gentlemen, and to Sir Charles who was introduced by the Chamberlain, told him that he came on purpose to meet him, and passed a few minutes in very affable conversation, which terminated in an offer of Sir Charles to pay his respects to His Majesty on the following day. This was done in a private way at the Country Palace, and after this visit, Sir Charles accompanied by the British Consul General, called upon the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and left cards at the houses of all the Secretaries, and Counsellors of State. The visit to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was returned on the evening of the same day. The next and subsequent days, Sir Charles received visits and the week was consumed before they were all returned, on account of their great number, but owing to the scattered situation of the society, in and out of the City. On Sunday the 24th, Sir Charles first opened

his negotiations with the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Several Councils of State were held, but so much secrecy was observed upon the subject of their deliberations, that the publick was not able to arrive at any knowledge of the terms of the proposed arrangement with Portugal. The impression however seemed to be general, that The proposition of the King was, to compromise upon some sort of principle bordering upon a *re-union* and to assume himself the title of Emperour, of Brazil and King of Portugal and Algarves, permitting Don Pedro to retain his present title and to act as Regent. Be this as it may, it is now understood, that the propositions whatever they may have been, were deemed inadmissible, and the British Packet, which was detained by Sir Charles until 28th Inst. is said to have carried despatches for Lisbon upon the subject. Pending these conferences, there was a good deal of agitation in the publick mind. There were strong suspicions, that the Emperour and most of His Ministers, were favourable to such an arrangement, as the one above adverted to, and it was thought that Great Britain before she engaged in her mediation had been assured that such was the fact. The natives of Portugal, who have never abandoned the hopes of a re-union, were fully persuaded that such would be the result, and for a few days, the real advocates of Independence began to despair for their country. At present however the face of things is somewhat changed, and there are stories in circulation which declare that the Emperour has lately asserted, that he will listen to no proposals from Portugal, which have not for their basis, an acknowledgement of the absolute Independence of Brazil.—and that in the Council of State, there are but one or two Individuals who are at all suspected of leaning to the Mother Country. The Government paper of 27th Inst contained the following article, which is all that had appeared on the subject, up to that date—“H. M. the Emperour has been pleased to name the most Illustrious and Most Excellent Luiz Joze de Carvalho e Melle, his Counsellor of State; Minister and Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, to treat with the M. I. and M. E. Sir Charles Stewart, upon the negociations with which H. E. is charged. Their Ex. have already had various conferences; councils of State have been held; we are of opinion, that in a short time, the negociations will be finished with a happy result; seeing that England, which long since has known, what are the invariable principles of the Government of Brazil, which is well acquainted with what are her pretensions, would not have interfered with her mediation, would not have sent to Brazil, so distinguished a Diplomatist as Sir Charles Stewart, if she had not seen, we do not say a probability, but a certainty of settling the differences which exist between the Imperial Government of Brazil, and the Government of Portugal. Our coffee house politicians have said a great deal,—we have heard much nonsense—they have even endeavoured to terrify minds with vague reports, which are only listened to by those who distrust every thing; but neither the

cause it is confided to skilful hands, and the second because they will remain quiet under the protection of a just and underated Government, and on every account feel certain, that the result will be always confirmable to the interests of the nation." In the same gazette of 29th, there appears the following additional paragraph—"H. M. The Emperour has just appointed The M. I. and M. E. Francisco Villela Barboza, Counsellor of State, Minister and Secretary of State of the Department of the Marine and Commerce, and Counsellor of State The Baron of St Amaro, conjointly with The M. E. Minister of Foreign Affairs to confer and treat with Sir Charles Stewart upon the most important pending negociations." This latter article is evidently published at this moment, in order to remove the impression that any positive negotiations have taken place in the negociations relating to Portugal, and to show that none such have occurred, to suspend entirely the discussions.

That Sir C. Stewart, in addition to His Mediatory powers, is also invested with authority to make a treaty, with Brazil on the part of Great Britain, there can be no doubt. Whether or no, however he has made any progress therein, I have not been able to ascertain. The English Merchants place great confidence upon the continuance of the duty upon their products at the present rate of 15 per cent, and should that be accorded, they will use all their influence, and solicit that of their Government, to prevent negotiations from being equally favoured. In relation to the slave trade, no word has yet been whispered, but I am of opinion, that should Portugal continue perverse the abandonment of it may be provided by Great Britain in consideration for her friendship, particularly if supported in the same measure by the United States. I think the Government itself favourably disposed upon the subject, and perhaps to reconcile the measure to the mass of opinion, some appearance of necessity, for its abandonment, might be made to them.

Thus far Sir Charles Stewart has not assumed any Diplomatic rank. It was lately said, that he was next week to have a publick audience as a Legation Extraordinary, but I presume this must be a mistake. The British Consul General told me, that whatever should be done by Sir Charles in relation to England and Brazil, would have to go to the former Government for confirmation, before any diplomatic agent could make his appearance. I have had the pleasure to exchange visits with Sir Charles, who has shown much esteem for Mrs. Gallatin and Mr. Brown with whom he had been in intercourse at Paris.

The non appearance of my credentials has excited much conversation and enquiry, and the publick begins to be of opinion, that the story of the independence of Brazil having been recognized by the United States, was a mere newspaper ruse. The Government no doubt is at a loss to account for the delay, and I should not be astonished if they were to construe it into intentional slight. For my own part I can form no opinion on the subject.

it is possible that they may have miscarried, I think it proper to state, that I have not received any communication from your Department of a later date, than 29th November last. . . .

Our latest dates from Monte Video, are to the 10th Inst. Private letters merely state, that the Brazilian Admiral Lobo, had gone up to Bueynos Ayres for the purpose of demanding some explanation, or as some supposed, a positive recognition on the part of that Government of the Banda Orientale as an integral part of The Empire of Brazil. A summary of the latest intelligence published in the Government paper, makes no mention of this circumstance, but asserts, that every thing promises a speedy termination to the disorders in the Banda Orientale—that two batallions had marched from the City into the field without seeing the enemy—that Lt. Col. Queiroz who had been besieging Colonia with 200 men, had deserted from Ribeiro, and had arrived at Monte Video, with the greatest part of his men—that fresh provisions were abundant and cheap—that the minds of the people had been very much encouraged, by the arrival of the troops from Rio, and finally that the rebels had been terror-stricken, by the promptness with which General Lecor, had been reinforced—It is probable that the duration of the rebellion in question, will wholly depend upon the course which Bueynos Ayres may pursue for the very limited population of the Banda Orientale which I am informed by intelligent foreigners, has been reduced by wars and revolutions, to about 32,000 souls, cannot sustain a civil war with any chance of success. To be prepared for the blockade of the River Plate in case of necessity the naval forces in that quarter will be strengthened. On the 27th Inst. there sailed the Corvette *Carriocu* and Schooners of War *Para* and *Conceicao* with 53 soldiers, and 80 marines, extra, and orders have been issued for placing in immediate readiness the frigates *Imperatriz*, *Thetis* and *Paraguassu* now in this port.

We have no intelligence from any part of the Empire, to induce a belief that there exist any political disturbances, and we hear nothing more of the project at one time adopted of sending troops to Maranham. The Government unquestionably "*vires acquint eundo*," and should the final arrangement with Portugal, meet the feelings of the native Brazileans, considerable stability will be imparted to the Monarchy.

The Government Gazette has lately copied from a paper published in London in the Portuguese language, under the title of "Padre Amaro" some handsome compliments, upon President Adams's Inaugural speech. The prosperity of The United States, is averted to, and the wise policy advocated by the President is recommended for the adoption of Brazil. The article thus concludes, "This is the whole of this noble architecture. When a nation travels with so much activity, and with so much intelligence in this career, she cannot fail to have the most flattering anticipations. It is by similar paths, that Brazil, can attain the end, which she so nobly proposes,

and which she has so nobly pursued, and persevered in." The other extract, from the same paper recommending Mr Livingston upon criminal Jurisprudence, to the attention of all America North, and particularly to Brazil, which has great need of a criminal code.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*Condy Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to H. Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, August.

During the continuance of this political fever to which I have seen whilst every movement of Sir Charles has been watched with anxiousness as if the fate of the nation depended upon his mission, a circumstance which was well calculated to encrease the publick curiosity, a regular Packet from England arrived on the 5th Inst. On the 9th an vessel unexpectedly entered the port bringing nothing but a single messenger dressed to Sir Charles Stewart, with the intelligence, that a Packet the Sidmouth had sailed only 18 hours before her. That at this great moment had transpired in Europe, no one could doubt. The country was alive with conjectures and reports. Revolutions had broken out in Portugal. The King of the latter country had fled, but whether on board an English frigate, no one could tell— The news of the Banda Orientale had reached England and Mr. Rividavia had offered the mediation of the British Government— The Holy Alliance had claimed their intentions to assist Spain and Portugal in the reconquest of their colonies, and in fine, every body was assured that Sir Charles had received instructions, respecting the objects of his mission. It must be confessed that his appearances were strongly indicative of some change in the British Government, and although Sir Charles, did not long delay to declare, that the despatches he received contained despatches for the Brazilian Government *for himself*, yet the mystery of the affair was not fully cleared up until the arrival of the Sidmouth, which took place on the 16th. It then appeared that a simple blunder committed in England was the cause of all this commotion. The Sidmouth was to have brought despatches jointly for Sir Charles and this Government, but after the departure of the mail or messenger for Falmouth, it was discovered that those for the latter had been forgotten. A second messenger was despatched with them, with

overtake her if possible, and if that should not be accomplished, to proceed on to Rio. It is possible that Sir Charles has received new instructions and I remarked that the suggestion, that the 7th of September would be the day for his presentation, was not circulated until after the 16th, and since then I understand, that his visits to the Minister for Foreign Affairs have been very frequent.

Sir Charles Stewart in conversing with me upon the subject of the slave trade, intimated that there would be some difficulty in getting this people to abolish it, although he expressed his belief in accordance with the opinion, I once advanced to you, that The Emperour, and his Ministers generally, are in favour of the measure. The idea of its being abolished at the expiration of five years seems to be gaining stability with the commercial people.

I have strong reasons for believing that soon after Sir Charles Stewart's arrival here, the influence of France, and Austria was exerted, through the Agents here, with the Emperour, to induce him to accede to the propositions offered by his Father. Felizberto Caldeira Brant, one of the Brazilian commissioners who commenced the negociations in London, and who is now here, has mentioned to me, that the scheme of proclaiming the King, Emperour of Brazil, was projected by The Holy Alliance, in order that by the abdication of the Father, the Son might come into the legitimate possession of his title, and thus remove the difficulties which stand in the way of their recognition.

The war in the Banda Orientale, does not seem to progress with much activity. Our last advices from Monte Video to 3d Inst. are very sparing of intelligence, and simply state that the Insurgents' forces, are within three Leagues of the City, and that The Brazilian Vice Admiral Lobo has blockaded the River Plate, for the purpose of preventing the departure of vessels from the upper ports. This is probably a mere *cordon sanitaire*, to stop the sailing of privateers, which may be fitted out at Buenos Ayres, or on the rebel coast. A Buenos Ayrean gazette of 20 July, states, that news had a few days before been received, that 300 men of the Imperial Army from the Province of Rio Grande, had been completely routed by an equal number of Ribeiro's troops, and this is all we know of active operations.

From Buenos Ayres, we have no dates later than 24 July. Admiral Lobo had presented himself before that City in a hostile attitude, and on the 5th of that month, addressed a letter to the Government, attributing the rebellion of the Banda Orientale, in part to the "*subjects*" of Buenos Ayres, recapitulating some of their hostile acts, and calling upon the Government, to order them home. This communication was answered on the 6th by a call upon the Admiral for his credentials, to which he replied on the 7th that he was in possession of none, except the orders of The Emperour. Mr. Garcia on the 8th disavowed on the part of his government any agency in the transactions referred to, and stated the intention of the Government of *The United Provinces*, to send a commissioner to Rio de Janeiro to treat upon the matters at

variance. He also complained of the hostile attitude, in which the miral appeared, and signified to him that no further explanation made, except to a person invested with a diplomatic character. O Lobo closed the correspondence by stating that he would advise his Majesty of the result of his missions— Some days afterwards I understood that the Political Agent appointed by this Government landed at Ayres and is probably now engaged in some negotiations.

As to the question of a war between Brazil and Buenos Ayres, I can rather imagine, that the probabilities are against it. This seems to be the general opinion, and it is admitted that, all will depend upon the success of General Alvear's mission to Bolivar. The Government of Buenos Ayres has certainly been making some military preparations but how far they have succeeded in their enlistments, we cannot judge. Should Bolivar have succeeded in making common cause with The United Provinces of La Plata, against Brazil, he will probably find abundant justification for such a course in the occurrence of a curious event which has lately been made public. It seems, that the Spanish Military Governor of the Province of Chichas, in upper Peru, which borders upon the Brazilian Territory, some time since the defeat of the Royal Army, proposed to The Provisionary Government of Buenos Ayres, to unite his Province to the Empire of Brazil. The proposal was agreed to—a regular treaty of union was executed on the 1st of April, and Brazilian troops were actually marched into Chiquitos, to take possession of and to defend it, against the Patriot Arms. The first edge of this extraordinary proceeding, which the public here was made aware of, was derived from the Argos of Buenos Ayres of 2d July, reprinted on 3d Inst. which contained a copy of "an official note directed by the Provisionary Government to the Commandant of the Brazilian troops, who have occupied Chiquitos, to inform him of the Liberating Army" (Sucre) dated on 26 April, in which note, written in a tone altogether elevated, notifies the latter, of the annexation of the Province to "the Great Empire of Brazil," and warns him against any hostility from that day forth. The Argos also states, that a similar despatch was sent to the Chief of Arms of Santa Cruz, with this singular addition: "I transcribe this, for your information, assuring you with my word, that in case of any defalcation of good order, I will go on to desolate, all the territory under your command, and also the City of Santa Cruz, scarcely leaving any remains of what it was, for the memory of posterity."

How long this Government had been in possession of a knowledge of this transaction, I cannot say, but it was not until the 6th Inst. that any official notice was given to it. On that day, appeared a Portaria of the same Government, acknowledging the receipt of a despatch, from the Provisionary Government of Matto Grosso, dated on 15th April, with a number of documents

ings, which are represented to be, "opposed to the generous, and liberal principles upon which His Majesty has established the policy of his cabinet, and to the intention not to interfere, in the *actual* contest of the Inhabitants of Spanish America, amongst themselves or with the Metropolis." On the 16th there appeared a second Portaria, of 13th acknowledging the receipt of another despatch from the same Government, dated 30th April, and repeating with some additional warmth the previous reprimand, but notwithstanding the apparent fairness of this disavowal, there are those who are suspicious enough to believe that the Government of Matto Gross, would never have ventured upon so hazardous an exploit, as the invasion of Peru, without orders from Superior authority, furnished before the month of February, at a time when the last advices from that country, represented the republican cause, to be tottering, and the *Royal* arms in a situation to be benefitted by the aid and cooperation of the *Imperial*.

Be this as it may, the whole affair has a singular complexion, and what is very remarkable is, that in the Government paper of 20th Inst. under the head of "*articles not official*," there is published at full length a despatch signed by The President, and three members of The Provisionary Government of Matto Grosso, dated on 21st May, in which they disavow the proceedings of *their own Body*, in relation to the Province of Chiquitos, upon the ground, that those proceedings were had, at a time when, "the President, and other Deputies were not present," and were consequently "unauthorized and illegal." It states also that orders for the evacuation of that Province, by the Imperial troops had been issued, but it does not state, what rumour from Buenos Ayres gives some air of probability to, which is, that some of the Peruvian troops, were upon the point of carrying back the conquest to their own doors.—I confess that I am somewhat sceptical about the genuineness of this document. Should it prove to be authentic, it will exhibit, but an awkward specimen of dexterity in the actors, in getting out of a dilemma, for it is hardly probable, that the treaty of Union, could have been ratified, without the signature of the President, or that the Ministry here should not at first sight, have detected the proceedings as the act of a Minority.

Since the date of my last, I have received no communication from Your Department, although we have arrivals from Baltimore as late as 16th June, and from Philadelphia, as late as 23d of same month.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to He
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *September 1,*

I have the honour to enclose to you, a copy of a Treaty concluded 29th, Ult. between the Plenipotentiaries appointed to arrange the commerce between Brasil and Portugal, in which you will observe conditions and principles, which altogether change the character of the political situation of the country. In my last I stated, that it was the general impression that the negotiations between the Commissioners had been suspended, and for no reason to doubt that such was the fact. The terms of the arrangement to be learned from Mr. Chamberlain, vary but in a trifling degree from those originally proposed, and it is therefore probable, that the resumption of the negotiations was the result of a receding on the part of this Government of some of the ground originally assumed. The anxiety of the Publick for a definitive act or declaration was very considerable, and as the anniversary of the day, upon which Independence had been proclaimed was near at hand, it was probably resolved to terminate at once all doubts, as to the policy. The Emperor had intended to pursue. Still however the same sentiments were observed, which I have before alluded to, and it was not until the 6th, which the treaty was signed, that we knew that one was likely soon to be concluded.

No sooner had the fact become generally known, than the diffidence of the Commissioners employed their utmost skill and dexterity to arrive at a knowledge of the terms of the arrangement, but in vain. The Spartiate, British Steamship, was prepared to convey despatches to Lisbon, and the Sidmouth, to sail for England. Both were to sail on the 3d Inst. but on the evening of the 2d, some misunderstanding occurred between Sir Charles Stuart and the Brazilian Negotiators, which for a day or two seemed to throw some misapprehension on the affair. What it related to, I have not been able to ascertain, but the postponement of the sailing of both vessels (although the Spartiate actually got outside of the harbour) until the 6th, when they proceeded to their ports of destination.

Of the nature of the arrangement the Publick was kept in a state of ignorance, until the day appointed for the publication of the treaty, viz. the Seventh, when at about one o'clock and immediately preceding midnight, printed copies were distributed from the Palace windows by

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, IV. The quoted portion of this despatch is contained in a letter of this date in volume two of Consular Letters from Rio de Janeiro by Raguet to Congress.

perour in person, whilst his ministers within, supplied the Diplomatic Corps, and other gentlemen attending the Court, who were thus at that late hour for the first time informed, what was the object upon which His Majesty would expect their congratulations.

The presentation of Sir Charles Stuart on this occasion, which was the first upon which a Diplomatic Representative of a foreign State had appeared at this Court, was not attended with any particular display of pomp or ceremony. He was accompanied by three gentlemen attached to his Suite, by the British Consul General, the two members of the mixed Commission, the admiral of the Station, and several other naval officers. The Baron Mare-schall, agent of Austria and the Count de Gestas, Consul General of France, with some French naval officers, comprised the residue of the Foreigners who were present. The Spanish Consul General and The Prussian Consul had invitations addressed to them, but they were not delivered until the evening of the appointed day after completion of the ceremonies. The honour of an invitation to assist in the celebration of the day, with which I was favoured on the afternoon of the 6th, I declined, and in consequence thereof only three nations, besides Portugal, were represented on the occasion. The Russian Consul General was absent from the City— The Consul of Mecklenburgh, and the Vice-Consuls of Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Hamburgh were not invited, and none of the Republics of America, except ours have Diplomatic or Consular agents here.

It seems that my non-appearance at the Court, was the subject of much surprize amongst the foreigners, who had taken it into their heads, that I was really in possession of my credentials, and was only waiting for this occasion to present them in order to encrease the brilliancy of the day. That this was also the opinion of the publick, I am well persuaded, and I am not very sure that the Government itself was not under the same impression, notwithstanding my repeated assurances to the contrary, made to persons employed near the Emperour, and connected with the Department of Foreign Affairs, who had from time to time, made enquiries of me on the subject. That there was a great deal of anxiety on the subject of my official presentation at that time, on the part of the Government I am fully convinced, and that there has been some mortification experienced, I have had certain occasion to know. It would no doubt have been highly agreeable to The Emperour and His Ministers to have had the countenance of the Government of The United States, in the celebration of the treaty, as far as it could have been displayed by the presence even of a semi-diplomatic agent, but as I took it for granted that the non arrival of my credentials at this late period, was the result of design and not of accident, I felt no disposition to promote false appearances, particularly as I had no knowledge of the terms of the treaty to be promulgated although common rumour for some days before, had as-

approval. Since the day alluded to, I have been called upon by the French Consul General, the British Consuls General, the Austrian Agent, and one connected with the Government, who expressed their disappointment at having met me on the Seventh, and seemed to be anxious to know of my absence as well as my opinion of the treaty. As I was not prepared to disclose either, I evaded their enquiries but became perfectly conversant with their conversation and manners, that they do not consider the treaty as having produced the satisfaction which was anticipated. I am not disposed to declare my conviction, that there is not an individual in Portugal who is not truly elated. The natives of Portugal almost to a man, call for a complete full re-union with the mother country; the mass of the Brazilian population, entire separation. Which of the two parties is the most dissatisfied is difficult to say. Even the Englishmen residing here, take no interest in themselves from this termination to the Mediatory services of the Emperor. I doubt very much, if even Sir Charles Stuart is not disappointed in the result which he expected upon his mission. The two Emperours of Brazil, the House of Braganza, are perhaps the only persons who can feel any interest at this adjustment of their family quarrel, and perhaps the Austrian Agents may experience some gratification at the success of the conference, and the termination of the question, as the latter is of great importance to me, upon *legitimate principles*.

Still however, great as is the dissatisfaction, no overt expression has been heard, and the people finding that their Sovereign has the support of three powerful Allies besides Portugal, may perhaps deem it prudent to conform to the new order of things. Great solicitude however is expressed for the Constitutional titles of "Emperour by the unanimous acclamation of the people, and Perpetual Defender of Brasil," may be substituted for the titles analogous to the doctrines of the Holy Alliance, and some even have erroneously, anticipate a change in the era of Independence from 1825. The Legend of "Independencia ou Morte", which has been sworn by the Emperor, the troops and the people, for three years, was not discarded, the Monarch setting the example in publick, of taking up arms, and the Portuguese on the same day, had the gratification of flying the flag of their nation, on board of a number of vessels in the bay.

The Consul General of France has informed me, that on the 7th of the Emperor *on the treaty* (which appears to have been the subject of the congratulation brought into view on the 7th), he announced to the Chargé des Affaires of Charles X, having presented his credentials, a long time since to The Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be presented at the due time. The Austrian Agent was also announced in the same manner as Chargé des Affaires, but he has assured me since, that he is not a diplomatic appointment. I learnt from these gentlemen that the Emperor

Charles Stuart and the other Gentlemen who attended, had established the Diplomatic precedent, in relation to the awkward movement to which I have once alluded.

The last accounts from Lisbon represent according to rumour, that transports and troops were there in readiness for an expedition, and I think the general impression is that their arrival here may be expected with the ratification of the treaty. Felisberto Calderia Brant Pontes, was appointed on the 7th, Ambassadors to Portugal, to compliment the Emperour Don John, on the part of The Emperour Don Pedro, but the time of his departure is uncertain.

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*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 3, 1825.*

On the 23^d Ult. the Camara of this "Very Heroic and Loyal City of St Sebastians of Rio de Janeiro", waited upon The Emperour in solemn form, to kiss his hand, and to compliment him on the "Treaty of the recognition of Independence and Sovereignty of this Empire of Brasil." In the address they volunteer an attack upon the former Revolution in favour of the Constitution, and a state of anarchy, and proceed thus—"In this violent crisis in which the laws were laid aside, and the people groaning, Brasil afflicted, raised her hands to Heaven, and her supplications having been heard, she had for reward the suggestion of recurring to Y. I. M. in whom were seen united, the most sacred rights, the Majesty of the Caesars, and the most heroic virtues" &c. This is the only congratulation on the part of a Publick body, which has yet appeared, but I presume there will be no deficiency of them.

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*Condý Raguet, United States Consul at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *October 26, 1825.*

The doubts respecting the future title of The Emperor, may now be considered as removed. The 12th Inst. was celebrated with great pomp, as the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, IV.

anniversary of His Majesty's birth and "Glorious acclamation" and decree, which was issued on the 3^d Inst. settled the question relative to the epoch of Independence. Dom Pedro may now be considered as Emperor of Brazil, by the choice of the nation, for those States which maintain the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the People, and Emperour, by The Grace of God, for those, which admit no other creed, but that which asserts the divinity of half a dozen families, to rule over all the rest of mankind.

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*Speech of Condly Raguet when, as United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio Janeiro, he was presented to the Emperor of Brazil*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, October 29, 1818

IMPERIAL SIR: The President of The United States having been pleased to confer upon me the appointment of Chargé des Affaires, at the Court of Rio de Janeiro, the honour has devolved upon me, of being this day presented to your Imperial Majesty as The Chief of The Independent Nation of America, and of tendering to your Majesty the felicitations of The American People, upon the happy termination of that glorious struggle for Liberty and Independence, which has added a new and conspicuous member to The American Family of States.

Nearly half a century Imperial Sir, has elapsed, since the eventful day of *The Fourth of July 1776*, when The United States, then Colonies of the Great and Powerful Kingdom of Great Britain, laid the foundation of their entire emancipation of America from European dominion, by breaking under the ties which bound them to the Mother Country, and by presenting to the World, that they ought of right to be "Free, Sovereign, and Independent", A war of seven years, calculated by its duration and the limit of the Colonists, to try the souls of men—and, rendered interesting to the nations of Europe, by the possible influence which the issue might have on their commercial or political concerns—was the result of this bold and arduous measure. Supported however in her Councils, by the vigorous firmness of her patriots, and in the field by the devotion of her warriors aided in the contest, by the friendship of the generous Monarch of France, and by the arms of some of her bravest and noblest sons, America triumphed in her cause, and the final acquiescence of the *Mother* in the independence of the *Daughter*, prepared the way for that broad and liberal intercourse, which, fostered by a community of parentage, of religion and of language, the prosperity of both nations, is in no small degree to be ascribed.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, IV. This reached the Department as an extract from the *North American Review*, Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 10.

After the consummation of that momentous event, decisive of the fate of unborn millions, it was manifest to the enlightened of the old as well as of the new world, that the fire of Independence, which had been kindled in The North, was destined to extend its flames to the South. The Governments of Europe possessing colonies on this Continent, had not yet seen in the freedom of *a part* of America, the Finger of Heaven pointing out an inevitable course for *the whole*. They disdained to profit by the experience of Great Britain, which had found by the expansion afforded to her industry and capital, that the *loss* of her colonies was in reality a *gain*, and that mighty as she was, as mistress of The Ocean, it was vain to attempt to impede the march of events, bearing such evident marks of The Divine Approbation. They suffered themselves still to be deluded by the mistaken policy of the Colonial system, and instead of securing the attachment of their American children, by conferring on them an equality of rights with their transatlantic brethren they alienated their good affections, and by their own inconsiderate acts, hastened on the very crisis, which it was their design to prevent. The ancient and fertile colonies of Spain, now form distinct and Independent nations, and Buenos Ayres and Chili, Colombia and Peru, Guatemala and Mexico, must be regarded as forever lost to The Metropolis.

During the progress of the Revolutions of which this Continent has been the theatre, it cannot be supposed, that The Government and People of The United States have been unconcerned spectators. Their anxious eyes have been long directed to The Southern Section of this Great Hemisphere of Liberty, and they have hailed with gladness, every new accession to the confederacy of The New World.

Brasil, though from causes peculiar to herself, the last in asserting her emancipation, was by no means tardy in effecting its accomplishment. From the ever memorable epoch, the 7th, of September 1822, when your Majesty, not yet elevated by "The Unanimous acclamation of The People", to the Imperial dignity, but, as Regent, and "Perpetual Defender of Brasil", vested with the Executive power of The State, first proclaimed on the margins of the Piranga, the joyful and irrevocable sound of Independence, until the period at which the last hostile foot was withdrawn from the soil, scarcely eighteen months had elapsed, exhibiting at once to The Mother Country and to the world, incontrovertible evidence of the zeal of The Sovereign, of the energy of His Government, and of the unanimity of the nation. Independence *de facto* once accomplished, The Republic of The United States hastened to manifest her acknowledgment of The Empire of Brasil, as one amongst the nations, by the reception in diplomatic form of the Representative of your Majesty's Government at Washington, and as soon thereafter, as a conformity with constitutional provisions, and with the deference due to a new Administration, would permit, by a corresponding appointment at your Majesty's Court.

Actuated by the strongest sentiments of affection towards their Brethren who have asserted and maintained the right of self-government. The United States will omit no opportunity of testifying their regard towards Brasil, by acts of friendship and justice. Having found common interests in the cultivation of peace, and in a generous and liberal policy with the World, they cannot but flatter themselves, that in these respects the American policy will be one.

Duly impressed with the importance of the relation towards Your Majesty's government, in which I have the distinction to be placed, it is my duty to assure Your Majesty of the existence on my part, of every desire in the promotion of a lasting amity, between the Brasilean and American nations, which, although distant from each other in geographic position, are very closely allied by a common spirit of Independence. In these sentiments, it only remains for me to express my individual wishes for the health and felicity of Your Majesty, hoping, that as The Head of the Brasilean nation, he may see realized all the prosperity and happiness which by her resources, her population, her climate and her soil, she is so well fitted to be destined.

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*Condé Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro
Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *November*

You will have judged from my former communications, that I was very anxious to avoid the impression, that the delay of my credentials had produced no small degradation on the part of this government, which is highly sensitive to the terms of compliment and etiquette, and to confess the truth, I was a little chagrined at the awkward situation in which I was placed for five months, from the total darkness in which I was, as to the cause which had occurred to these people, that if our Government had not some secret motive for withholding the presentation of these papers, which, after all, was done by the publick, as the consummating act of the recognition of Brasil, on the part of The United States, they certainly would not have omitted to avail themselves of the ordinary recourse of duplicates, or would at least have announced their intended Representative, by what conveyance, the evidences of the appointment had been transmitted. These suspicions of intention were not at all diminished, I presume, by the route which the documents had taken, and when they made their appearance here coming from the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, IV.

acknowledge, that I found it difficult to assign reasons adequate to convince others, that the whole was the effect of accident and not of design. I mention these particulars, because, trivial as such a matter would appear at home, I am persuaded, that this Government is much hurt at this appearance of indifference towards it, and in this belief, I thought it incumbent on me, in order that I might be enabled to enter upon the duties of my new station, with some share of good feeling in my favour, to make some overtures of conciliation, by the employment of a full proportion of civil and friendly language in my earliest communications.

On the 26th, the day of its receipt, I presented my credential letter, and on the 28th was informed by the Minister, that the Emperour would receive me, after 9 o'clock of the following morning, at the City Palace. In opening our Diplomatic relations with this Government, I thought it adviseable to pursue the course, which had been adopted by Our Ministers on their first mission to the other American States, of making an address to the Chief of the Executive power, appropriate to the occasion, and had accordingly prepared one, embracing, as well as I could effect the object, all the points wherein the Republick of The United States could come into contact with The Empire of Brasil, and avoiding all expressions, which could give offence to other nations. A copy, of this intended address, I handed to The Minister on the afternoon of the 28th, who immediately had it translated into Portuguese, for the inspection of The Emperour, and it afterwards having been signified to me, that His Majesty was pleased that I should pronounce it, I did so at the time of my presentation on the 29th. A copy of the original,¹ you will find enclosed herewith, as also one of the Portuguese translation, which appeared in the *Diario Fluminense* of 5 Inst. preceded by a few remarks, somewhat enlarging upon the reply made to me by The Emperour, which simply consisted of these words, "*Je vous remercie*". The original paper, which I had taken care should be the identical one furnished to the Minister on the day before, I handed, after I had read it, to His Majesty, who had held out his hand to receive it. . . .

At the commencement of the present month, the political situation of this Empire had never a fairer prospect of stability. The news from the Banda Orientale, held out a prospect of a speedy termination of the war in that quarter, whilst in all the Provinces, there seemed to be an unusual tranquillity. Within the last few days however, we have vague reports of commotions in Ceara and Pernambuco, and on 9th Inst. intelligence was received of a decisive victory having been obtained on the 12th of October, the Emperour's birthday, by the Patriots, over The Imperial forces. Reports estimate the loss of the latter at 1000 men, but the Publick is not yet in possession of particulars. It is also said that at Buenos Ayres, the probabilities of a war with Brasil, had become stronger.

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*José Silvestre Rebello, Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington
Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, *December 2*

The Undersigned, Officer of the Imperial Order of the Crozier
sary Judge of the Mixed Commission at Rio de Janeiro and Ch
fares of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil near the governm
United States, has the satisfaction to communicate to His Excell
Clay, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the same governm
the 29th. day of August of the current year there was signed, by t
tive Plenipotentiaries at the Court of Rio de Janeiro, a Treaty of
Alliance between His Majesty the Emperor and His Most Faithfu
the full independence of Brazil in the rank of an Empire being expre
nized by this act, and the Imperial dignity in the person of His M
present Emperor and his legitimate descendents; with a total sep
the Kingdoms of Portugal and Algarves; which Treaty was on the
day ratified by his Majesty the Emperor, an official copy of which i
enclosed for the full information of His Excellency.

The Undersigned, in making this agreeable communication, con
His Excellency that the Illustrious government of the United Sta
ceiving the Undersigned in his public character, and recognizing
pendence and Empire of Brazil, gave the first impulse to the conc
Peace, which will soon be universal, and will diffuse to mankind t
which they could only thereby acquire.

The Undersigned repeats to His Excellency the assurances [etc.]

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*Condy Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro
Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *January 1*

We have no news from Buenos Ayres of a later date than 8'' 1
That from Monte Video, is nothing, or very little, later. Several de
of troops have entered this port, on their way from Ceara, Per
and Bahia, to Rio Grande and Monte Video, and it would seem
efforts which have been made, in the different provinces, that a lar

to levied, probably of 10 or 15,000 men. All the troops however, do not appear, to have entered into the spirit of the War. At Bahia, a great number deserted, when they found they were to be embarked, and by a mutiny which took place a few days since off this port, on board a transport from Pernambuco, it seems, that the troops were assured, that they were merely destined for Rio de Janeiro. From the conduct and tone of the Government, it is manifest, that, at this moment, they feel perfectly confident of success, and that they have such an impression of the instability of *all republics*, that they have no fears, that Bolivar will be able to aid The United Provinces. Publications to this effect have appeared, and it is even asserted, that The Emperour has boasted in publick, that his flag would fly in the City of Buenos Ayres, in the month of May.

As to the probability of Bolivar's marching to Buenos Ayres, we have here very limited means of judging. Report at the last dates, stated, that he was near Mendoza, and actually on his march, but this account was too vague to be entitled to full belief. Should however Colombia engage in the war, the consequences to this Government, will be of a most serious nature, in regard to its commerce. The privateer Lavalleya, the only one which has yet appeared, has been very successful in her depredations. On 22 December, she captured a vessel from Lisbon, with a valuable cargo, and placed the passengers and crew, on board an English ship which arrived here on 24th. The captors reported, that up to that time, they had taken 18 vessels and burnt 5. Since then, she has plundered several others, and on the 1 Inst. was seen within a league of the Island of Raza, immediately off the mouth of this harbour. Several additional vessels, have been lately sent in pursuit of her, but for the present she seems to have changed her cruising ground. A dozen or two such privateers, would sweep the whole coast of Brasil, and produce a distress of no inconsiderable extent, owing to the dependence of some Provinces upon others, for supplies of jerked beef and farinha, the common food of the slaves, and poorer classes of whites. The Lavalleya, is commanded by a Frenchman, and it is said, that her crew encreases, as fast as it is diminished by prizes.

The Governmt paper of 24th, Ult. contained intelligence from Rio Grande of a brilliant victory obtained by Colonel Bento Goncales with 800 men, over the rebel Fructuoso Ribeiro with 2000, the latter having lost 600 prisoners & 317 killed, besides 2700 horses, whilst the former only lost 97 killed. Such stories may have their influence in the interior, where no publication of the defeat of 12th October, has ever appeared, but I presume, that in this City, not a person believed a single word of this account, although it was said to rest upon letters entitled to credit.

The War in the South does not appear to have produced any effect upon the publick confidence in the stability of money affairs. Exchange on Eng-

I have given notice of the intended blockade of the River Plate, declaration of War, against The United Provinces, in circulars addressed to Our Ministers at London, Paris, Madrid, Lisbon, and Valparaiso, to the Consuls at Hull, and to our Consuls at Gibraltar and Lima, and the diffidence of Brasil.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs has stated to The British and French Consuls General, as they have both informed me, that it is the intention of the Government, in the blockade of Buenos Ayres, to exclude *Foreign War*. The former in reply, stated to The Minister, that the British Consul (who sailed for the River Plate on 27th December) would not submit to the exclusion, but would insist upon the entry of any of the ships under his command, if he had need to communicate with the port, as also of the *Regular* and *Merchant* ships, being publick ships. I understand, that the French Commodore, has made a similar declaration, in regard to the vessels under his command.

On the 26th Ult. the first intelligence was received of the ratification of the Treaty of November at Lisbon, by "The Emperour and King", of the treaty between Brasil and Portugal, and on 30th, there entered this harbour from L. Ship Camsens, being the first vessel which has arrived under the new colours, since the new order of things. On the 2^d Inst. there was received the Portuguese Carta da Lei of 15 November, of which a copy is enclosed, wherein the ratification of the treaty is announced, and in which such a legal language is employed, as to render it altogether doubtful, whether Brasil is regarded as a distinct Empire from Portugal and Algarves. Several days after the appearance of this paper, there was expressed a great deal of dissatisfaction, amongst the Brasileans, who viewed this change of the King, as a refinement upon Sir Charles Stuart's *Tratada*, and it became expedient, that the Government itself, Emperour and all, should be supposed to be highly displeased. On the 8th, there arrived from L. Portuguese Corvette Lealdade, having a gentleman on board, named Mr. Pereira, who calls himself Chargé des Affaires, but says, that his credentials are amongst the despatches addressed to Sir Charles Stuart, and which will remain unopened, until his arrival. Be this, as it may, it unfortunately happens, that this Mr. Perreria formerly resided here, and being a native of Portugal, was sent out of the country, on account of his opposition to the cause of Independence. On this ground, it is said, that The Emperour would not receive him, but there are probably other reasons, more powerful than this. Mr. Pereira has no pretensions to rank in society, having been employed in some inferior stations, such as Interpreter at one of the forts, and his pride and vanity of the Court has not been flattered, as was anticipated in the commission of a nobleman. One of the Counsellors of State told me some days ago, that it was expected, that the Count dos Arcos, would be appointed Minister or Ambassadour, and probably, the contrast between a man of

*Condý Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *March 20, 1826.*

We have a report by a vessel which arrived from Peru on 17 Inst. that Callao was to have been delivered up, by a capitulation, negotiated through the British naval commander on that station, on the 19th of January. We have also advices, received on same day, via Buenos Ayres, of the surrender of Chiloe, by capitulation on the 18th of January, the result of a battle which took place on the 14th of that month, in which the Chilian forces commanded by the Supreme Director Freire, who had landed at Yuste on the 10, had 16 killed and 76 wounded. the official account is published in the *Diario* of St Iago de Chili of 29th January, which I have seen. The Spanish forces are said to have exceeded 3000 men, whilst the number of the Chilians is not stated. How far the Brasileian Government will rejoice at these events, which put an end forever to the Spanish authority on this continent, may be judged from the following article which appeared in the *Diario Fluminense* of 2^d Inst. in relation to the fall of St John d'Ulloa. "There now remain to Spain, the castles which defend the port of Callao of Lima, and the Island of Chiloe, the only possessions which she this day holds on the vast american continent, and it is to be expected that before long, they will have the same fate, since their heroic defenders abandoned by the mother country, will have to submit to the right of the strongest, the only plausible reason relied upon, by the Chiefs of these Republicks, who have brought upon the unhappy Spanish Americans, misery death and famine, depopulating the country, and carrying their persecution to such an extent, that neither the Chiefs of the Church, nor its Ministers, have escaped it. They only have in view to aggrandize some Adventurers, for whose sake every thing is sacrificed."

From Buenos Ayres, we have a report, that Bolivar had left Upper Peru for Lima, in order to be present at the opening of the legislative session, on 10th February and to resign his Dictatorship. He was then to return to upper Peru, but I have no other particulars nor can I even vouch for the truth of these. A Spanish Archbishop who arrived here on 9th February, from Arequipa, with some officers on their way to Europe, there is reason to believe was consulted by this Government, as to the probable course, which in his judgment would be pursued, by the Western Republicks, in regard to the war between Brasil and Buenos Ayres. His opinion is stated to have been clearly expressed, that they would make a common cause of it, and furthermore asserted, that measures had been adopted in Upper Peru, for a march upon Brasil.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, IV.

The news recently received from the River Plate, is not so much the prospect of a speedy termination of the existing war, by the aid of the British and French fleets, as the success of the Buenos Ayreans. On or about the 14th of January, the Repulse attacked the Brazilian fleet and drove them from the outer anchorage, the former has ever since kept possession. This event was not known here, until the beginning of March, when the Ministry was called upon to use some prompt measures in support of the blockade. Inst. the frigate Paula was despatched for Monte Video, and the gun-boat and schooner both armed, conveying transports with 93 men, for Rio Grande, the territory of which, had recently become independent in consequence of the taking by the patriot forces, of a small town, Theresa, situated upon the border of the Banda Orientale.

On 12th Inst. intelligence of a still more unfavourable nature was received, which was confirmed with some additional and later particulars by the British Sloop of War Jasseur, and the French brig Comte, the former of which left Buenos Ayres on 27th February, and arrived here on 1st March. A naval battle had been fought on the 9th of February, in which neither party, but terminating in the withdrawal to Monte Video of the part, or the whole of the blockading force. The particulars of the battle communicated to you, by Mr. Forbes, who, availing himself of the opportunity of the blockade, made a formal protest against its inefficiency. He communicated the same to Admiral Lobo by a flag of truce, and I have to send you enclosed, as there is a *possibility* that it may reach you by the channel sooner than by any other. In the latter end of February, the French made an attempt upon Colonia, but I understand, did not succeed. On the last dates, he was upon the eve of sailing to Ensenada, for the purpose of attacking one or more of the Brazilian ships, which had been driven to Monte Video. My last letter from Mr. Forbes, is of 26th February. He informs me, that the American brig Budd, Capt. Milner, was captured on the day before.

The Ministry here, as you may suppose, find themselves very much at a loss, as to the responsibility, as relates to further naval and military operations. They would gladly see removed by the arrival of The Empress, but they are excessively mortified, and begin to find that the subjugation of the continent, which they had fancied so feeble and powerless, is not so easily accomplished as they had fancied. I think as far as they are concerned, they would rather throw their country out of the dilemma into which they have been brought, by their votes in Council, for unfortunately for them, they find nobody to assist them, with them, or to wish them success. Almost all the English, French, and I believe all other foreigners with few exceptions, are well wishers, of the other side, and seem to rejoice in every success. But, the Ministry must go on. More ships must be sent, and more efforts must be made, to bring the war to a speedy termination.

The Patriots are said to have their head quarters within four leagues of the City of Monte Video, and upon a late occasion, were near obtaining possession of the Mount. The Brasileau troops, a majority of which are blacks and mulattoes, occasionally desert, and it is supposed that 3500 men have crossed over into the Banda Orientale, from the opposite side of the river. General Lecor, who has been recalled from Monte Video, has not yet arrived, owing to the necessity of retaining there for the blockade, the frigate Imperatriz, which was ordered to convey him.

The U. S. Ship Cyane, Capt. Elliot, arrived here from New York, *via* Pernambuco and Bahia, on 14th Inst, and conceiving that the interests of our commerce required his presence in the River Plate, and being supported in that opinion, by the judgment of Mr. Forbes as manifested in his late letters to me, as well as by mine, he sailed for that quarter on 19th. I furnished him with a copy of Mr. Forbes's protest, as well as with a copy of my communication to this Governmt. on the subject of blockades, of 13th December last, and of the Minister's answer. I gave him also at his request, some suggestions, connected with the right of a neutral ship of war, to enter a blockaded port, which I conceive to be unquestionable, and which even this Governmt. did not dispute in the case of the *Jasseur*, recently returned from Buenos Ayres. I am pleased to find in Capt. Elliot, a gentleman of intelligence and firmness, and have no doubt, but that our national rights and honour, will be properly supported by him in this quarter, where a Publick Ship of the United States cannot fail to render important services.

It may not be irrelative for me here to mention, that in reply to repeated enquiries made of me, by foreigners, of the reason why The United States did not preserve a naval force, on this station, I have ascribed the policy to a desire on the part of our Government, to avoid during the existence of revolutionary symptoms in favour of a Republic in Brasil, all appearance of intermeddling in her internal concerns. I made this remark one day, to Sir Charles Stuart, who, in return observed, that "the Governmt of The United States, not only in regard to the Brasileau question, but as relates to the South American affair generally, has acted with great wisdom and discreteness," or words to the same effect. This observation I lately quoted to the Baron Mareschall, Agent of Austria, who admitted its truth, and said, that "it was generally so understood." It is beyond all doubt, that had American ships of war, like the English and French, pending the attempt to establish the "Confederation of the Equator" in 1824, been passing to and from Pernambuco and Bahia, nothing could have persuaded this Governmt and its European patrons, that we were not at the bottom of the whole rebellion, and it was in consequence of this persuasion, that in July of that year, I gave to Commodore Stewart whilst here in the *Franklin*, my opinion against his stopping at Pernambuco, which port he had been strongly invited to visit, by some of our Countrymen.

Condé Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro
*Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *April 1*

General Miller, a distinguished officer of the Colombian army, commanded the Cavalry at the battle of Ayacucho, arrived here on 29th Upper Peru, *via* Buenos Ayres, on his way to England. I have some attention, and have been gratified to hear from him, that the ascription of the people of the countries through which he has passed, in favour of Liberty and Independence, is so general, and so earnest, that, in opinion, they have nothing to fear from all Europe combined.

Condé Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro
*Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *May 2*

It is beyond dispute, that At the commencement of Sir Charles's negotiations in July last, Dom Pedro most unhesitatingly declared that he would accede to no terms, which should be subversive of the independence by which he professed to hold his crown, or of those upon which the dependence of Brasil had been established. In this resolution he was supported by most, or all of his Counsellors of State, and an adherence to this wise and politic ground of the Sovereignty of the people, was persisted in until the latter end of August. In the mean time, Sir Charles remained himself unmoved, upon his original proposition, which was, the abdication of the title of Emperour by King John, and the Legitimate transfer of the Sovereignty to Don Pedro, without any respect to the popular acquiescence of the latter. I have no doubt that the empty title thus stipulated was an absolute *sine qua non* with the Father, and that the legitimate basis of the empire, was equally so, with those powers which aided the new Emperor. Accordingly, in addition to the female influence, which Sir Charles considered proper to employ upon the occasion, as I once mentioned, the persuasions of the Austrian and French Agents, were called into exercise. The Emperour was told by them, that he never could expect the recon-

their respective Courts, without yielding to the conditions proposed through the mediation of Great Britain. Such arguments, of the employment of which, *you may be assured*, addressed to a monarch, surrounded by Republics, and who supposed that he had every thing to hope from the Potentates of Europe, could no longer be withstood. The seventh of September, the anniversary of His declaring the Independence of the country was nigh at hand, and the anxiety of the Publick for some definitive act, had become so great, that notwithstanding his fears of the consequences which might flow from an abandonment of the strongest pillar in the Imperial fabric, the point was reluctantly yielded, and the treaty signed.

The difficulty however was not entirely surmounted. The form of the ratification presented new obstacles. By one of the articles of the Constitution, sworn to by the Emperour, his title was declared to be "Don Pedro I, by the unanimous acclamation of the people, Constitutional Emperour and Perpetual Defender of Brasil." This title had been uniformly adhered to in all publick acts, and it was now requisite to lay it aside. What actually occurred upon this point, I have never been able precisely to ascertain, but I know, that the detention of the treaty for a few days early in September, was occasioned by some difficulty connected with the form of the ratification. Although in the copy now published, the phraseology of "We the Constitutional Emperour and Perpetual Defender of Brasil" is employed, yet I have reasons for beleiving, that in the original, Dom Pedro was obliged to admit that he was Emperour only "by the grace of God", and as the ratification was carefully concealed at the time, the people were never made acquainted with the admitted nullity of their Sovereignty, nor are they yet acquainted with the secret history to which I here advert.

Of the feelings produced here, by the publication of the King's Carta da Lei of 15th November you have already been advised. That instrument was probably worded somewhat differently from the language of the treaty, particularly wherein it speaks of the transfer of "*the exercise of the sovereignty*" of Brasil, instead of *the sovereignty itself*, in order to lull for a while the dissatisfaction produced in Portugal, by the separation of her colony. Don Pedro was however aware of the mischief which had been wrought in his dominions, by this unfair proceeding on the part of his father, and apprehensive also, of the shock which the publication of the latter's ratification of the treaty would give to the people, when they should see the pertinacity with which the old gentleman adhered to the title of "Emperour of Brasil," he resolved to accompany the poison with an antidote, which he supposed would be efficacious. This was the decree commanding the observance of the treaty, in which not only, was the title of "Emperour" denied to His Most Faithful Majesty, but it was even asserted, that by the said treaty, the supreme dignity, to which Don Pedro had been elevated "by the unanimous acclamation of the people", had been recognized, and as if to leave no doubts

as to the true period of the separation, the date of the decree was and to be "the 10" of April 1826, the fifth of Independence and of the Emperor, whereas that of the ratification, had reference only to "the year of our LORD." Some difficulties about the phraseology of this curious document which is so much at variance with the treaty that accompanied it, I presume, the cause of the delay of the publication of the latter for more than a year after the return of Sir Charles Stuart, who, I know, from a conversation I had with him, was a good deal annoyed about it.

In celebration of this promulgation of the treaty as ratified, the 10" & 18" of April were declared to be festive days, and the various official publications of the same, which appeared in print, spoke of the treaty concluded with "His Most Faithful Majesty", and even that title was observed without a hint at the Imperial dignity of Dom John, in the invitation sent to the Diplomatic Body to attend the Court, on the first of those days.

Such palpable and repeated indignities displayed towards his Imperial Majesty of Portugal, could not but give offence to the Chamber of Affairs of that Sovereign, residing at this Court. Mr. Perreira, who on the 14" of the month, presented to The Emperour in that capacity, returned upon his official duties on the 16", by addressing a note to the Emperor, complaining that the 1" & 2^d Articles of the Treaty had been violated by the decree, inasmuch as the title of Emperour had been therein reserved to his Master, and moreover, that the doctrines and the date which they appeared, were not in accordance with the treaty. To this remonstrance, received under date of 21st, a very unsatisfactory reply, wherein it was stated, that His Majesty was resolved to observe the treaty in its entirety. This answer, which gave however to the King, the title of Imperial Majesty, was shewn to me by Mr. Perreira on the 23^d, when he also mentioned, that he had endeavoured to induce the Minister of Foreign Affairs to recall or to modify the decree, but that he had not succeeded, and the argument used to justify the language, which had been employed, was, until after the official promulgation of the treaty here, its stipulations were not considered as in force! ! Mr Perreira has since informed me that he has received upon the subject, a satisfactory apology, in which it was declared to him, that the omission of The King's Imperial title was the result of a mistake, but be this as it may, an event soon after occurred to render such complaints no longer necessary.

On the afternoon of Monday the 24" of April, whilst 6, or 800 persons were preparing for a ball to be given that evening by Sir Chas. Stuart in honour of His Britannic Majesty's birth (the true day the 23^d having been sunken by a Portuguese vessel of war *Providencia* entered the port from Lisbon, with black patches, announcing the death of Dom John on the 10" of March).

had occurred, to induce any one to anticipate even as probable, such an event as his early decease. The entertainment was of course indefinitely postponed, a Council of State was immediately held, and the whole population,—thus thrown at once into a new attitude by the reunion of two crowns upon the same head, soon became busily and anxiously occupied with conjectures and surmises, as to the course which The Emperour would pursue, at a moment, when every body supposed affairs were at a crisis.

His Majesty was said to have been much affected at the news, and probably his grief found no alleviation in the reflexion, that the only publick act, which he had performed, as far as we know, under the treaty with his Father, was one, by no means calculated to have pleased the latter, had he lived to have been made acquainted with it. On the 26th, notice was given that His Majesty would shut himself up, until the 1 of May, when he would give an audience of condolence to the Diplomatic body and others, and that the Court would go into deep mourning for three months, and second mourning for three more. The annunciation of this arrangement invested the deceased Monarch, with the Imperial title, and as if to make amends for past sins of omission, a work of supererogation was performed by the Governmt. paper, two days after, in noticing the 25th, as the birthday of "Her Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Queen of Portugal," who was not by treaty or otherwise entitled to that distinctive appellation, and as the dead can steal no honours, no pains are now spared to shew, that Dom John was unquestionably Emperour of Brasil.

During the lapse of a week, everything remained calm and serene. The hopes and the fears of the different parties were no doubt alive, but all waited with patience, the result of seven days solitary reflexion, aware of the delicacy of His Majesty's situation, and of the difficulty of choosing a course which would be satisfactory to all. On the 27th, appeared a decree of the 25th, in the following words— "The day approaching, which is determined in the Constitution for the installation of the General Legislative Assembly, and the felicity of the Empire requiring that it should exercise as soon as possible, its important functions, I am pleased to designate the 29th Inst. at 9. A.M. for the first assembling of the Senators and Deputies in their respective Chambers, for the purpose of adopting and pursuing all the acts indispensable for the solemn opening of the same Assembly." Excepting this decree, nothing more was known of the measures in contemplation by The Emperour, until the 2^d of May, when there appeared in the *Diario Fluminense* (of which I send a copy) the following documents.

1. A decree dated on 26th April, issued by Dom Pedro, as King of Portugal and Algarves, confirming the regency created by his Father on 6th March.

2. A decree of 27th of same, granting a general "amnesty to all the Portuguese who are now imprisoned, under process, banished or persecuted for political opinions", up to the date of the decree. It extends also to all

deserters and prisoners, who have three years of their confinement yet to undergo.

3. An act of abdication, dated on 2^d Inst. of the crown of Portugal, Dom Pedro, in favour of his eldest daughter the Princess Donna Maria Gloria, *upon condition*, that the brother Don Miguel shall marry her, and that the Portuguese nation shall accept of and swear to a Constitution granted to it, by His Majesty, as King of Portugal, under date of 29th Apr.

These proceedings when announced, certainly excited surprize, and at first as far as one could judge, pretty general satisfaction. The lapse however of three weeks, has given time for parties in some degree to build up their systems, and perhaps the publick mind will still oscillate, until it be known what reception the conditions will meet with in Portugal. To the Brasileans were really favourable to the present form of government but who had entertained honest doubts of The Emperour's sincerity upon the question of absolute Independence, the course pursued has unquestionably been acceptable. It has also been so in an eminent degree, to the new Vicounts and Barons and to all expectants of titles, who are not a few, whose fears of being overshadowed by the emigration from Portugal of some of the old Legitimate stock and nobility, have now been dissipated, along with the apprehensions of a countless host of office holders and office seekers, who now flatter themselves with a Brazilian monopoly. To the Republican party, which is rather less known than seen to exist, nothing short of an abdication of the crown of Brasil, would have given satisfaction, even though the renunciation had been made in favour of the Infant Prince born on the soil, a course, which appeared to me, to have been one of the alternatives presented. As to the natives of Portugal, it is thought that they are not generally pleased. Their hankering after a reunion has never yet deserted them, and their European prejudices are offended at the idea, of their nation's being governed by an American Princess. No overt dissatisfaction however has been displayed by any party and it cannot be doubted, that the Government has been strengthened by this proceeding of The Emperour, who, by throwing himself upon the generosity of the nation, and giving up a throne which was quite as secure as that of Brasil, has acquired claims upon their support, which it would be difficult to resist.

On the 3^d Inst. there appeared in the *Diario Fluminense* a list of the members of a house of Peers, created by Dom Pedro in Portugal. The only copy of the gazette which I could procure, went in my letter of 6th Inst. *via* Pernambuco. The *Diario* of 5th, contains the following names, which were therein omitted, viz. "Marquez de Niza", Conde de Oriola D. Joaquim J. Antonio Lobo da Silveira", "Visconde de Balsemão", "Conde de Villa Real". I am informed, that this body comprehizes all the nobles, who enjoy the dignity of Grandaes of The Kingdom, except the Count de Sabagem, who heads

The prompt and decisive manner with which the Constitution of Portugal and the House of Peers were announced, induced me to suspect, that the suggestion came from the other side. But I have been assured by the Baron de Mareschale, that the whole project originated with Dom Pedro. I have no doubt, but that this gentleman, as well as Sir Charles Stuart, and probably the French Agent, were consulted upon the whole arrangement. The Charter has not been published, but the Baron tells me, that it resembles that of France, has too many details like the Brasileau Constitution, and that it is quite liberal. He has no doubt of the acceptance of the terms of the abdication, in Portugal, although he thinks, that the measure will produce a considerable excitement in Europe, and especially in Spain.

It is pretty well understood, that some Individuals of The Emperour's Council, were opposed to the abdication of the crown of Portugal, and recommended his retaining it, with the view of governing by a Delegate. His Majesty however, had wisdom enough to see, that Portugal could no more be governed from Brasil, than Brasil from Portugal, and that he was in a situation, calling for a prompt decision, I have reasons for believing, that at first he was inclined to adhere to both crowns, but he abandoned that project, when he reflected that such an attempt would be at variance with all his professions for three years, and it was probably to flatter that ambitious scheme, that some of his Counsellors, were so bold as to express their opinions against the abdication.

These arrangements having thus been made, nothing more remained to be done, but to transmit the result to Portugal, by some agent, whose influence on the spot, might assist in securing its adoption. Sir Charles Stuart accordingly took upon himself this office, and sailed for Lisbon, in the Diamond frigate on the 11th Inst. in the full persuasion, as he told me, that the condition would be accepted. The Portuguese Corvette Lealdade, which arrived with the ratifications on the 8th January, accompanied the Diamond, conveying on board (I presume with the Duplicate acts) Mr. Luiz de Moutinho, the Chief clerk of The Department of Foreign Affairs. The French frigate Arethuse was despatched to Brest, with advices on the 5th, and the British Packet to Falmouth, on the 9th. A decree has since appeared under date of 26th April, annulling one of date the 11th December 1822, which directed the sequestration of Portuguese property, and with the view of making a further appeal to the popular feeling of Brasil, a decree was issued on the 9th, declaring the 13th of May to be a day of gala, as being the anniversary of that upon which the title of "Perpetual Defender" was assumed by The Emperour. This day had heretofore been one of established gala, as being the birthday of The King, but would have ceased to be such, had not its continuance been directed by a new decree. In the meantime, the little Queen, who is a very interesting intelligent child of seven years of age, has received visits of compliment in her new capacity, from *her* Chargé des Affaires, and from the Austrian and

French Agents, the first named of which gentlemen, has informed has written to Portugal to solicit her immediate call.

During the eight days reign of Dom Pedro, as King of Portugal, it was not to be wondered at, that Portuguese subjects should be permitted to kiss his hand, in token of fealty. Such a favour, which had before been denied to them, was accordingly granted to Mr. Perry, and the Commanders of the Portuguese vessels of war. It really heightened my astonishment, when at Court on 13th Inst. I saw Mr. Perry, a member of the Diplomatic body, kneel to and kiss the hands of both the King and Empress.

Our latest dates from Portugal, are to about the last of March, at which time nothing had occurred to disturb the public tranquillity, but there exists much anxiety on the part of the Emperour, least there should be some revolutionary movements in favour of Dom Miguel, or Dom Pedro Cadaval, a branch of the Royal family, whom he has wisely placed at the head of the House of Peers. For some months we shall look to Portugal with much interest.

His Majesty entered the hall in his Imperial robes, all emblematic of monarchy having been on this day laid aside, and did not remove his crown on the occasion of opening the former assembly, before he reached the throne. The speech delivered upon this occasion, was published in the *Diário* of 8th Inst. and the answers of the two houses, in the same gazette of 18th, 19th & 22^d. Of each of them I send you enclosed a copy, and you will observe in them all, justice done to The United States, for their recognition of the Independence of Brasil, and a cautious avoidance of expression, which could imply that the Independence of the Empire, or the authority of its Monarch, were based upon the principles laid down in 1776 with Portugal.

Already has there been some exposition in the Assembly upon the subject of *recruiting* in the Provinces, elicited by the arrival at this port on 7th Inst. of a transport, which landed alive 318 wretched, and dying mortals, out of 580, which had been embarked like convicts, and he asserted, that not only in the distant provinces, but even within the leagues of this Capital, are recruits impressed by the most revolting system of despotism, and marched in chains to the place of embarkation.

From Buenos Ayres we have news to 18th Ult. and from Monte Video to 11th Inst. the latter brought on the 21st. by the U. S. Ship Cyane. The U. S. Ayrean Commander Brown in a corvette, came down the River Plate on the 11th of April, attacked off Monte Video, the frigate Nitherland, in a drawn battle, which continued for several hours, he returned to Buenos Ayres, where he refitted, and on the 27th of same month, again attacked Monte Video, where the Brasileain Admiral and a great part of the squadron, had collected after a severe gale. About midnight,

the frigate *Imperatriz* with his *Corvette* and four other vessels, but observing Lobo and his fleet getting under weigh and standing to the Southward, with the view as he supposed of cutting off his retreat, but as others imagine, with the view of getting out of danger, he moved off, after a battle of an hour and a half, which took place, so near to the *Cyane*, that Capt. Elliot was obliged to change his position, to avoid the balls. The Commander of the *Imperatriz*, Barrozo, was killed. The report from on board stated a loss of ten or a dozen, but Capt. Elliot thinks it must have been upwards of a hundred, judging from the nature of the action, and the number of dead bodies, which were said to have floated ashore. Brown was supposed to have gone back to Buenos Ayres.

Capt. Elliot describes the firmness and resolution of the governmt. and people of Buenos Ayres, as not likely to yield at an early day, and asserts, that it was generally understood, that aid was to be furnished in the recovery of the Banda Orientale by General Lucre, and that the Chili squadron was daily expected around Cape Horn having been contracted for by General Alvear, who arrived at Buenos Ayres a short time before the 16th of April, the day upon which Capt. Elliot sailed.

By the movements of Brown, and the arrival at Buenos Ayres of a number of merchant vessels, amongst which were several Brazilian prizes, estimated to be worth upwards of 100,000 dollars, it is discernible, that an effectual blockade of the River Plate cannot be said to exist. An attempt was made by Lobo's squadron to stop the *Cyane* on the 3^d of April, off the Ortiz banks on her way up, but was abandoned on its being ascertained, that Capt. Elliot was prepared to resist by force. The particulars of this occurrence as well as of a correspondence which he held with the Admiral on the subject of the blockade, he will no doubt communicate to the Government through the proper channel. The submission of the British to this illegitimate cutting off of their commerce by a paper blockade, has been carried to an extent rather humiliating. Two Packets destined for Buenos Ayres have stopped at this port to solicit permission, which was granted, to pursue their voyages, and several ships with valuable cargoes of merchandize have been and will be obliged to return to England from Monte Video. This in some degree, will make the British nation experience the evils originating in their own injustice, for whilst there is not a merchant or navy officer on the station, who believes that a blockade exists, they are all compelled to submit to the sufferings incident to a system, which their Governmt. has so long and so pertinaciously cherished.

As to the continuance of the war with Buenos Ayres, it is difficult to anticipate what may take place. Sir Charles Stuart said to me, as late as the 2^d Inst. "these people are mad upon the subject". He told me also, that ever since he had been here, he had in his despatches to his government, urged

reason, that had he been empowered, he could in the early stage of the war, have succeeded in an arrangement, which he thought could not readily be accomplished. On the day before he embarked, I said "you leave this gentleman with his hands full". "Up to the ears," reply. I have reasons to think, that Sir Charles left this country, under the opinion, that Buenos Ayres would be aided from Peru, and that if a formidable invasion of Brasil, should take place, the issue might be fatal to the Imperial government. The Baron de Mareschal, I know, is also uneasy on that score, and would rejoice to see a termination to a war, which he always regarded as a most unfortunate affair for Dom Pedro.

In the meantime no efforts are relaxed, to import vigour to the war. The frigates Piranga & Paraguassu, and brig Piraja, with four transports conveying the new Admiral Pinto, and 243 troops with supplies, sailed for Monte Video, on 24th Ult. General Lecor has been reinstated in the military command of the Province, and as far as one can judge from appearances there is not at this time, the slightest symptom on the part of the Emperor or his ministers, of a surrender of the Banda Orientale. The Senate have questionably vote the requisite supplies, and I should not be astonished if the other house would concur in the measure, owing to a desire on the part of some of the members, to maintain the integrity of the Empire, and on the part of others, to provoke an alliance between Buenos Ayres and the Argentine republics, and a consequent invasion of Brasil, favourable to the Spanish cause, the disaffected. The expenses of the war, it is true, are great. The firewood consumed by the squadron, is sent from this port and St. Catharines. The perpetual draining of the efficient population from the interior to diminish the products of agriculture, and the lowness of the Brazilian currency in England, may eventually cripple the Government in its operations, but of these matters have yet begun to pinch. [More-]Over the ordinary expenses of war have scarcely yet been felt. Not a privateer, except the *Lavaca*, has yet made its appearance on the coast, where such a rich and abundant field for that branch of *industry*, has been perpetually presented. How and in these particulars might operate, it is difficult to foretell. The season of inaction is fast approaching, and perhaps before the return of Spring new developments may take place, which will alter the aspect of the war. Without foreign aid, Buenos Ayres can do no more than act on the defensive. If the River Plate be effectively blockaded, she cannot long sustain the war through the want of resources, and may ultimately be driven into a compliance with her claims on the Banda Orientale. The British Chargé des Affaires here asserted that his Government in answer to an application made on the part of Buenos Ayres for its mediation, positively and decidedly refused all interference in the matter. Such determination however, may have been subsequently changed. On 21st Inst. Lord Ponsonby, the Minister Plenipotentiary from Great Britain to Buenos Ayres, arrived here in the frigate

and as it has been given out, that he intends to stop here for two or three weeks, it is not improbable that he may have some instructions upon that head. I have a strong impression, that this Government might be induced, by a mediating Power, to give up the Banda Orientale, upon the payment of an indemnity, and am clearly of opinion, that unless Buenos Ayres can rely upon the aid of her neighbours, it would be well for her to consent to such a compromise. Might it not, if desired, be worthy of the philanthropic views of our Government, and consistent with its political and commercial interests, to lend its aid in the consummation of an object, which perhaps, Great Britain excepted, *it* alone could accomplish? As I know from a Government source here, that Buenos Ayres did apply to England for her mediation, possibly the recent appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary, by that Republic, to depart at an early day for The United States, as Capt. Elliot informs me, may have some connexion, with such an overture to our Government.

*Condy Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *June 27, 1826.*

SIR: My last communication of 25th May, went per Sylph, and the duplicate per Daphne, committed to the care of Mr. Joseph Rodney, a passenger on board.

On 26th Ult. the British frigate Briton, commanded by Sir Murray Maxwell, arrived here from Peru, having on board General Rodil, who was joined on 1st Inst. by an English ship conveying 91 officers and men of the late garrison of Callao, being as I am informed, the whole of the Spanish troops which preferred to accompany their Commander to Europe. They sailed again in the latter vessel on 17th Inst. The capitulation of Callao, this last hold of the Spaniards on this Continent, was published in the Government paper here on 20th May, without a word of comment.

France has at length performed a positive act of recognition, as relates to Brasil, by the ratification on the 19th of March, of a Convention drawn up here on 8th January. The informal powers given to the Count de Gestas for the negociation of this treaty, rendered it necessary that it should first be ratified by His Monarch, which was done with some modifications requiring four additional articles. It reached this port on 1st Inst. per frigate Seine, and on 6th, was approved by The Emperour, who it appears, has thought proper

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, V.

to observe in his ratification, the same form as that prescribed by Stuart, in relation to the treaty with Portugal.

Of this treaty I send you a copy, and you will observe therein Pedro and His Dynasty have been recognized, and that France the condition of Portugal's being placed by Brasil, upon a more footing than any other nation. . . .

Lord Ponsonby is still here, and it is supposed will depart for Brazil in a few days. It is understood, that the Briton frigate, and the Goldfinch, which sailed on 16th & 22^d Inst. respectively for England, have received the ultimatum of this government to certain propositions made by the British ship, in relation to the war with Buenos Ayres, and that the same have been accepted in accordance with the wishes of the British cabinet. I have good authority for asserting, that the overture made, had for its basis, the surrender of Banda Oriental to The United Provinces, upon the payment of a sum of money, and that this proposal was unhesitatingly rejected. It is understood that this was followed by a sounding, as to whether this Government would consent that Great Britain should take upon herself the protection of the Territory as an Independent State, but my evidence upon this last point is not very strong. My Colleague of France however, (who is now Chargé des Affaires is settled by the treaty above referred to), is of the belief, that a proposal of the kind was made, and was at once rejected, and alarmed, for fear it would be acceded to. Amongst the English the impression is very general, that such an overture was made, and that in fact as it may, it is now believed, that all negotiation is at an end. The session of Monte Video would no doubt be a desirable acquisition to the British, as a Commercial and naval depot, and now that the operation of the pretended blockade of the River Plate begins to be felt, they are anxious to see the key of the river in the hands of some Power, whose interests cannot be, to obstruct its navigation. There is not I believe, a single English subject scarcely, in this part of South America, whether he be a public or private naval Commander, or Merchant, who is not desirous to see Brazil possessed of Monte Video. This feeling is so strong, that they regard the success of the republican arms, and although this feeling is not altogether grounded in self interest, yet I believe, I do not risk much in assuming that amongst the English, there is a decided majority, who would not be in favour of the total overthrow of the Imperial Government.

Since the 14th Inst. there has appeared, in detached numbers, a small anonymous publication of 23 quarto pages entitled "*Recordacao dos Direitos do Imperio do Brasil, á Provincia Cisplatina*", of which I send you a copy. It contains the arguments of this Government in support of its claim to Banda Oriental, and manifests great indignation, that "a legitimate Government" like Great Britain, should propose to mediate upon the surrender of that Territory to The United Provinces, which are

numerous opprobrious epithets. The language employed, and the sentiments uttered, may be considered to be those of The Emperour and his Ministers, and I have no doubt, that the following paragraph contains the substance of the answer given to Lord Ponsonby—"No negociation can have any other basis, than *the integrity of the Empire*, and the effective obligation of the Federative Government of Buenos Ayres, to give to the Constitutional Brazilian Government, *indemnity for the past, and security for the future*." This pamphlet may be considered as in some sort official. Its author, with whose style I am perfectly acquainted, is unquestionably the Baron of Cayru, one of the Senators, and its contents I know, are precisely in accordance with the temper and the views of the Government, as they have existed of late.

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*Condé Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, July 17, 1826.

I have been assured that the *informality* spoken of, in relation to the powers furnished to the Count de Gestas to negotiate the above mentioned treaty, with this Government, which prevented its ratification here in January last, was the omission of the proper title of the Sovereign of this nation, he having been styled "Prince", instead of "Emperour". The defect however has been cured, without the necessity of altering the date of the original signatures, by new powers properly addressed, and antedated, so as to suit the case. Had a *Republick* offered such an insult to the Majesty of Dom Pedro, it would probably have furnished ground for a total refusal to treat with it upon the footing of a favoured nation, and it is not irrelative to remark, that there is reason to believe, that France, whose disrespect to the sovereignty of *this people* has been rewarded by a most favourable treaty, was one of the most strenuous opposers of the Independence of Brasil, which the cabinet of Lisbon had to contend with. It is very certain, that not a movement was made upon her part, until it was known, that Portugal had accepted the mediation of Great Britain, when she sent out to her agent here, instructions to propose a treaty. These were brought, as I suppose, in June 1825, by the Count St Maurice, but as the mission of Sir Charles Stuart was already known here, this Government declined an immediate negotiation.

The Baron de Mareschale has concluded a convention with this Govern-

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, V.

ment, on the part of Austria, as preparatory to a treaty which will be concluded at Vienna, as I understand.

It is said, that this Government has positively refused to renew negotiations with Great Britain, *at London*, as has been requested by the latter, and there is also an impression, that in any treaty to be made here, it will be equally advantageous to those of the rejected treaty of October last, to be accorded.

It seems that a secret convention between Brasil and Portugal was concluded with the treaty of Independence on 29th August, by which the sum of two millions sterling was to be paid by the former government, as an indemnity for all losses sustained by the latter. This instrument was communicated to the Assembly some time in June, but it has never been published. Had I, in fact until lately any positive knowledge of the existence of such a document, although it was suspected, that there was such a one, at the time the treaty was promulged. It seems also, that the Judge of sequestration had adopted some construction relative to the treaty, which has rendered it necessary for The Emperour, after hearing his Council of State, to command the literal observance of the 6th & 7th Articles of the same, by which the real estate, moveables, bank stock and ships, sequestered or confiscated were to be restored, together with the revenues derived from the same, deducting the expenses of management, or that indemnity be afforded. If all the real property be given up, I should suppose, that the sum stipulated by the treaty was more than an indemnity for all losses sustained, if *lucrative* losses were not enumerated as items in the account, and it will probably turn out that this stipulation has been in part made for the benefit of England, by satisfying some of her claims upon Portugal, out of the fund raised by loan in Lisbon, which had not been all drawn for.

The Portuguese line of battle Ship Dom John VI, which was first sent off the port on 17 June, and which again made her appearance on the 27th, did not enter until the 6th Inst. It seems that she left Lisbon, in a very wretched state, as to her sails, that when there was a strong breeze she could not carry any, for fear of their being blown to rags, and rough weather opening about the time of her approaching the coast, she was driven into difficulties from which she could not regain the harbour until the day men arrived. The Duke of Alaffoens immediately landed, and went to the Palace, and his colleagues of the Deputation are the arch-bishop of Lacedemonia, and Tregozo, the latter of whom is on board another vessel, which has not yet arrived, but what is the precise object of the mission, which excites little curiosity or interest, we yet know not. It is thought however, that the Emperor have been sent to invite Dom Pedro the Fourth, to transfer the seat of his Government from his American to his European dominions, and it is also said, that the expectation, that he would accede to the proposal, was the chief object in Lisbon. The Dom John is now fitting out for some port in the Med-

nean, probably Leghorn, for the purpose of bringing over, the Prince Dom Miguel to enter into his marriage contract with his niece, Donna Maria II, but that this arrangement is not consequent upon the arrival of the Deputation, I can assure you from my knowledge of the fact, that the British Packet, which sailed on the 6th *Inst.* but before the Dom John entered the harbour, carried notice to Dom Miguel of the intention of his brother to send for him.

Ever since the date of my last letter, the publick expectation had continued in a considerable state of excitement by the reports relating to battles in the South, to which I therein adverted. Within a few days we learn, that an action did take place off Buenos Ayres on the 11th June, but without any decided result. A letter received by me from Mr. Bond, mentions that an engagement took place near the confines of Rio Grande, in which the commander of the Imperial forces was defeated, with the loss of 3 or 400 men, most of whom were *killed*, because the enemy after the escape of a number of prisoners who had been captured at the battle of Sarandi, had resolved to give quarter, as rarely as possible. Of this action there has yet appeared no official account, nor have we indeed any particulars.

Lord Ponsonby has not yet sailed for Buenos Ayres. I am of opinion that he has delayed his departure, in order to see what change might be produced upon the minds of The Emperour and his Ministers, by the fortune of war. One of my colleagues told me on 6th *Inst.* that the Minister of Foreign Affairs had in conversation with him, spoken of Great Britain as "*Mediatrix*", which led him to conclude, that some negotiation was still going on. Better authority however has assured me, as late as the 9th, that nothing was then pending, and that the decided answer given to Lord Ponsonby was—that Brasil would agree to a peace with The United Provinces, *and would consent to acknowledge their Independence* and to make with them a treaty of amity, navigation and commerce, the Emperour holding the Banda Orientale, and rendering Monte Video a free port, at which full protection would be afforded to British ships and commerce free of port charges and duties. On 13th *Inst.* a Packet from Falmouth for Buenos Ayres arrived here to ask permission to proceed on her voyage, which was granted, and she accordingly sailed again on the 14th. She brought despatches for Lord Ponsonby, with whom a friend of mine conversed late on the evening of her arrival, and from the manner in which His Lordship freely spoke of men and things, it is not likely that his way is rendered more clear, by any recent instructions from his Governmt., or conversations with the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Independence of the Banda Orientale as a separate State under the protection of *some European Power* seems now to be a favourite theme of conversation with the English gentlemen here, who begin to think, that even if Brasil were to abandon her claims to that territory, an immediate war would be waged with Buenos Ayres, and that thereby the repose, the establishment of which is so desirable to all commercial nations, would be as distant as

ever. It is not however at all probable that The United Provinces will consent to such a measure, nor do I think that this Government will ever be disposed to accede to it. I am of opinion, that Brasil, if she should ultimately consent to give up the Banda Orientale, will surrender it to the enemy, in preference to admitting the protectorship of Great Britain, and for the reason that a re-conquest or purchase would be more practicable at a future day, than if the territory were occupied by the British arms. In Mr. Lisboa's pamphlet "*Recordação dos direitos do Brasil*", the relative position of Florida as regards The United States, was referred to, as an evidence of the propriety of retaining the Banda Orientale, but I know that the very case thus cited has been used with this Government, as an argument in favour of its surrender at the present day. The wisdom and prudence of the American Government, in waiting for a suitable occasion for the acquisition of that territory, has been pointed out, and it has been shewn, that had she in her infancy exhausted herself in a war upon the subject, she might not so soon and so permanently have possessed herself of it. This Government it seems, in order to leave no doubt, as to the fact, that the *Cisplatine Province* is an integral part of the Empire, has as late as the 23^d of June, directed to be applied to its laws which prohibit the productions of the country from being carried to *in Foreign vessels*, which had never before been done. So ill-advisedly has the moment for this new project been selected, that never was there a period before, when such a measure would have been so injudicious. Should Montevideo be closely besieged, the aid of foreign vessels in transporting sugar, coffee, jerked beef, farinha and other provisions; might be of infinite importance to the Imperialists.

With this communication I send the *Diario Fluminense* of 3^d Inst. where you will see an article purporting to be a letter from Buenos Ayres, in which the writer indulges himself in the following strain—"There has lately circulated here, with a species of interest, and not a little sensation, a report of the coming over to Mexico, of the Infant Don Sebastian, and to Lima, of the Prince of Luca. Although I think, that this grand plan cannot fail to be combined in the cabinet of Madrid, yet at this time, no European expedition can disembark freely in the ports of America, and therefore it will be necessary that they should find quarters in Brasil". That there should exist persons in this quarter of the globe, who have not yet lost all hopes of the re-subjugation of America to European authority, is not surprising, but it is truly to be wondered at, that this Government should at this day, whatever might be its true feelings on the subject, so little understand its true interests, as to countenance to such a doctrine, in a paper, understood by every body to be an official gazette.

*Condé Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *September 23, 1826.*

. . . I have also grounds for believing that the French Government is becoming every day more and more disposed, to regard the South American question, rather as a *commercial* than as a *political* one—that France has recently urged upon Spain the advisableness of recognizing the Independence of her former colonies, with the declaration, that she will herself not much longer delay such an act,—and that Mons. Du Plantys, who is the Inspector destined for Peru, has with him, the credentials of a Chargé des Affaires, to be presented at no very distant day. If there be added to this, that Mons. De la Forest, is accompanied by his Lady and a large family of children, with a salary of 50,000 francs, and preparations for a residence at St Iago, of seven years, it will not be difficult to imagine, that his Government anticipates such an intercourse with the Republic of Chili, as can only result from an early acknowledgement of her Independence. One of the gentlemen, referred to, mentioned one day to me in conversation, that he had no doubt, but that their mission to Republican States, was regarded by this Government with an evil eye, and I think it not improbable, that such is the fact.

*Condé Raguet, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

RIO DE JANEIRO, *December 22, 1826.*

M. Gordon has mentioned to me, that Lord Ponsonby, in his last despatches, (dated about 6th November) represents the situation of affairs at Buenos Ayres as gloomy enough. The Government was without apparent resources, and had quarrelled with the bank. The people were desirous of peace, but the President was so resolved to push on the war, that he would listen to no propositions. The invasion of Rio Grande was relied upon, as the last hope. This corresponds with what I have derived from other sources, and the invasion of Brasil, is probably a necessary step to subsist the army. Mr Gordon thinks, that this Government, thus far, [has] not the most distant idea of ceding the Banda Orientale to Buenos Ayres, but; from what I

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, V.

could collect from his remarks on this subject, I think, that he is of opinion that in case of any disaster in the South, a willingness would be manifested to consent to the Independence of the Banda Orientale. I found him so imbued with the sentiment so common in this quarter, that the hostility of the Orientalists towards the Buenos Ayreans, is so deep-rooted, that if they themselves, they would no more unite with Buenos Ayres, than with the United States, and that a termination to the actual war, would only be the commencement of another one, unless the Independence of the Banda Orientale was the basis. It is difficult to see how this matter will terminate, but, a few months I think, must settle it one way or the other.

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*José Silvestre Rebello, Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, to
Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, November 14, 1827

From the moment that war unhappily broke out between His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, and the Government of Buenos Ayres, the People of the United States began to manifest a scandalous wish that it might terminate in a manner unfavorable to His Majesty the Emperor, and glorious for the Government of Buenos Ayres, without any cause to justify such an unfavorable wish other than the deplorable political intolerance fomented by many of the citizens of these States— As, at this day, the Commerce between Brazil and the United States is equal to four millions of dollars, while that which existed before the war between the latter and Buenos Ayres scarcely amounted to one million, it is evident that this solicitude for the success of the enemy of His Majesty the Emperor does not proceed from any injury to their interests, and can, therefore, only be attributed to the Republican intolerance.

This rage appeared at once from the manner in which the Editors of the newspapers in the United States spoke of the war; not one of them having shown that impartiality according with the neutrality professed by the Government of the United States; so that, were there no other proofs, this would be sufficient to show the unfriendly disposition entertained by the people of the United States against a Government and nation by Whom they have been hitherto, and are still, so well treated; and who, in their character of neighbors, consider themselves as united to them by indissoluble bonds of friendship which they wish to promote the well understood interests of both nations.

As if the insults, ridicule and sarcasms published in the newspapers

the august person of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil, against his Government, and against his people, were not sufficient to create, on the part of the Government and People of Brazil, unfriendly feelings towards that of the United States, some citizens and inhabitants of these States have fitted out privateers, and, with letters of marque, purchased in the United States themselves, have cruized against, and plundered Brazilian vessels and property, in violation of the Law of Nations, which clearly forbids neutrals to fit out vessels on either side of the belligerents, and provides that the personal services of volunteers enlisting under the banners of one of the Parties in the war shall not commence until they shall have repaired to the country whose service they have entered, in order to obtain their commissions—A contrary practice has, so far been tolerated, although evidently contrary to the state of neutrality which nations ought strictly to observe when the fatal brand of war has, unhappily, been lighted among some of them.

These manifestations of gratuitous hostility against the subjects of H. M. the Emperor of Brazil, have, in addition to the individual character which they previously possessed, become in some measure national, by the act of an American Naval Commander, who, with an air of menace, demanded the surrender of property belonging to citizens of Buenos Ayres, which had been lawfully captured by the Cruizers of H. M. the Emperor of Brazil, on the mere allegation of its being covered by the American flag, which act became for the american news-papers, a great subject of boast; and by that of another commander who carried his interference in the transactions between the belligerents so far as taking away, as it were forcibly, from on board a vessel, which, having been captured, had, in some manner, acquired the character of a national vessel, several seamen calling themselves Americans; this act of violence being committed within one of the ports of the Empire of Brazil.

These are, in themselves, the acts of an enemy; but if clearer evidence were necessary to prove the unfriendly feelings nourished by the People of the United States against that of Brazil, it would be found in that of a citizen of the United States, who, in a privateer fitted out and commanded by himself, and provided with a letter of marque purchased in the United States plundered the subjects of H. M. the Emperor of Brazil of property to the amount of fifty thousand dollars, or more, which these Brazilian subjects had placed, together with their persons, under the safe guard of the American flag, under the impression that the principle—that the flag covers the merchandize, was an article in the political creed of the citizens of the United States, and that if it had served in the River Plate to pilfer away from Brazilian cruizers, the mercantile property of their enemy, on the allegation of its being found on board of an American vessel, it ought to have protected the property of Brazilian individuals, near Cape Frio, from the clutches of a Buenos Ayrean privateer; which would perhaps, have been the case, had she not, to all intents and purposes, been owned by an American. This pitiful transaction was

rendered still more scandalous, by being published in some American papers, as a praiseworthy instance of prowess.

By the terms of one of the treaties between the Government of the United States, and another nation, it was agreed, on the part of the High Contracting Parties, to restore such individual property as might, at the time of ratifications, happen to be in possession of the adverse parties. This course of proceeding, on the part of the United States, leads to the clear inference that they had recognized, as a principle of public law, the illegality of the capture of individual property— Now if such capture under the flag of an enemy was considered, by the Government of the United States, as a violation of the strict ideas we ought to entertain of the principles of humanity, which, of late, have so much mitigated the evils of war between civilized nations, with how much more reason, may not the Government of Brazil claim the restitution of the private property of Brazilian Subjects, so scandalously plundered from on board of American vessels, and under the American flag?

I might add many more to these just causes of complaint which the Government and People of Brazil have against the citizens of the United States, growing out of the manner in which they have violated the law of nations in the war so justly prosecuted by H. M. the Emperor of Brazil, in defence of his indisputable rights. But I forbear from doing so, because Your Excellency has, in reading the News-papers published in the United States, acquainted Yourself with the partial interference of his Fellow-citizens against H. M. the Emperor, the Government, and the People of Brazil, in the War which the Government of Buenos Ayres has so presumptuously declared against the Majesty the Emperor.

The Government of H. M. the Emperor, hopes that, on seeing this conduct on the part of the United States will cause the property which was plundered from on board the Brig *Ontario*, to be restored to its owners; and, at the same time, desires the Government of the United States to take proper measures to redress all injuries committed by Citizens and inhabitants of the United States, upon the Citizens of Brazil, as soon as the Government of H. M. the Emperor, having procured the documents necessary to prove these acts of violence, shall present to that of the United States, the Brazilian requisitions against the latter Government.

I have the honor [etc.].

*William Tudor, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

RIO DE JANEIRO, August 29, 1828.

SIR: Having heard that the preliminaries of peace were signed yesterday, I wrote a Note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to ascertain the fact officially; he sent Mr. Lisboa the chief Clerk in the department, to tell me, that *the preliminaries were signed yesterday*, I have been unable to procure any particulars, but have always understood that the cession of the Banda Oriental by this government was the sine qua non held out by B'Aryes.

I have the honor [etc.].

*William Tudor, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

Confidential.

RIO DE JANEIRO, September 11, 1828.

I have obtained *in confidence* a copy of the Convention with B^s Ayres, of which the following is a translation.

CONVENTION

1. The Emperor declares the Province of Monte Video to be free & separated from the Empire of Brazil, that it may at pleasure constitute a State independent of every other nation.

2. The Argentine Republic consents to the same condition, & separates itself from all right or pretension to the said Province.

3. Both contracting parties obligate themselves to defend the independence & integrity of the same State, during a period & in the forms that shall be agreed upon in the definitive Treaty.

4. The existing government of the Oriental Province & that of Monte Video shall convoke, each in its respective territory, the representatives of the Province in the customary form; & for this purpose the natives & other citizens of said Province, who may be in Monte Video must resort to the place which shall be designated for the assembling (& which must be at least ten leagues distant from any armed force) if they wish to make use of their political rights in the election of representatives.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Brazil, VI. William Tudor, of Massachusetts: Commissioned chargé d'affaires to Brazil, June 26, 1827. Died at Rio de Janeiro, March 9, 1830. Before his appointment to Brazil he had been a Consul in Peru. For his reports from there see below, pt. XI, docs. 961-1007 *passim*.

5. The representation of the Province shall elect a provisional government until a permanent one is instituted according to the constitution. provisional government being organized, the existing one shall cease.

6. The same representation shall occupy itself in forming a constitution which both belligerents shall have a right to inspect, with the sole object of ascertaining, that it contains nothing opposed to the security of both parties; and if it contains anything of this nature, it shall be explicitly declared null and void by themselves, & then the constitution shall not take effect.

7. All the inhabitants shall have perfect liberty to leave the country, or to remain in their property; and all those may remain who chuse so to do, in the territories which the parties respectively, have to evacuate.

8. There shall be a perpetual amnesty for all those who may chuse to remain in said countries, on account of their political actions or opinions prior to the signing of this Convention.

9. The high contracting parties will protect the new State until its constitution is established, & for six years after its being sworn to, that tranquillity & the absence of anarchy & disorders may be prevented. But this protection shall not be accorded at the demand of its legal government, & for the sole object of the before mentioned; discontinuing it as soon as order is re-established, & according to the opinion of the same government.

10. The forces of the republic shall evacuate the Brazilian territory occupied by them, within two months to be wanted from the exchange of prisoners; and they may pass to the other side of the Uruguay, or of the Rio de la Plata, or may place themselves within the Oriental Province, at such point as they may select until the evacuation of Monte Video.

11. The Imperial forces shall evacuate within the same period, all the Brazilian territorial territory, with the exception of 1500 men, who shall remain in Monte Video, which place shall be absolutely evacuated (leaving it in statu quo) in four months to be counted from the installation of its provisional government.

12. The troops which remain temporarily, according to the previous Convention, shall not meddle in any political or civil affairs, except as auxiliaries on being requested to do so, by the legal government, being in other respects mere spectators. Monte Video being evacuated, all the troops of the republic shall immediately evacuate the whole of the Banda Oriental which they have remained in it during the occupation of Monte Video.

13. Hostilities shall cease by sea & land as soon as the ratification of the Convention is changed; by land as soon as the said ratification is notified to the respective Governments. by sea, as follows: In 48 hours from the exchange of said ratifications, the blockade shall be raised, & other hostilities shall cease within ten days as far as Cape St. Mary; in eight days up to St. Catherine's; in six days up to Cape Frio; twenty two days to Pernambuco; in forty days up to the coast of the East; & in eighty to the seas of Europe.

14. All prisoners shall be liberated as soon as the ratifications are exchanged, on the condition that they shall previously secure the payment of what they may owe in the respective countries.

15. As soon as the ratifications are exchanged, Plenipotenciaries shall be named for the conclusion of a definitive Treaty.

16. If unfortunately peace should not be adjusted, hostilities shall not be renewed for the period of five years during which the present armistice shall last, and on that term being completed, they cannot be renewed without six months notice being given, & without the mediating power receiving notice thereof.

17. The exchange of ratifications shall be made in Monte Video, within seventy days of the signing of this Convention, or sooner if possible.

An additional article establishes the free navigation of the River Plate for 15 years guaranteed by Great Britain.—

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*William Tudor, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Rio de Janeiro, to the Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

Confidential.

RIO DE JANEIRO, *April 18, 1829.*

Reflections of a political nature of very extensive bearing, were to be taken into consideration. The principal Sovereigns of Europe had followed with a degree of natural predilection, the transfer of one of their companions, to the establishment of the only monarchy on this Continent. England of course, was the first to extend her ancient connection with the House of Braganza, the present Head of which, had made himself independent in this new Sovereignty; & to obtain favours for her trade & manufactures in this extensive region. France followed after a time to establish a rivalry in the same objects, and prevent the influence of England from being as predominant in Brazil, as it had long been in Portugal. The second-rate commercial powers took a similar course, & Prussia, Denmark, Holland & the Hanse Towns formed Treaties with Brazil. The family alliance which connected the Emperor with Austria, brought that power into intimate relations with this Court. These connections with the Sovereigns of Europe, & the habitual dislike & enmity prevailing between the two races of Spanish & Portuguese origin, were naturally calculated to increase a vague kind of prejudice or indifference towards the Republics of America; & were in danger under the

natural influence of habit & monarchical sympathy, to make the Emperor lose sight of the true policy, that is essential to his position & the interests of his Empire, and to create an erroneous preference for his Sovereigns and connections. It was highly necessary to inculcate that the policy of this Empire, should rise above such considerations; that its institutions & forms could not change the direction of such circumstances, which were inseparably united with geographical position. That the system of America should be essentially a liberal one after being so long the victim of a European monopoly, though the United States much less so than the other sections; that the Colonial system and navigation laws of the old Colonies were radically injurious & offensive to every American Government, none more so than Brazil; that the whole was now emancipated from Portuguese domination, in which memorable event the United States had taken the lead by establishing their own independence, which had almost inevitably led to that of the whole Continent; & that a tacit understanding between the United States & Brazil, in which all the other states would join, might possibly in a few years, destroy the last vestiges of the Colonial system, the portions were still perversely & unwisely maintained by some of the European States. I have dwelt on these topics on all suitable occasions, and not without effect: the United States are certainly regarded more favourably than any other Foreign Power, by the Brazilians generally.

PART IV
COMMUNICATIONS FROM CENTRAL AMERICA

COMMUNICATIONS FROM CENTRAL AMERICA

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*Manuel J. Arce and Juan M. Rodriguez, Central American Commissioners to the United States, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

WASHINGTON, September 9, 1823.

The Commissioners of the Province of St. Salvador, just arrived, desirous of communicating to the Secretary of State the object of their visit, ask the favour of an audience, and that he would have the goodness to appoint the day and hour.

Altho' four months have elapsed Since their arrival at the port of Boston, they have yet been precluded from executing their Commission, by the political occurrences of their Country, which have taken place since they left it, as well as by the Sickness which they, themselves, have undergone.

Obliged by late events immediately to repair to Mexico we would regret returning to our own Country, without manifesting those sentiments of friendship (*adhesion*) to this Government, and that sympathy in Principles which are common to that people and those of this Union.

With profound respect and the highest consideration, we have the Honor to subscribe ourselves [etc.].

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*Manuel J. Arce and Juan M. Rodriguez, Central American Commissioners to the United States, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, September 11, 1823.

When the pretended Emperor of Anahuac attempted to Tyrannize over the Mexican Nation and to extend his Tyranny to the Isthmus of Panama, the Province of St. Salvador, in union with those forming the Old Kingdom of Guatemala, had declared its Independence, before the plan of Iguala had effected the Treaty of Cordova, and on Iturbide's entry into Mexico it was resolved sooner to perish than to prostrate themselves to any Throne risen up in America.

¹ MS. Notes from Representatives of Other States, I. Manuel J. Arce, Commissioner of Central America to the United States: presented credentials, September 10, 1823. Juan M. Rodriguez, Commissioner of Central America to the United States: presented credentials

Every possible means were used for the exercise of its rights, thro influence of mild persuasion, unfolding every principle of eternal v which the liberty of men is founded and which is universal in this C but Iturbide and his agents, blind to reason, devoted to the gratific his ambition, enacted a decree of Blood-shed against St. Salvador proceeded on its execution.

The war commenced, and when engaged in it, the Province of St. Salvador reunited its Congress, to counsel upon its fate, whom bringing into v present state of the country, agreed upon the two Acts, we have the honour to accompany herewith for the interest of this Province as honourable to its Representatives. We also enclose the Proclamation which the Govt. announced to the People that Congress had declared federation (league) to the U. S.— Our forces were but trifling; compared those of the Ambitious and cruel Iturbide's, and if determined to resist it was resolved to die sooner than to be stained by the dark in obedience on the soil of America to a despot King, and an enemy to

In fact we were entirely undone in the Battle of the 7th of February, and in the confusion when routed, different roads were devised for ourselves by those who have now the Honour to address this Govt.—representing St. Salvador.

The Tyrant fell in consequence of our Bloodshed which excited the people of Mexico to rise and through her fall, liberty has been regained to the Old Kingdom of Guatemala, which never did belong to Mexico *before or after the conquest of the Spaniards.*

We are informed that the Provinces that were heretofore divided by the sequence of the intrigues of Iturbide, have now united and have called a General Congress to organize their Govt., which events urge our immediate return to Mexico, to communicate that we have delivered to them the documents manifesting the wishes of the people of St. Salvador expressed by them at the time and date of the Acts enclosed.

Should the change of events cause any alteration, St. Salvador, in its existence will exult to be the only portion in South America which has Independence has not humbled herself before the Throne of a Tyrant who alone unable to contend has adhered to a Sister Nation the most free and the most admirable for its institutions in the known world.

We are flattered in being the organs of our Province on so important and honourable a mission, and to communicate in their name that they are animated with the sincerest sentiments of adhesion to this Govt. that there is a great similitude in principles between that people and those of the Union, upon which they found their confidence that in whatever they suffered for Liberty it will find in the U.S. that protection they are

[The two acts of the Congress of Salvador, dated respectively November 22, and December 2, 1822, which are mentioned in the third paragraph, and the proclamation, mentioned in the same paragraph, dated December 5, 1822, follow:]

ACT OF THE CONGRESS OF ST. SALVADOR DE GUATEMALA

[TRANSLATION]

We the representatives of the Province of St. Salvador in general constituent Congress assembled, in order to decide if this province which we represent shall form by itself alone a separate nation, free and independent of the other nations of the earth, or if it shall begin to form a part of another nation; have cautiously considered that the Province of St. Salvador became independent of the Spanish Nation on the 21st. of the month of September of the year 1821 embracing all its parts, and solemnly swearing to maintain and defend all and every one of the articles, which are contained in the act agreed upon in the city of Guatemala on the 15th of the same month of September: That the 2d. Article of this act called upon all the provinces which in time past composed the Kingdom of Guatemala, to form a general Congress in which the lawful representatives of all its people should determine if these provinces should form of themselves a nation free and independent of any other, and in this case should fix the Constitution for their Government. That many who do not wish well to the cause of mankind and are opposed to the rights of the people, acted so as that this General Congress of the provinces should not meet, and that without having first found out the will of the people in a legitimate manner and which might be clearly known, the greater part of these provinces should be incorporated with the Mexican nation. That the people of St. Salvador whom we represent, aware of their rights which they know how to appreciate, after the other Provinces of Guatemala, acting contrary to the 2d. Article of the Act of the 15th of September, broke the bond which united us with them, found themselves fully free and independent of the other nations of the world; and therefore resolved in future to carry into effect their first purpose of convening their lawful representatives in Congress to deliberate upon their political lot, either of forming an independent Nation or of forming a part of another. We see ourselves free and empowered to determine this point in the name of the people whom we represent, who are qualified to do so by the laws of nature and its Author; and to give a proper decision, we have considered all that the case required. We have seen it to be impossible that our people are competent to form of themselves alone a Nation, because they are in want of the necessary elements for that purpose; and therefore we have declared on the 12th day of this month, that they should be united to another nation of America. We have borne in mind the pretensions

of the Empire of Mexico which invited them to incorporate themselves with it; that it threatened them with war; that it menaced them with devastation, ruin and misery, unless they yielded to its invitations; and for this purpose it already has its troops stationed on the frontiers of the Province. We have considered the topographical situation of the Province, its identity of religion with the other neighbours which are united with the Mexican empire: its identity of language, manners and customs, its similarity of sufferings at the time of its common dependence upon the Spanish Government: its relations of commerce and of amity. We have been desirous of removing from the Province which we represent the cause of war; and from the circumstances in which it is placed and we have explained, and from the greater number which we have considered, we have decreed on the 12th day of this current month the incorporation of the same Province with the Mexican Nation, under the bases of ensuring to the people the enjoyment of their rights, and with condition that from that moment all hostility on the part of that nation against them should cease. If these bases established for the incorporation of this Province which we represent, with the Mexican Nation, should not be admitted by it, in the meantime they should be admitted, [and] there should be committed on the part of their Government any hostility against this Province from that moment and without the necessity of further declaration the decree should be considered as null and void, which we have already cited, of the 14th of this month, as we have decreed on the 14th day of the same month. We have considered one of these two events as not remote, because the Government of the Empire of Mexico demands of the Province which we represent an absolute submission, and we have reason to believe that they do not wish in the heart of its dominion people who love their rights and know how to maintain them. Therefore we have thought it necessary in this case, that this Province of St. Salvador be united to another Nation in America which may shield it from the unjust invasions of the Mexican Empire, and whose form of Government may ensure its felicity, the happiness and end of every association and of every just Government. We have borne in mind what sort the Nations constituted in America are. We have consulted upon their political laws and we have found that the Constitution of the United States of America, secures to the people the enjoyment of their rights. We have seen that the opinion of the Province which we represent is evidently and decidedly for a system of Government truly liberal and free. We have considered that the wise institutions which in a few years have raised the United States of America to the degree of splendor and prosperity which they at this day possess, will likewise cause to prosper in the Province which we represent, agriculture, the arts and commerce, the fountains of public wealth, which are almost dried up by the influence of the laws which have hitherto been in force. We have borne in mind that the Pro-

which we represent, according to old censuses, defective and incorrect, is peopled by upwards of 170,000 inhabitants, a population more than double what is necessary to form a state of the Union. We have considered that the impossibility of a law respecting religion being established in the United States of America, as it is thus laid down in the 1st. Article of the additions to the Constitution, is no obstacle to the Province which we represent forming a State of the Union, professing, as it now does, the Christian Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion. We have considered that although at present the communication of the Province which we represent with the United States of America is not easy, after it shall have been admitted as a State in the Confederation, the Supreme Government of the United States will render the communication easy and safe. We do not doubt that the United States of America, who have the good of mankind at heart, will admit into their Union the province which we represent, which is only desirous of being governed by just laws which insure it the enjoyment of the inalienable rights, which it has received from nature and from nature's God, and to be sheltered from the aggressions of tyrants. Therefore we the legal representatives of the people of the province of St. Salvador in general constituent Congress assembled, in the exercise of the ample powers conferred upon us by the same people, appealing to the Supreme Author of the Universe for the rectitude of our intentions, solemnly declare and publish: That in the case of the resolution which we decreed on the 12th day of this month of November not taking effect; either by the non-admission of the bases which we have fixed for the incorporation of this province with the Mexican Nation; or that in the meantime any hostility against the people whom we represent should be committed on the part of the Supreme Government of St. Salvador is united in federation with the United States of America with the condition of forming a State and of enjoying the benefit and advantages of the Union [*sic*]. And we promise and pledge, solemnly, the faith of our respective constituents to hold good, confirm and ratify what we in their name and in their favour have decreed in this Act of Union with the United States of America, that they will maintain it firmly and perpetually. In testimony whereof we sign this in General Congress of St. Salvador this 22d. of November 1822, 2d of Independence. Jose Matias Delgado, President deputy for St. Vincente. Juan Manl. Rodrigz. deputy for Cojutepecq. Manuel Jose de Arza deputy for St. Salvador. Juan Fornos, deputy for St. Salvador. Migl. de Mendosa, deputy for Cojutepeque. Juan Jose Miranda, supplementary deputy for St. Salvador. Jose Marno. Calderon, deputy for Chalatenango. Miguel Elizondo deputy for St. Salvador. Juan Uriarte, deputy for St. Salvador. Juan Neponno. Castaneda, deputy for Metapara. Toribio Lara, deputy for St. Salvador. Anastacio Miranda, deputy for St. Salvador. Juan Franco. Losa, deputy for St. Salvador. Manuel de Mendosa, deputy for St. Salvador. Manuel de Mendosa, deputy for St. Salvador.

Mixco, deputy for St. Salvador. Benito Gonzalos Martnos. supplementary deputy for Chalatenango. Manuel Zepeda, supplementary deputy for Chalatenango. Leon Quinteros, deputy for St. Vicente. Antonio Canas, deputy for St. Vicente. Ciriaco Villacorta, deputy for Zacateco. Diego Marno. de Arza, deputy for St. Vicente. Lorenzo Idalgo, deputy for St. Salvador. Mariano Prado deputy for Zacaticoluca. Carlos Salazar, supplementary deputy for St. Vicente: Secretary. Jose Antonio Ximenes, deputy for St. Vicente: Secretary.

Agreeable to its original from which it was extracted, in virtue of a resolution of the Congress. St. Salvador twenty second of November one thousand eight hundred and twenty two.

(Signed) JOSE ANTO. XIMENES,
Deputy Secretary.

(Signed) CARLOS SALAZAR,
Deputy Secretary.

DECREE

The General Congress of the Representatives of the Province of St. Salvador, taking into consideration that the Captain General of Guatemala has resolved to carry into effect the orders which he has from the Emperor of Mexico to occupy by force this Province without admitting any condition of incorporation, and the Province being placed in the case to which the resolutions of the 12th and 22nd of November last are confined, decrees, 1st. That it declares null the resolution of the 12th. of November last past by which the incorporation of this Province with the Mexican Empire was decreed, and the conditions successively agreed upon. 2ly. That its incorporation with another Nation of America being necessary, agreeably to what is decreed on the same date, it holds the resolution of the 22d. of said November as confirmed and of full force, by which its incorporation with the United-States of America was decreed. 3ly. That the Province be put on the defensive, and that the invasion with which it is threatened, in the name of the Nation to which it belongs. 4ly. That the executive Power signify to the Captain General of Guatemala that the Province is resolved to defend itself against the invasion which threatens it. Done at San Salvador in General Congress on the 2d of December 1822. Jose Matias Delgado, President, Deputy for St. Vicente, &c. &c. &c.

A true Copy. St. Salvador second of December one thousand eight hundred and twenty two.

(Signed) JOSE ANTO. XIMENES
Deputy, Secretary.

(Signed) CARLOS SALAZAR,
Deputy, Secretary.

MANIFESTO OF JOSÉ MATIAS DELGADO, PRESIDENT OF THE PROVINCE
OF SAN SALVADOR

[TRANSLATION]

PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCE OF ST. SALVADOR: Since your representatives were declared, on the tenth of last month, lawfully assembled in a General Congress of this Province, they have been engaged in considering the circumstances in which it is placed, in order to determine on the place and rank which in the political order it was to have among the other nations of America.

This Province free and independent of the Spanish Nation and not bound to any other power by convention or agreement, the only just principle of the associations of men, is at liberty to dispose of itself, and to dictate for itself alone the laws for its government.

But your representatives, seeing that still the Province has not all the elements necessary for being constituted by itself alone, have declared that they ought to begin to form part of another Nation.

It were easy from hence immediately to know that that Nation with which the Province of St. Salvador should be incorporated, should have a form of government which should secure the rights of the people, and laws which should promote their felicity. Otherwise its independence of the Spanish Nation would have been superfluous and useless, and even ought to be esteemed injurious, because every political revolution is so which does not tend to the melioration of the government and the advantage of the governed.

The republic of this United States of America is in that happy situation, and your representatives would not have hesitated in decreeing the federative union of the Province with the United States, if they had not had also to consider the circumstances in which it was with respect to the Mexican Nation.

You know what have been the pretensions of its present Government towards this province. The cares of its policy being to extend its domination from New Mexico to the Isthmus of Panama, it has proposed to reduce St. Salvador, by any means whatever, to concur in realizing its plans.

On the twenty-sixth of October last, Brigadier Dn. Vincente Filisola declared, in its name, to this Government: "That the Province of St. Salvador ought to be united entirely to the Mexican empire, upon the basis of an entire submission to the general plans of its government, without conditions which might oppose it;" "and that by all means they ought to yield and deliver up the arms which they now have." otherwise, this military chief adds, that he will proceed to take possession of the province by force, as he has orders as decisive as peremptory to that effect.

This resolution of making war upon this Province being decided, if it did

tion of your representatives, that, viewing war as one of the greatest evils a people could suffer, they should propose the means of your avoiding it.

This on one hand, and on the other the locality of this Province, its intimate relations of friendship and interest with the other conterminous provinces which are incorporated with the empire of Mexico; determined your representatives to decree the incorporation of St. Salvador with this Nation. But at the same time they fixed for it conditions or bases which might in the future secure your felicity, and they declared that if they were not admitted to these bases, or if war were made upon you on the part of the Government of Mexico, the decree of incorporation would ipso facto be null and as if never made.

Such bases and any conditions would have been superfluous if the system of Government of Mexico were that generally adopted by the greater part of America. Then all your endeavours and those of your representatives would have been directed to draw closer the friendship and ties of eternal union between you and the Mexican provinces. But when the Constitution of Mexico had not yet appeared, when the bases fixed for it promise intentions not wholly directed to the common felicity and to the protection and security of the people; your representatives could not decree your incorporation without conditions, because it would be to expose you to the necessity of renouncing your utility and convenience for the benefit, honour, or private interest of some person, some family, or some class.

The decree of your Congress was communicated to Brigadier Fierro, who, after other remonstrances, finding that the arms of the Province were not laid down and delivered up, that, rather than do so, it was determined to unite themselves with the United States of America; he explained that it was determined to occupy it by force, and that the Government of Mexico, which he depended never would acknowledge a conditional incorporation.

This resolution which makes us go back three hundred years to the time of the discovery of America, when the Spaniards came to these countries, without any greater right than their ambition and cupidity, subjected it entirely to their domination: this determination of conquering a free people, so extraordinary, so unexpected, so scandalous in this enlightened age, on this continent where only liberty is heard to resound the voice of liberty, at a time when we have just broken the chains which subjected us to an oppressive government; obliged your representatives to seek in arms the power the support of the rights of the province, and for this purpose decreed its federative union with the Republic of the United States of America.

This Republic will guaranty the rights of which they attempt to deprive you; people of St. Salvador! it possesses the highest degree of splendor of power and of glory: in it you will find sublime records, heroic le-

Its wise Constitution, which secures to each State a republican form of Government, and gives to the general Congress of the States of the Union power to impose contributions and equal taxes in all the States: to provide for their common defence and general welfare: to regulate commerce with foreign nations: to coin money, and regulate its value and that of foreign coin: to promote the progress of the sciences and useful arts: to declare war: to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain the navy; and in one word, for all those general dispositions of common interest and influence over all the States; reserves to each one in particular the right of making for itself the partial laws which may be proper for it.

In this manner, when the Province of St. Salvador is admitted as a State in the Confederation, it will enjoy the protection of the most prosperous power on earth and the advantages of its general laws; and at the same time will have its own legislature, you yourselves will make your laws, you will meliorate or reform them in the way which your benefit or your necessities require, without expecting from a distant Master the good which you can procure for yourselves.

The same Constitution will likewise secure to you the free use and exercise of the Holy Religion of Jesus Christ which we profess. Always faithful to the principles of our creed, we shall then be what we have been till now, and we will give in the exact observance of the evangelical law, a manifest proof that you do not need the precept of a political law, to be religious.

People of St. Salvador: prepare yourselves to be happy. Your lot is fixed by the resolution of your representatives. That will form an epoch in this part of the globe, formerly drowned in slavery, and now destined to act a grand part on the theatre of the world, by the influence which the cultivation of the sciences, and the commerce of the rich productions of its soil will give it in the universal society of mankind.

The Supreme Legislator of the universe, the protector of the liberty of the nations, whom your representatives call to witness the rectitude of their intentions, and whose inspirations they have implored for proceeding with effect in so important a business, will dispense his protection to you: will cover you with his wings, and pour his blessings upon you that the world may see the example, that a nation which defends its liberty cannot be conquered.

And You, heroic people of the north of America! You who have also suffered for many years, servitude and oppression; who have happily rendered yourselves free and given yourselves laws which have rendered you happy: You who see in every man a brother, and in every American a being worthy of your assistance, do not reject our vows: admit us into your bosom: extend your protection to a people till now oppressed, who wish to be free; and shelter them from new attacks of tyranny.

St. Salvador, 5th. December 1822.

*Vicente Rocafuerte, Agent of San Salvador in the United States, to
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

NEW YORK, *October 16, 1821*

HONORABLE SECRETARY OF STATE: Having been charged by Don M. J. Arce and Don M. Rodriguez, commissioners of the Province of San Salvador in the ancient Kingdom of Guatemala, to receive the answer to be given by this Government to the notes that those honorable gentlemen delivered to it through the Secretary of the Department of State, it is my duty to inform the Honorable Secretary that I shall leave this port the 22d or 23d of this month, and that I hope to be in the capital of Mexico at the end of the month of November. The Honorable José Maria Salazar, Minister of Colonies, has been good enough to take charge of the answer and to see that it is forwarded by safe means to the Government of Guatemala.

Since commissioners Don Manuel J. Arce and Don Juan M. Rodriguez were in Washington many important events have taken place in that part of America. The fall of the usurper and tyrant Iturbide has reconciled the minds; each Province has followed the noble example of San Salvador and have proclaimed Republican principles and renounced their dissensions, mented by the intrigues of the above-named ex-Emperor; and have united together in a single body, forming today the new republic called Guatemala. The Mexican Congress guided by the liberality and justice that should characterize every representative body in this new Continent, has approved the separation of Guatemala, and recognised the absolute independence of the new Republic. The Guatemalan Congress, meeting on June 24th, named for President of the Regency the same Don Manuel J. Arce who was in Washington, and who returned from there to Guatemala by way of Mexico.

I have the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Notes from Representatives of Other States, I.

*Antonio José Cañaz, Central American Minister at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1825.

SIR: Among the various objects upon which the Government of the Republic of the centre of America, which I have the honour to represent, has instructed me, that of promoting the opening of a canal for the communication of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans in the province of Nicaragua of the territory of that republic, has been most particularly recommended to me; and desirous of fulfilling the high confidence which has been reposed in me, I wish to call the attention of the Government of the United States of America to this interesting subject.

This project, which viewed with respect to the possibility of its execution does not exceed ordinary bounds is, for the importance of the effects which it ought to produce upon the general prosperity of the two worlds, the most vast which has ever been conceived; and although the omission of it ought to fill with shame the Government which previously caused it, its execution will be a most glorious act for that which undertakes and brings it to the desired termination. I am certain that my Government when placed in better circumstances than the present, would not consent to part with the least portion of this distinguished honour; but it is in the first moments of its existence, occupied simultaneously in forming the institutions which must confirm its political government, and the quantity of force which is necessary to secure its preservation, and can neither distract its attention from these objects, nor employ its resources which are still scanty, on those which are not of primary necessity.

But as its sentiments do not permit meanness, and its sincere desires are those of utility, it does not wish to retard longer the inestimable benefits which must be produced to the world by means of this great enterprize, and it has been resolved to consent to a foreign co-operation to render it effectual.

I ought to mention, Sir, as the representative of the Government of the center, that nothing would be more grateful to it than that this cooperation should be owing to your generous nation, whose noble conduct has been a model and a protection to all the Americas, and that on these considerations it will be highly satisfactory to have it a participator, not only of the merit of the enterprize, but of the great advantages which that canal of communica-

¹ MS. Notes from Representatives of Other States, I. This document does not, strictly speaking, belong in the present collection but is included because of its inherent interest. Antonio José Cañez, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Central America to the United States: presented credentials, August 4, 1824; took leave by letter, June 24, 1826.

tion must produce, by means of a treaty which may perpetually secure possession of it to the two nations.

By the data which at present exist there ought to be no doubt of the ability of the work in the terms shewn by the plan which I have the honour of sending you herewith. My Government is disposed to employ all the means in their power to facilitate the execution. A company of respectable American merchants is ready to undertake the work, as soon as it is secured by a treaty between both Governments. And finally, if a diplomatic Agent is appointed by this Government to the Republic of the center, and if he is instructed upon the matter, the most favourable opportunity presents itself for the arrangement of this business.

In this case, Sir, I hope that you will be pleased to let me know, that you will embrace the occasion of speaking a little more at large; because I am prepared to do what can be done on my part in the arrangement of this business which I consider as of the greatest interest; and in the mean time remain, Sir, [etc.].

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*Antonio José Cañas, Central American Minister at Washington, to Mr. John C. Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, *March 11, 1823*

By the Note with which Mr. Clay favoured me yesterday, I had the extreme satisfaction of knowing that he was in possession of the exalted situation of Secretary of State of this Supreme Government to which he was elevated.

If the whole Union ought to be flattered with the great advantages of the wise performance of so important a trust, worthy of the distinguished hands of Mr. Clay, will produce, all South and Central America, who have seen in him the friend of their independence, ought to be penetrated with joy and felicitate themselves at seeing him elevated to the destiny to which his merit calls him.

I cordially congratulate him in the name of Central America which has the honour to represent; and I flatter myself with the satisfaction that the business between this Nation and that of Guatemala will be immediately attended to by the direction and prudence of Mr. Clay, who will be pleased to accept [etc.].

¹ MS. Notes from Representatives of Other States, I.

*Antonio José Cañas, Central American Minister at Washington, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

WASHINGTON, November 14, 1825.

The Government of Central America, which I have the honor to represent, as early as the year 1821, was sensible of the importance to the independent Nations of this Continent, of a General Congress of their Representatives, at some central point, which might consider upon and adopt the best plan for defending the States of the New World from foreign aggression, and, by treaties of alliance commerce and friendship, raise them to that elevation of wealth and power, which, from their resources, they may attain. It also acknowledged, that as Europe had formed a *Continental System*, and held a Congress whenever questions affecting its interests were to be discussed, America should form a system for itself, and assemble by its Representatives, in Cortes, whenever circumstances of necessity and great importance should demand it.

Entertaining these views, the Government of Central America voluntarily expressed its willingness to appoint its Deputies for such an object; sensible of its importance, which has also been felt by the governments of South America, it has resolved to send plenipotentiaries to a General Congress to be formed for the purposes of preserving the territorial integrity, and firmly establishing the absolute independence of each of the American Republics. On the 19th of March last, the government of Central America formed a convention with that of Colombia, providing for this object; and I, as its Representative, have been instructed to express to the government of the United States, the desire entertained by my government, that it should send a Representative to the General Congress.

To fulfil the wishes of my Government, and convinced at the same time, of the importance and respectability which would attach to the General Congress of the American Republics, from the presence of Envoys from the United States of America, I now address this High Government upon this subject, in the name of Central America. I am anxious, therefore, to know, if this Republic which has ever shewn itself the generous friend of the New American States, is disposed to send its Envoys to the General Congress, the object of which, is, to preserve and confirm the absolute independence of these Republics, and to promote the general good, and *which will not require, that the Representatives of the United States should, in the least, compromit their present neutrality, harmony and good intelligence, with other nations.* This, my Government has deemed it necessary to state distinctly, in making the present invitation.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept [etc.].

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*William Phillips, Acting Consul of the United States at Guatemala, to
Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

GUATEMALA, February 30, 18

. . . Mr. Cañas has arrived here via Sⁿ. Salvador about 8 days. Mr. Valero is here likewise. They keep aloof from party strife the former has declined the Treasury department & the latter the appointment of Jefe de la primera Instancia in Sⁿ. Salvador; I see them daily and have reason to calculate on their friendly views towards our Government, and their gratitude for the kind reception they met there; Rodriguez that was one of the Commissioners with D'Arce to the United State is now Director of public credit. He is also friendly disposed— This Augean stable wants cleared out, for it is the headquarters of Ferdinandism and as much of a Spanish colony as Porto Rico— When I leave this I shall deposit the books of the nation in safe hands, and perhaps the Seal; and the *cypher* I shall carry with me at all events agreeable to Mr. Williams's orders. Nothing but my losses by that infamous *Canal bubble*, and the support of my friends withdrawn in consequence of it would have induced me to abandon my post until Mr. Williams's successor came out but Sir imperious necessity demands it.

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*Juan de Dios Mayorga, former Minister of Central America to Mexico, to
Roberts Poinsett, United States Minister to Mexico*²

[TRANSLATION]

Private.

GUATEMALA, October 18, 18

SIR: I have not had the honor to address you in the preceding month because nothing has occurred worthy of notice. The subject which presents itself now, is worthy of your zeal for the interests of America. I assure you I will open at once.

In the year 1799 when the glorious cry of Independence had not yet been heard, Baron Humbolt travelling thro the equinoctial regions, said, "In the provinces of America there is a small number of families, who by the means of hereditary wealth, or the antiquity of their establishment in the colonies, exercise a complete municipal Aristocracy. These prefer

¹MS. Consular Letters, Guatemala, I. William Phillips, acting consul at Guatemala.

deprived of certain rights rather than to share them with others; they would prefer foreign domination to a Government administered by Americans of an inferior class; they detest a constitution founded on an equality of rights." Subsequently in a letter of the 27th March 1808, Napoleon writing to the Duke of Berg, says: "The Aristocracy and clergy are the masters and lords of Spain; if these should fear for their privileges or for their existence they would cause the people to rise in mass. Her provinces in America founded and governed by Spain have had the same fate; the two orders of the clergy and Aristocracy have governed them and swayed their destinies".

On the 15th Sept. 1821 these provinces proclaimed their absolute Independence, and happy in their emancipation, hoped soon to consolidate the Republic, when the Aristocrats united with the clergy and with the captain general Don Gavino Ganiza deprived them of their political being, and caused them to submit to the Empire of Mexico established by Don Agustin Iturbide.

This Monarchy erected by force, in opposition to the general system of America did not last long, nor was it possible that it should. The throne of Iturbide was overturned, and Guatemala again proclaimed her independence and rights.

In 1824 the constitutional assembly decreed the constitution, formed on the principles which served as the basis of that of the United States. It did not please those who in every age and country have constantly opposed a just equality of rights. From the same year in which the constitution was decreed attempts were made to prevent its execution or to destroy it entirely; for this purpose the agency of the religious communities was employed who refused to take the oath to observe and support it, and that of such officers of the army as were found to entertain similar opinions. But the Executive power which then governed the Nation succeeded in putting down those attempts without violence and without a revolution. The constitution was sworn to, and the people began to contemplate with pleasure the code of their privileges and liberties, and to march in the path traced out to them, when the agents of the Executive power were charged and the revolution which had been attempted without success in 1824, was again thought of. The Federal Government directed by men who never were friendly to the Constitution indirectly dissolved the ordinary Congress of the Federation; prevented in the same manner the meeting of the extraordinary Congress legally convoked by the Senate; imprisoned the chief magistrate of the State of Guatemala, without the previous declaration of the assembly that there was good cause for trial, which constitutes the only legal power for the arrest of Governors of States, and published the decree of the 10th of Octr 1826 on their own authority, and which manifested in the clearest manner their intention to abolish the constitution. The States of Guatemala, Salvador,

cases. The Constitution of the Mexican Republic says, that the Government cannot without special authority from Congress send troops beyond the limits of the Republic. And the Constitution of Central America declares that it belongs only to Congress to ask for or permit the introduction of foreign troops. The Government of Guatemala therefore cannot require, nor can that of Mexico send forces. An act of each congress is necessary, and that of Guatemala has passed no such act, neither does the congress exist, as it has been dissolved by the Government. A part of the Nation is in conflict with another part. In the end the majority must triumph without doubt; the will of the majority is law and the law of one Nation ought not to be silenced by cannon sent by the Government of another. In the contrary case, Central America would be at the mercy of stronger Governments which might chuse to strike her from the map of Nations, and the existence of Central America is necessary to the general system of the New World. It is sufficient to look at the map of the continent, said a citizen of this Country, to see its political importance. It is necessary that the Republic of Central America should stand in order to preserve harmony and maintain the equilibrium between those of the New World. Should the Republic of Central America be added to New Spain that of Mexico would then appear a Colossus, alarming to America in general, and would be in contact with that of Colombia. These two would regard each other with the eyes of rivals presenting themselves in the lists; wars between them would ensue, in which the rest would be involved, and that equilibrium which ought to be preserved for the happiness of all, would be destroyed. You are attached to America and to the justice of her cause. I doubt not that on receipt of this letter, you will be pleased to seek for the truth, with prudence and reserve and act in a manner correspondent to the sentiments of an attached son of the New World, and as the Minister of the most respectable States in it.

I have no views, nor does my bosom harbour any wishes other than, to do good. With this object I write the present letter and offer to you the assurance [etc.].

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*Henry Savage, Acting Consul of the United States at Guatemala, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

GUATEMALA, July 1, 1830.

SIR: By virtue of a commission bearing date Omoa Feby 6th 1830, by Charles Savage Esq^r Consul for United States, appointing me to act as Con-

sul resident here and having duly received an exequatur from the S. Government to that purport, I find myself the only person, in an official capacity to represent the interests of the U. S. at this court, and in consequence, feel it incumbent on me to keep our Gov^t advised of the proceedings, changes, as they occur, and relate to our commercial & political interests, which information, I consider to be of great importance to the Executive of our National Gov^t. and more so at the present crisis.

The present political & wretched state of this country, as you Sir, are certainly be acquainted with, and the few resources of the National Government, with the distracted political dissensions and almost universal disaffection of all parties, have placed this unfortunate country in a position to become an inviting and desirable prey to the rapacity of her more powerful neighbours, who with a sole exception, are in a state almost as deplorable as our own, and consequently totally incapable of undertaking any unassisted interference. But this has not been the case with regard to the British establishment at Belize in the Bay of Honduras, for, whether by direct order from the British Cabinet or from the assurance of being connived at, by the British Gov^t. or from either the arbitrary proceedings of the superintendant of the settlement, or those of private individuals we cannot conjecture. On the 3^d June last, the island of Roatan, in lat: 16°.32' Long 86°.7' which has ever been considered as appertaining to, and as an integral part of the Central Republic, was forcibly taken possession of in the name of His Britannic Majesty, by a detachment of armed men, who were conveyed thither on a British schooner, proceeding from Belize, and who hauled down the National Flag of Central America and thereon substituted that of Great Britain. On the remonstrance of the officer in command of the garrison, he was ordered to quit the island immediately or else he should be shot, for no more than the British Government had a right to govern that island. The Spaniards, for this island had just begun to be settled by some twenty or thirty families or persons of french origin, who through the inducements offered by the Supreme Authorities had gone there for the purpose of establishing themselves under the protection of, and subjecting themselves to the jurisdiction of the commandant of the port of Truxillo, were embarked on board a British schooner, which brought the invaders, and conveyed to some other place.

The S. Gov^t., through the medium of the Commanding Officer at Truxillo, has made a formal application to the Superintendent of Belize, in order to investigate the motives of so treacherous an invasion, and infringement of all the rights of Nations, and a breach of that consideration which is due from one nation to another. I have recommended to the President, in the conversation that I held with him on the subject, the necessity of sending a special commissioner with full powers, direct to Belize, to demand of His Majesty's Superintendent, an explication of so gross a violation of the rights of this nation; and expressing that this act will be considered as

it, to the arbitrary measure of some of the inhabitants of the British Settlement, in which case, to demand the apprehension and delivery of the intruders for condign punishment as pirates; and the immediate restoration of the island: and should this be evaded to endeavour to obtain information relative to the authority upon whose sanction it was perpetrated.

But the President considers it impolitic to treat with the subaltern govern^t. of Belize, and therefore awaits a reply to the letter of the Commandant of Truxillo, from the Superintendent at Belize, and altho' he seems to anticipate no decisive answer, is waiting to make direct communications of this affair to the British Cabinet to complain of the gross insult and outrage offered to the officer in command of the small garrison on the island, while on his duty and defending the flag of his country. He has kindly furnished me with a copy of the official report of the Commandant of Truxillo relative thereto, and requested me to impart to my Gov^t. in energetic terms his deep sense of so foul an act of injustice towards the nation over whose councils he has the honor to preside; and that he will also communicate the circumstance to the Gov^t of U. States.

It was the intention of the Supreme authorities here, to colonize that Island by encouraging the emigration from the interior and by means of transporting convicts thither; the french settlers were on the eve of commencing their agricultural labours, and it is supposed, it is this circumstance which has excited the jealousy of the British Settlement in Honduras, to blight the prospects of that island by taking possession of it, in the name of His B. M. and removing the settlers from the infant colony.

The position of this island, its valuable and commanding situation in the Bay of Honduras and its immediate vicinity to the ports of Truxillo & Omoa, render it of an importance not to be depreciated to the Gov^t. of this country, nor its possession by the British Gov^t. to be looked upon with satisfaction, by our nation, for it is the key to the whole of the north coast, and he who possesses it, may make himself master of its communications and commerce and for this reason I consider it as interesting to our gov^t. to be acquainted with the circumstances attending its present position, which has elicited from me this communication.

It may not be irrelevant to add that in the year 1642 this island was taken possession of by the English, who held it till 1650. It then remained deserted till 1742, when the English again took it and fortified themselves thereon, but were driven out of it by the Captain Gen^l. of Guatemala about the year 1780—and altho' they succeeded once more to reoccupy it in 1796—and leaving on it 2000 neg^s (accord^g to the historians of this country) it was reconquered on the 18th May 1797 by Dⁿ Jose Rossi y Rubi commissioned by the Captⁿ. Gen^l. of Guat^a. for that purpose, since which, it has remained in quiet possession of this country, until the present period.

We are now happy to learn, by an express just arrived, that after destroying the infant colony, abandoned the island, which occupied by the garrison under the command of the Officer at Truxillo. Sup^e Gov^t will take measures to keep a stronger detachment erect fortifications on it. . . .

Great excitement here occasioned by the rumours of a gigantic fitting out in Spain against Mexico, the Gov^t seems to attribute British Cabinet, and all coincide in the supposition that it will establishment of Monarchal instead of Federal Gov^{ts}.

Ever ready to devote my services to the dear interests of Mexico, which sentiment I trust Sir you will honor me by making known to the executive, and tendering the distinguished consideration which has been always entertained for you personally, you will accept [etc.].

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Henry Savage, Acting Consul of the United States at Guatemala
*Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

GUATEMALA, September

SIR: In reference to mine of 1st July ult^o² via Vera Cruz, honor now to communicate the result of the application of the Consul of Truxillo, to the Superintendent of Belize, who in reply, returned an answer to the officer at Truxillo, purporting that the Colonists of the British Sloop to Belize, of their own accord & he suspecting them to be adventurers, proffered to them lands in the vicinity of the British settlement, to cultivate, and other assistance should they think fit to accept there; if not, that they were at perfect liberty to return to the island of Roatan, which they finally accepted and are again reestablishing a colony on the island, and prosecuting their agricultural labours.

The President however, has made another application through the British Consul, for a more satisfactory explanation of what he considers a very hostile measure, but this Gentleman can find no sufficient grounds to make.

That this act were perpetrated with an intent to prevent the establishment of a colony on the island of Roatan, through jealousy of the British at Belize, who must certainly foresee the evils that would arise

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Guatemala, I.

² See above, pt. iv, doc.

and which would certainly tend to destroy the smuggling trade, now carried on, an extensive scale, between the Atlantic ports and that settlement we do not pretend to discuss: the island is again in possession of its legitimate owners & we wish the colony success: we made our communication of the circumstances to our Govt, actuated by feelings of a sense of duty towards our nation; and as they were intimated to us officially and at the instigation of the Chief Magistrate of *the Republic*.

Gen^l Verveer arrived here in the beginning of March 1829 with full powers of H. M. the King of the Netherlands. On his arrival the Country was in a most desperate state of civil dissention; the City of Guatemala was blockaded by the combined forces of San Salvador & Honduras troops, under the command of Gen^l Morazan. The Envoy of the Netherlands made an unsuccessful attempt to pacify the contending parties; and the City of Guat^a was taken on the 12th. April 1829. A temporary Fed^l. Gov^t. succeeded the few weeks administration of Gen^l. Morazan, and with which it appears that Gen^l Verveer has not thought proper to enter into any negotiation about his mission, the main object of which is undoubtedly the Project of opening the Canal through Nicaragua.

However, as soon as the Congress of Eighteen hundred & thirty was assembled, the Gen^l Verveer entered upon the business, and a commission was appointed by the Senator President to treat with him, the commissioners were the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and of the Financial Dept, and the Senator Mendez; and a project was formed between them, which has not been made public till the present moment.

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*M. J. Ibarra, Secretary of State and Foreign Relations of Central America, to
Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

GUATEMALA, October 3, 1830.

The Undersigned Secretary of State and of the Department of foreign relations, for the Federal Republic of Central America, being instructed by his Government, has the honor to address the Foreign Secretary of the United States of North America, and to make him the following communication.

In the journals of Mexico,—which represent the views of that Government, and even in the Official Register, edited as it appears, by one of the

expatriated of this Republic, Central America is represented as merged in anarchy, and involved in the most frightful civil war; at the same time, this Republic has never enjoyed more perfect peace; under its auspices, the Republic is marching rapidly, constitutionally and in order, towards the state of prosperity to which it is invited, as will be seen by the public documents and papers, which I have the honor to send to you.

The object of these Guatemalan Editors in Mexico, is well known. It is to create an anti-national spirit betwixt the two Republics, to precipitate them into a misunderstanding which would be unfavorable to their consequences, to either party. By this means alone, do they hope of returning to their country, from whose bosom, they have been justly expelled.

This scheme already presents some success to its criminal authors. They have induced the Mexican Government to believe, that Central America is divided into factions; and under the pretext that, in this state of anarchy, the Republic might be the door of entrance for Spain, in reconquering its ancient colonies, they have succeeded in creating an opinion in favor of a barbarous and pretended right of intervention, and exciting the Mexican Government to move in suppressing our imagined dissensions, and to control the Republic.

Altho' the Government of the Undersigned does not impute these ideas to the United Mexican States; yet it was deemed a duty to send them the letter, of which a copy is herewith transmitted to Your Excellency.

The Undersigned would not fulfil his delicate obligations, in so important an affair, did he not address Your Excellency's wise and philosophical Government, and pray it to oppose every attempt against this Republic with this view, to give instructions to the U. S. Minister near the United States of Mexico.

The relations of friendship happily subsisting between the two Republics—justify my Government, in hoping to receive such an important communication from Central America. It is consonant with the lights of the age, and the political balance of Nations.

The Undersigned is happy Sir, to renew [etc.].

PART V
COMMUNICATIONS FROM CHILE

COMMUNICATIONS FROM CHILE

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*Dono Marq de la Plata and five other members of the Governing Board of the Kingdom of Chile, to the President and Congress of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *March 22, 1811.*

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: The community of ideas, sentiments and needs of Chile the right to hold out a friendly and brotherly hand to the generous people of the United States, but they could not do it in a dignified way for of equality, and it was held for unlooked-for occurrences like those which attended the heroic inhabitants of your country on the heights to which they have been destined by nature and their virtues. After offering thanks to Providence, our first care is to hold out to you the olive branch in the enclosed declaration of commerce to which we are mutually impelled by your system which governs the intercourse of nations, and which tyranny attempts in vain to obstruct. The profits of our soil and industry will be in common with you. Our fate will be concerned in the same way, and we therefore trust that you will not hesitate to accept our cordial alliance and to supply us with the means of maintaining our liberty which is threatened by the oppression of the nations, and to which we can only be raised if we make ourselves worthy of your brotherly sentiments. Any kind of arms is most urgently needed by us, and in particular, rifles and pistols. You could not find under the present circumstances anything more precious, more apt to cement our friendship and make our gratefulness everlasting. There would be no limit to that gratitude if you would send us, as we now ask most earnestly, some brave men who know how to make these, and whom we should recompense in

the U. S. Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Provinces. The document of which this is a translation reached the Department enclosed in the following letter from Matthew Arnold Esq., a citizen of the United States residing at Santiago, to James Madison, President of the United States:

SANTIAGO, *March 22, 1811.*

May it please Your Excellency.

By special request of the present board of Government in the Kingdom of Chile, I have the honor to transmit to Your Excellency & Government of the United States the enclosed Official letter, & am happy to add that the sentiments therein expressed are truly those which now in the highest degree animate this Board & the good people of Chile—and which sentiments I venture to assert will last with them towards the United States & its Citizens with preference to what any European power may expect.

I beg leave to suggest to the Wisdom of Your Excellency, whether it would not be of great moment to meet the wish of this Board in soon appointing an Agent here with whom they might treat on subjects of high importance, & of great mutual interest.

a manner that would leave them no ground for regret that they had left your fortunate country. Shortly after this letter there will arrive those of your fellow-citizens who navigate these seas and whom we have asked to dispel by the order of the Government and with the thanks of the natives of this country the sinister ideas which no doubt were inspired by those who heretofore were held aloof by suspicious policies and misunderstood interests.

We embrace you from the heart and wish for nothing more than you be assured of a friendship as sincere and as strong as that which we profess for you.

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*Joel Roberts Poinsett, Special Agent of the United States to South America, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, February 20, 1813.

SIR: Notwithstanding the difficulty of Communication, some of my numerous letters must have reached you, and have kept you informed of the State of these countries. You will have seen a series of (undeciphered cipher). That this was to be expected from a people without illustration or the means of acquiring it, emerging not by their own exertions, but by a chain of fortunate circumstances, from the oppression of ages, is not to be doubted but it is necessary to be intimately acquainted with the effects produced on the human mind by long continued oppression, to conceive how these men shrink at the approach of danger; and altho well aware that their only safety consists in uniting their efforts to oppose the common enemy,

¹ MS., unbound, in an envelope marked "Original correspondence, Special Agents of the U. S. J. R. Poinsett, To Chile, 1813." Very few of his "numerous letters" here mentioned can now be found in the archives of the Department of State and those preserved are, as in this case, relatively unimportant. The "difficulty of communication" referred to was of course due to the war between the United States and Great Britain. It is possible that his letters were intercepted and never reached Washington, though this is improbable if, as seems likely, they were sent in duplicate by different conveyances. In such a case they could probably be found in some archive in London. However in this connection it should be stated, concerning the most important missing series, that, in accordance with instructions of President Monroe, the Chief Clerk, Daniel Brent, on September 26, 1818, forwarded to Joel Roberts Poinsett, his manuscript Journal No. 1, together with all the letters from him which were then in the files of the Department of State.

The other papers in this envelope consist of two bundles of studies, historical, descriptive, and statistical, without date or address. The more important of the two, which, from internal evidence, appears to have been written later and to have incorporated most of the material in the former, is marked "Recd. with Mr. Poinsett's letter of Nov. 4, 1818," of which the original is in this envelope, and which see above, pt. II, doc. 243, where it is followed by the portion of the enclosure relating particularly to Argentina and in general to South America. For the portions relating specifically to Chile and Peru see respectively pts. v, doc. 461, and XI, doc. 942, under the date November 4, 1818, all of which are reprinted from the old *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, vol. IV, p. 324. The existence of this later comprehensive report renders the loss, or misplacement, of his earlier "numerous letters" a matter of less, though by no means negligible importance, since doubtless the report reproduces most if not

they continue to intrigue by the basest means for power under the weight of which they tremble and which they would abandon in the hour of peril; only four days since a conspiracy was discovered to assassinate the Carreras and all their adherents, and to place the government in the hands of the weakest and vilest men in the kingdom. No dependance can be placed on the (undeciphered cipher). You will have seen that (undeciphered cipher) and dictated by the first (undeciphered cipher) as the documents I have already forwarded will prove:

Lima still continues in the same situation the military force awes the people into inaction, their Cruisers still blockade the ports of Valparaiso and Concepcion capturing all foreign ships and enforcing the Spanish Colonial laws, (undeciphered cipher).

The melancholy catastrophe of Caraccas has not affected the public mind as was to be expected and you will perceive the decided spirit of the ruling party by the inclosed proclamation decreeing funeral honors to those martyrs of Liberty.

It is my intention, to accompany my friend Jose Miguel Carrera actually president of Chile, to the frontiers of Arauco to have an interview with the cheif of that nation (undeciphered cipher).

Mr. Miller will have informed you of the state of Bs. Ayres, and of the continued revolutions of that government; the army employed so idly before the walls of Monte Video is divided by the same party spirit (undeciphered cipher). The Portuguese troops have retired to their own frontiers, but their return depends upon the (undeciphered cipher).

In Peru Goyeneche has committed the blunder of dividing his forces, advancing towards Bs. Ayres, and garrisoning the towns on his route, the consequence has been, that when his advanced guard received a check in Tucuman by the Buenos Ayres forces under the command of Belgrano, the people again took up arms and in several towns his garrisons have been cut off. If the government of Bs. Ayres direct the disposeable force they employ idly on the eastern shore of La Plata against the army of Lima, they may in six months recover possession of Peru: the immediate consequence would be the revolution in Lima, the patricios of wealth & influence in that capital are deterred from exciting the mass of the people, composed chiefly of negroes and free mulattoes, lest they themselves should fall a sacrifice in a revolution affected by such means; were they certain of being supported by the army of Bs. Ayres, they might set at defiance the military force of the Europeans, (undeciphered cipher).

The clergy whose influence here is very great have generally in the confessional and by every secret means in their power, opposed the progress of this country in the system it has embraced, that the government has found it necessary to deprive the ecclesiastical cabildo of it's powers, and to appoint a governor of the bishopric *sede vacante*; the person on whom the Election

of the govt. has fallen was auxiliary bishop of Santiago & Concepcion (ciphered cipher).

I beg leave thro' you Sir, again to repeat to the President my active employment, and to assure him that I will serve cheerfully in the position he may think best adapted to call into action the little military force I possess and an earnest desire to promote the welfare and prosperity of the country.

I have the honor [etc.].

P. S. Intelligence has just been received from Lima, that the Peruvian army has entered Quito under the command of Dn. Torribio Montes on the 1st of November. Quito appears to have been lost by the spirit of faction and anarchy which prevails generally through these Countries.

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*Commission of Don Manuel de Aguirre from Bernardo O'Higgins,
Director of Chile, March 8, 1817*¹

[TRANSLATION]

The Supreme Director of the State of Chile, &c.

It being important to the maintenance and advancement of the Republic, under my command to have therein all those resources of arms and munitions being useful to the army as well as to the navy, may protect the country from invasion, and wrest them from the hands of the enemies of our liberty; I have therefore, with a view to accomplish the said object, given and granted full power and authority to Don Manuel de Aguirre, to enter into and conclude on foot all such negotiations as may be relative to the purchase of vessels of war, including a frigate, completely armed and equipped; also, for the purchase of all descriptions of arms, warlike stores, and supplies, useful to the Republic, it being understood that the value of the different kinds which may be ordered or sioned to purchase or stipulate for, and the transport thereof to the Republic, shall be fully paid for upon due verification of the same, and that, for the fulfillment of this promise, all the interests of the public fund, and of the Republic in general, are made responsible.

In testimony whereof, I have ordered the present to be executed and signed by me, sealed with the arms of this Government, and countersigned by the Minister of State, in the city of Santiago de Chili, this 8th day of March, 1817.

[ARMS] BERNARDO O'HIGGINS
MIGUEL ZAÑUDUI

Minis

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*Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chile, to James Monroe, President of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *April 1, 1817.*

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: The beautiful kingdom of Chili having been re-established on the 12th of February last by the army of the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata, under the command of the brave General Don José de St. Martin, and the supreme direction of the state being conferred on me by the choice of the people, it becomes my duty to announce to the world the new asylum which these countries offer to the industry and friendship of the citizens of all nations of the globe.

The inhabitants of Chili, having thus reassumed their natural rights, will not hereafter submit to be despoiled of their just prerogatives, nor tolerate the sordid and pernicious policy of the Spanish cabinet. In its numerous population, and the riches of its soil, Chili presents the basis of a solid and durable power, to which the independence of this precious portion of the new world will give the fullest security. The knowledge and resources of the neighboring nation of Peru, which has resolved to support our emancipation, encourage the hope of the future prosperity of these regions, and of the establishment, on liberal grounds, of a commercial and political intercourse with all nations. If the cause of humanity interests the feelings of your excellency, and the identity of the principles of our present contest with those which formerly prompted the United States to assert their independence disposes your Government and people favorably towards our cause, your excellency will always find me most earnestly desirous of promoting the commercial and friendly relations of the two countries, and of removing every obstacle to the establishment of the most perfect harmony and good understanding.

God preserve you many years.

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 176.

Manifesto of February 12, 1818, addressed to all nations by Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chile, on the motives which justify the revolution of that country and the declaration of its independence

When the justice of the cause of America is no longer an object of dispute, consigned to the pens of philosophers, who so vigorously anticipated it, and whose defence that their writings were condemned by the inquisition; when we examine this cause, all civilized nations are now at work, judging rather by the probable issue of its struggle than by the rectitude of the principle, and the emancipation, in which they are all unanimously agreed, (for these

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 319. The declaration of independence referred to, reprinted from the same source, p. 318, was as follows:

Proclamation of the Independence of Chili

THE SUPREME DIRECTOR OF THE STATE

Force has been the supreme reason which, during upwards of three hundred years, maintained the new world under the necessity of reverencing as a dogma the right of its rights, and seeking therein the origin of its most important duties. . . . that a day should come when this enforced submission would cease; but, at that time, it was impossible to anticipate it: the resistance of the inferior against the stamps with a sacrilegious character his pretensions, and serves only to distance upon which they are founded. For the 19th century was reserved for the hearing innocent America claim her rights, and show that the period of her debility could continue no longer than that of her debility. The revolution of the year 1810, was the first effort Chili made towards accomplishing these high aims, which she was called by time and nature. Her inhabitants have given, since that time, the energy and firmness of their will, scorning all the vicissitudes of a war with the Spanish Government has wished to show that her policy towards America was the overthrow of all abuses. This conviction has naturally suggested to the people the idea of separating themselves forever from the Spanish monarchy, and their INDEPENDENCE in the face of the whole world.

But the actual circumstances of the war not permitting the convocation of a Congress to sanction the public vote, we have ordered that a register should be kept in which all the citizens of the state might declare for themselves, free and independently, their votes for the urgent necessity of the Government proclaiming immediate independence, or for delaying it, or for the negative; and, having found that the majority of the citizens have, irrevocably, decided for the affirmative of this proposition, we have thought proper, in the exercise of the extraordinary power with which we are invested by the people, for this particular case, to declare solemnly, in the presence of the Almighty, and to make known to the great confederation of man, that the continental territory of Chili, and her adjacent islands, form, in fact and right, a free, independent, and sovereign state, and are forever separated from the monarchy of Spain, and fully qualified to adopt the form of government most convenient to their interests. In order that this declaration may have all the force and solidity which must be given to the first act of a free people, we warrant it with the honor, life, fortunes, and social relations of the inhabitants of this new state, pledging our word, the honor of the nation, and the honor of the arms of our country; and we order that, with the grand register, the original act shall be deposited in the records of the Congress, and circulars despatched to the towns, armies, and corporations, to be sworn to immediately, in order that the emancipation of Chili may be confirmed.

Given at the Directorial Palace of Concepcion, on the 1st January, 1818, by my hand, and countersigned by our ministers and Secretaries of State for the Departments of State, Treasury, and War.

are no other than those proclaimed by Spain in the maintenance of her own sovereignty, and in the vindication of her resistance against the oppression of the French;) in fine, when the succeeding generations are not in need of having recourse to the press to know the history of our events, better preserved in the pages of liberty, from age to age, by tradition, it may seem unnecessary to produce the reasons which actuated the inhabitants of Chili to declare their independence, if custom and respect for the dignity of other nations, at whose side we are going to range ourselves, did not make it requisite, besides being justly expected as due to our own honor.

Indeed, for the happiness of mankind, that gloomy era is at present no more when the learned of Europe were lamenting the shameful state of the colonies; yet in us it was considered a crime to complain. At that epoch even all the recollections of the conquest were forbidden, save only to praise the bloody arm of the usurpers. Those times of chivalry, when the absurd practice of duelling arose, and which gave birth to the pretended right of the strong, exist no more; but this right, obscure in itself, and as inconsistent as *violence* and *consent*, without which no man can exercise dominion over his fellow-creatures. Abuse undermined the very foundation of the right erected upon it; for the subjects were free to recover their liberty by force, or the manner of their losing it was illegal.

Such is the fact with respect to America: Spain invading our coasts under the sacrilegious pretence of religion, profaned by those false apostles, men who came to preach the gospel, but searched only the mines of the mountains, as the surgeon who comes only to bleed looks after the blood-vessel, but never after attempted to legalize this hideous title, at least by that expedient which statesmen devise to give validity to the famous diploma of conquest, the consent and ratification of the people. Instead of this, America, without the least participation in the Cortes convened, and subservient to the capricious will of the monarch, was bound by the superstition of an oath, administered without authority by a municipal officer who had indecorously procured his office at auction; and precluded from discussing the motives of her passive obedience—condemned, in short, to slavery, without the privilege of remonstrance—she would have lost with the liberty of speech even the recollection of her wrongs, if it had been as easy to forget as to be silent. But these evils were repeated by a fixed system in the policy of the tyrants, and our complaints suffocated in the noise of our chains. The insolence of the oppressor increased with our patience.

The miserable residue of the aborigines, who survived so many millions of victims, and who moved and roved in different tribes as the piles of sand in a desert, preserve in their mournful history the memory of their persecutions, and show very clearly their repugnance to the yoke in the perpetual war they have always carried on against our frontiers, and which interrupts our tran-

is by the natives, and resisted by the sons of the conquerors so soon were able to make known their wishes without the impending fear of a dungeon? We claim that right which a slave may claim against his master; the right of a man who, arrived at the age of maturity, feels able to provide for himself by his own exertions and industry; the right of a man whose minority has expired, but who is generous enough not to require a guardian to an account; the right of a clerk, richer than his employer, instead of expecting protection, can offer support. But all these rights fall very far short of our case. We hold this land as our country by a natural right. We here first saw the light and received the civilization of the world.

All the efforts of tyranny cannot prevail against this right of nature. We cannot compose a civil association, as free as that formerly conquered. Yet we are not less cruel to either or to both of them, adhering to her system of oppression and desolation, has afflicted us by her laws with all the horrors common to slaves during the conquest. Let us pass in silence that code of the Indies calculated for the education of slaves under the ecclesiastical feudalism of the colonies and the shocking lordships of the *encomiendas*. That humble portion of the human species for whom the barbarous decrees of the Isabellas, Ferdinands, and Charleses were promulgated, exists no longer in our community. More enlightened people have followed after those devastations, who, in the course, the more sensible of the infamy of the three centuries past, have said: The sister provinces, who, before us, have constituted themselves independent states, have already produced to the world a picture of vexation and horror as excites the astonishment of nations at our sufferings and misfortune, and have saved us the trouble of repeating it in this exposed situation. This system of oppression and depredations has been universal, and the degree of servitude, supported by the contrivances of the most inhuman despotism, too common.

The object of government being no other than to procure to men the security and prosperity of society, how can it be supposed that the people of America would have submitted to misery and humiliation? Who would believe that Americans, possessing the most precious soil in the universe, would submit to live in it only to moisten its fields with their tears, and to obey the capricious and religious edicts inhibiting the productions of nature? For olive trees and vines were ordered to be pulled up by the roots in Chili,¹ that they might not receive oil and wine from the peninsula. Were we to take from Cadiz the regulations of our passive trade? Were we, in this exclusive intercourse, to live fettered by restrictions similar to those exercised by the government of Juan Fernandez over miserable convicts? Were we to see our coast exposed to the enterprise of every invader, and yet Spain draining fifty millions of dollars in duties under the pretence of its defence,

sels which never appeared but to commit hostilities against ourselves? Were we to be excluded from intercourse with other nations; to be condemned to buy for ten what they may sell to us for one; and to see all foreigners driven from Chili with the literature of their language.¹ That under a monopoly of every kind, and even of ideas, the freedom of the press and of thought prohibited, and our university forbidden from discussing the pretended prerogatives of the monarch of the Indies, lest the titles of his void and shameful dominion should be known? In short, that when our archives were stuffed with regulations of etiquette and ceremonies about the appeals called the *one thousand and five hundred*, bought with the substance and the despair of the petitioner,² and respecting *pecuniary privileges*, which from the distance of three thousand leagues were distributed to the highest bidder, we should be indifferent to our fate, and ought to receive with cheerfulness the gifts of our masters?

How was it practicable for them, amidst the intelligence of the age, to preserve their pretensions, after we had become ashamed of so many years of suffering, after our rude infancy was over, and when we had been more marked for our unfortunate habitual obedience, than the conquest of America for its importance to the three quarters of the globe then known? Has not the moment yet arrived for cancelling the debt contracted by the pledge of the jewels of Isabella for the expedition of Columbus? Are we yet debtors, after the millions exported to Madrid? No: the revolution of Spain, and the obstinacy of our executioners, have placed in our hands the power of casting off the burden. To suffer this favorable occasion to pass by, is to become responsible to posterity. To learn our rights from the instructions given by Spain herself, and yet not to secure them in a solid *independence*, would be a crime deserving the execration of our sons, and the opprobrium of the present generation. We have declared it, and the sighs forced from us by the hostilities of our unreasonable antagonists shall be sweetened by the satisfaction of insuring to the offspring of the conquerors that *liberty* of which the Spaniards stripped their ancestors.

We want—we can—then we ought to be free.

Here is a conclusion drawn most precisely from antecedents, as evident *in fact as in right*.

We shall not question Spain any more about the right she can plead against us. Let us consider those she has alleged in favor of her sovereignty, after the imprisonment of Ferdinand; let us regard her conduct; let us compare her proceedings with ours; and, mindful of her circumstances and station, we must inevitably conclude in favor of the justice of our own cause.

¹ An order of the 1st of September, 1750.

² A famous appeal in the Spanish jurisprudence, known by the name of *one thousand five hundred*, from the supreme court in Spain, where, to revise the case, it was necessary to enter into a bail for that amount of rials. The slowness of its proceedings passed for a proverb,

The news of the coronation of Ferdinand reached us together with tidings of his imprisonment, and the mysterious history of the Escorial, Aranjuez, and Bayonne. At that very time, the Junta invited us to send deputies to the *Central Government* (for Arica had no part in such a centre, it was quite unworthy of that name). At the time America was declared *to be an integral part, equal in rights to the monarchy, and no more a colony or factory, as were those of other nations*. She was informed of the establishment of the provincial Juntas, their form, and attributes; she heard the noble privileges of man, the principles of the social compact; the rights of the people, and the exercise of sovereignty, held before by the King as their agent, and to continue in his functions in virtue of his captivity; finally, we were filled with the happy prospect of having a constitution to restrain the conduct of Government, and guaranty the citizen in the protection of his rights by his representatives in a National Congress.¹

This stroke of light was too strong not to penetrate the most secret, and not to raise the most thoughtless spirits. The idea of the sovereignty, that instinct of *independence* born with man. Yet, united to the feelings of the peninsula, it formed in the heart a contrast between the wishes for the prosperity of the metropolis, and the necessity of self-protection for us in case of that country falling under the victorious arms of France. The diffident and menacing vigilance of our chiefs inclined the balance to the other side, and induced us to believe that the generous conceptions of liberty from the other side of the Atlantic were mere artifices to maintain us yoked to the chances of fortune. Besides this, every criticism of the Government of Spain was deemed a treason; and to repeat the flattering praises of her Government was in us considered as the sound of perfidy. The assemblies were closely watched, and every man of sense had a secret eye over him. This was the plan formed in the closets of the infidels. At Venezuela, the citizens Ortega, Rodriguez, and Ianz, were separated from their families by Empanan; Roxas, Ovalle, and Vera, in Chili, were separated from their families. That governor ordered his assessor to be admitted to his functions. Here Carrasco, surrounded by bayonets, gave possession to a man of the first seat in the Cabildo. At that moment fears began to lose their power, hope, and personal freedom began to engage the sentiments of the people. With some doubts about the fidelity of the chief, a part of the Junta observed that the conduct of this man was in contradiction with the principles of the Spanish Government; and from Spain he was advised that the part of her ministers, counsellors, generals, nobles, and bishops was against him to the French party.² We noticed the removal from office of the

¹ Orders of 19th and 20th of March, of 30th of September, 1808, of the 1st of January, and the manifesto of the 28th of October, 1809.

² Orders of the 28th of July, 1808, of 14th of February, 23d of March, 1809.

chiefs; the inactivity of their successors; and the expedient adopted by the people for their safety, in the erection of Juntas. The news of one having been established at Buenos Ayres put Chili in motion. Carrasco hoped to pacify it by the hypocritical recall of the exiles, which was detected and treated as a fraud, and the governor deposed. The Spaniards residing at Santiago were the most strenuous for his removal; and the command was conferred on brigadier Count de la Coriquista, as senior officer, according to ancient regulations. The oidores trembled at the aspect of this alteration, which seemed to them a presage of the expiration of their authority; their consciences accused them of having subscribed too pliantly with their *advice*s the treacheries of Carrasco. They believed that the occasion for *promoting discord* agreeably to the *secret order* of 15th of April, 1810, had arrived; and, in fact, they excited it between Americans and Spaniards. A meeting was proposed from the most respectable persons of both parties; and the result was to convene the people for the 18th of September. On this ever-memorable day was established the Supreme Junta to rule over the country *in the name of Ferdinand VII.*, with submission to the regency erected in Spain over the ruins of the Central Junta. The then sympathy for the misfortunes of a suffering King, the habitual respect, and the spirit of imitation, were more powerful than the sense of our rights. Yet, called by the order of events, the intelligence of the age, and a just regard to our interests, there were heard, even then, some voices for independence.

Our new Government was approved by the regency. But this approbation was a snare to the candor and generosity of Chilianos, to make them a prize to the contemplated bloody invasion which was ordered to be made by the Viceroy of Peru. We should have calculated on this after seeing our brethren in Buenos Ayres proscribed, Caraccas blockaded, and the tyrant Melendez directed to practise the most cruel severities.¹ Thus it was, amidst our most frank intercourse with Lima, in the season when our produce was exported to Callao, when \$120,000 had just been acknowledged to have been received in Spain² by this consulate, and of \$200,000 by the treasury, together with a voluntary contribution to assist Spain in her afflictions, that, as if waiting for this assistance to proceed to our extermination, Pareja landed at St. Vincentas with the army of devastation, in the name of Ferdinand VII.

Then we brought to our recollection what the regency had told us,³ that *to this name would be forever united the epoch of the regeneration and happiness of the monarchy in both hemispheres; that our destinies did no longer depend on the viceroys and governors; that they were in our own hands;* and we asked ourselves what that equality of rights was with which they had flattered us, when, on making use of it, they judged us "guilty of high treasonable inno-

¹ Orders of the 2d of August and 4th of September, 1810.

² Letter from the Spanish Government of 15th August, 1810.

³ Manifesto of the 14th of February, 1810.

vation." We looked to the causes that produced the regency in we argued thus: "The people of the peninsula have founded their on no other title but the *exigency of the circumstances*. Why should the people of America be proper judges, as well as the people of Spain, whether they are, or are not, in the same pressing necessity? At the moment the regency and the Cortes proclaimed, as the only legitimate authority, the sovereignty of the people, they lost all pretension to any people who wish to exercise their own. If the sovereignty emanates from the Spanish people, and if that people have no power over the French, who, as Spain, are an integral part, and the principal part of the nation, could we not ourselves represent the King, and act in his name, as the same persons who declare us rebels? Have they received from the French some special commission, which has not reached us, beside the one from Bayonne, to admit the new dynasty of Napoleon, which we accept with so much heroism? And what with them is a virtue and a right, which for us be with us a crime. If Spain does not submit to the French, although she intend to command her *in the name of Ferdinand*, and by virtue of the nation, with more reason shall we repulse those who bring war to the same name, because we have preserved him at the head of our Government, and lavished an undeserved gratitude to persons who were traitors to their own principles.'

Thus we were undeceived about the true meaning of those promises so brilliant as they were seducing, and we discovered on the reverse side of the medal, that, under pretence of restoring him to the throne usurped by his father, they concealed the fraudulent design of stamping on us a more terrible and a more fatal slavery than in former times, and that this was the urgent motive for ordering all the schools to be closed, that we were to be employed in remitting to Spain men, money, provisions, and obedience.¹ Then we cast our eyes on the map, we considered the geographical and political position of Spain, and we were amazed that we had for so many years, dropped the curtain in this comedy where the French, from the small theatre of a peninsular angle of Europe have kept the admiration of a whole world, without tiring and disgusting us by the conformity of a plot conducted through the wiles of mere intrigue, the denouement of which could visibly be no other but the disclosure of a thousand lightnings on the spectators.

We reflected, and said to ourselves, "Shall twenty-two thousand leagues, and a million of inhabitants, animated with the temper and the spirit of the Araucanos, be kept depending on a point of the old hemisphere, which begs its resources from us, which perishes without them, lives by our efforts, and endeavors to destroy us with them? Since when has the distinction between us and them been so absurd, that the maimed must serve his crutches

infant's mouth changes the milk into blood, to spit it into the face of his nurse? that the needy rises up and wishes to command his benefactor? Whence did that legislation spring, by which neither mature age nor sound judgment, nor opulence, nor proper disposition for administration, nor superiority of forces, nor any of the many elements favorable to individual liberty, cannot procure liberty to a whole nation? Who has dictated that code which authorizes the treacherous and ungrateful to be adored by the offended, and have their crimes sanctioned? And who has deprived us of our intellects, that we do not discover the cruelties of Spain, even in the impudent gifts of her favors? Called to the Cortes, with *an equal representation*, we see a member for every thirty thousand peninsulas, and hardly a million of us is a sufficient number to elect one! There the suffrage is popular; here it is consigned to the vote of a president, under the sanction of corporations. There the form of elections does not vary; here each mail brings us new forms, with the view that we should never be represented by any other power than that of *substitutes*, introduced with as much legality as the deputies of the Congress of Bayonne; some unknown to the people they represented, and others objected to expressly by their constituents; not one of them with proper credentials, and every one of them placed there by peninsular influence.¹ There they trade freely with all nations; and here they shut our ports even to vessels from England, to whose alliance Spain owes all her power; and they are not ashamed to declare as null and void a decree of the 17th March, 1809, which it was supposed was favorable to a free trade.² There, all foreign periodical papers, literary productions, liberal opinions of statesmen and philosophers, formerly stifled by despotic terror, and now rendering homage to nature and to the elements of civilization, are freely circulated; and here they have prescribed even national productions, the liberty of the press, and all writings relating to the Spanish revolution, except the ministerial papers of the regency, recommending to the *inquisition* the most scrupulous and responsible vigilance,³ and pretending that, to enlighten Chili, it was only necessary to send twenty missionaries, to fill up the number of the missionaries in Chillan, *in order that the holy religion should not be lost for want of ministers*. Such is, in 1810, the language of the regency who orders our treasury to pay the passage of those fanatics, to the great honor of our priests, and the piety and understanding of the country.⁴ Such is the grand system of equality and elevation they offer us. Such is the expression of flattery they have substituted to the deceits with which they formerly robbed the artless Indians of their treasures, and with which flattery they intend to deprive us of our feelings and instinct, accompanying these words with bayonets, that they may exterminate us in case we should

¹ Orders of the 6th October, 1809, and 29th March, 1810.

² Orders of 10th July and 27th June, 1809.

³ Cedule of 1st January, 1809, and orders of 31st April, 1810.

rely in the faith of their promises. What decency and circumspection in these pretended *sovereigns*!"

As we were taken up with these considerations, at the light of the war they had kindled, we felt ashamed of our improvidence and pusillanimity, and a universal cry of independence was the effect of the remorse out by justice and the sight of our evils. The least of those motives contemplating was sufficient to declare independence. However, with the hopes of a triumph, which, by undeceiving our aggressors and reduce them with the arms of persuasion, we delayed this august act till we were compelled by nature, time, and our successes. We fought and vanquished. Our arms, covered with glory in the battles of Yerbas San Carlos, El Roble, Concepcion, Talcahuana, Cucha, Membrillo, Quechereguas, brought us to that crisis in which, the forces of the general Gunza driven to the small precincts of Talca and annihilated, we impose law on the man who brought us the Spanish constitution—that piece, which, under the appearance of liberty, contained only the code of slavery for America, who had not concurred in its formation; nor could have been represented by the thirty-one substitute deputies legitimate amidst the one hundred and thirty-three Spanish representatives. We wish to consign to eternal oblivion that fatal epoch in which all the intrigues of perfidious Spain were contending against the magnanimity and courage of the Chilino character. Who could believe that in a crisis so favorable to our undertakings, and so fatal to the self-styled *national army*, the conditions of the 3d of May, 1814, would have been effected?

It is necessary to save us the shame of analyzing them. Suffice it to record, that being ratified by our Government, guarantied by the mediation of Commodore Hillyar, with powers from the Viceroy of Peru, accepted by the chief of the troops of Lima, our troops withdrawn, the prisoners released, the enemy, and the people obliged to acknowledge peace solemnly proclaimed, it became necessary to assist the invaders to whom it was not possible to move, and accept their nullity as an apology for their rebellion employed in treasons at Talca, which place was to have been evacuated in thirty hours. They had hardly left our city and crossed the Maul, Guinza pressed every spring to make up his losses; he recruited, assembled and disciplined another army, which he spread in the province of Concepcion. In the recruiting he spent all the money which was destined, through the repair the losses sustained by the inhabitants; he laid hands on all the property he appointed judges; and, in a word, he set up for lord and master on the same ground which he had agreed to evacuate in two months, until the arrival of Osorio, who renewed hostilities, and threatened to put every fire and sword unless we surrendered at discretion,¹ and opened our

the caresses of the lion who concealed his claws under the folds of the standard of war; we knew the consequences of the pardons granted in Mexico, Venezuela, Quito, Huanneo, and Upper Peru. These summonses excited our alarm; but in what circumstances, when with the views of the restoration of Ferdinand to the throne, we had just received his decree annulling the regency, the Cortes, their orders and constitution, and maintaining the established authorities in both hemispheres.

We did not wish to call upon these satellites of tyranny for their right to spread devastation in the country, but only for the right that supported their present aggression, and converted another time their *royal* army into a *national* army. If they had impudence enough to become the sport of a versatile Government, was that a reason why the people should deliver themselves to the sword and implicated designs of their assassins? You cannot any longer name the constitution as an authority; (which, by the by, did not give you any right or claim to obeisance, any more than a constitution, however beneficial and admirable, made by Joseph Napoleon, would have given him over the peninsula.) Ferdinand has reassumed his sceptre, and torn to pieces that celebrated act. And now by what new act have the Americans re-established the authority of the son of Maria Louisa, which, being null in its origin, he had himself abdicated and lost by repeated and subsequent acts of infamy and cruelty?

Allow us to recall to remembrance the scenes of the Escorial, Aranjuez, and Bayonne. In 1807 Ferdinand is declared a traitor to his father, and unworthy of succeeding to the crown. In 1808 the scene changes at Aranjuez, and Charles the Fourth, used with violence by the same faction which was stifled at the Escorial, cedes the crown to the son, proclaimed amidst the disturbances of the court. The old pupil of Godoy escapes to France, to seek the protection of the Emperor, who, in the conferences of Bayonne, causes the diadem to be restored, in order to accept it himself, and place it on the head of his brother Joseph.

This kingly-comic transaction has been represented to us by the Central Junta and Regency, under the veil of exalted exclamations tending to move all our sensibility in behalf of the misfortunes of that youth in whose party they were engaged. And thence it is that they despatched executive orders to America to apprehend the parent King and his suite, in case they appeared on these coasts, and to remit them to Spain under arrest.¹ That tender enthusiasm, imposed upon us by our compassion and hopes, being subsided, who can discover less violence in the renunciations of Bayonne than in that of Aranjuez? Was the presence of Bonaparte more imposing to Ferdinand, than the presence of a mob at the gates of his palace to Charles the Fourth? The Bourbons have abandoned the nation against the will of the people, and

¹ Decree of the 10th of August, 1808, and a decree of the 1st of March, 1809, both of J.

by this act they have lost even those obscure rights upon which their dynasty was raised. A nation left without a chief, on account of their domestic quarrels, could not belong to those emigrants. Ferdinand, from Valençay, could not keep in his hand the extremity of the noose, or speaking more properly, of the chain which fastens America.

When Spain declared war against Denmark, they said in their manifesto "If this Power is oppressed, and subject to the will of Napoleon, Spain declares her war as against a province of France."¹ Why do they not hold the same language with respect to Ferdinand, a prisoner, or rather willingly given up to the disposal of the Emperor? Will the world ever forget the base, horrid, and sacrilegious denunciation by which he betrayed the Baron de Kolly, engaged in saving him from the castle, with the intervention and credentials of George the Third?² Considering as false the report of M. Bertheny, the commander of that fort, in which he states that Ferdinand in his communication dared to assert "that England continued to shed blood on his name, deceived by the false idea that he was forcibly detained there; supposing even that his letter to Napoleon, requesting him to adopt him for his son, should be a fabrication, (accusations of which he has not cleared himself,) is not the infamy of such denunciation sufficient to deprive the infamer of the character of a *prince*? How do they dare to bind us with that oath, taken without our consent, to oblige our consciences in an epoch full of perplexities and tumultuous afflictions, at the sight of promises which have never been complied with, and in circumstances that have long ago ceased to exist? But for the commissioners engaged in the destruction of America the theatre never changes; their object is to annihilate her; and it is the same for them to commit hostilities in the name of the constitution, as in the name of the despot who tramples under foot that same constitution which they came to announce to us.

Such has been the conduct of Osorio in Chili; it is necessary to repeat it; he enters with the sword in one hand and the code in the other. We show him (and he knew it himself beforehand) that it has been annulled by Ferdinand; with the same facility he fights for the law, or for the enemy of the law. Can justice, a virtue invariable and constantly the same in all times and climates, be supported upon contradictory bases and discordant interests? No. It was not justice that gave to the tyrant the victory of the 2d of October, 1814. It was not justice that suggested to him to set fire to the hospital where our wounded soldiers were. It was not justice that fired the gun on the victim who fled for refuge to the churches of Ramagua. Justice did not authorize the violences by which the sanctuary of religion and innocence was polluted. Justice did not put in their sacrilegious hands the vases of priesthood to be used in their bacchanalias. Justice did not cover with blood the roads from

Talcahuana to the capital, that these traces of death might serve to show the way to the head-quarters of the Sicaris, where our most respectable citizens, wandering in the mountains, were obliged to present themselves, to be transported to the rock of Juan Fernandez. Justice did not sharpen the knife which stuck the nine persons murdered in the prisons, under pretence of a supposed conspiracy, without any other trial than the ferocity of the perpetrators of the catastrophe of Quito. It is not justice that has cast into the casemates¹ so many deserving persons, who have been snatched from their families, without any form of trial, and are now lamenting their orphanage; and the refusal of an exchange of prisoners, the vizier of Peru sacrificing the fate of his own mercenaries rather than to ameliorate the fate of our fellow-citizens. It was not justice that erected the four scaffolds, for the recreation of the coward modern Baptos,² and which he ordered to be immediately taken away from the public square, at the news of the triumph of the 12th of February, 1817, the anniversary of which day we celebrate. (Aracabuco.)

Justice granted to Chili that day of glory and splendor, well satisfied that by two years and a half of sufferings we had atoned for our undue tolerance, and our blindness in not knowing that by tolerance we betrayed the sacred *rights* of our *country*, belied the necessity of *independence*, and the sincere wish of the people, that proclaimed it with so much the more eagerness that they had just learned, at the school of tyranny, that independence is the only desirable end of this bloody struggle of seven years; that the inability and impotence of our aggressors, and of the despot they serve, had become evident; that the idol and his name had tumbled to the ground; and that we ought not any longer to be guilty of the meanness of invoking him, when Spain herself, after being chilled by his ingratitude on his reascending the throne, tears herself in the convulsion of a paralysis that carries her to her last consumption.

Such is the state of that unfortunate nation, rendered less miserable by the fierceness of the monster than by the obstinate tenacity of keeping her engaged in this destructive struggle, in which, after losing all the acquisitions of the first conquest, she will remain excluded forever from the sole relations with which she might have repaired the losses of twenty-five years. Spain existed by America; now she receives nothing from her, and she is obliged to strain her funds to fight her. Nobody can she seduce now, in the state of poverty which devours her. Should a miraculous effort enable her to send over some gladiators, these men cannot be indifferent to the reluctance of abandoning their native soil to descend to the grave at such a distance from their cradle, and they will be convinced that they are engaged in an undertaking in which any ephemeral triumph will hardly make them resemble the

¹ Horrible dungeons in the Callao of Lima.

² Marco, successor of Osorio, is not less remarkable for his cruelties than for his effeminacy, resembling that of the Baptos, so much despised in ancient Greece. The mentioned tyrannical acts are recorded judicially in our archives.

bird cutting the air, which closes again after it has passed. Morillo, with the best army that Spain has sent out, and with all the other divisions, is proof of it. Whilst they occupy a place, the insurrection rages in other and, finally, all the disseminated mass of the conquerors comes to be consumed in the centre of the conflagration. The combustion is universal, the space is immense, and the fire of the revolution inextinguishable. We will not belong to an insignificant nation when we do not want for any thing, and who, being in want of us, only seeks to kill us. We will not belong to a nation unfaithful in her promises, violating her contract, and contradictory to her principles, who intends to affirm these pretensions of her decrepit usurpation; and of a dynasty divested by itself even of the appearances of right, and make us responsible to the rest of our brethren nobly emancipated, to the improvement of the age, which venerates liberty as the goddess of civilization; to our posterity, who, from the sign of his future existence, awaits for the happy turn in which they are to enter without trouble in the enjoyment of days of order, honor, and peace, their fathers bought for them with their blood; to all human kind who can now rely with secure and abundant places of refuge in these regions, blessed by the Creator, and formerly shut by proud ambition to the hospitality of men unwilling to become slaves; to nature, who has placed in our minds the sense of choice and merit incompatible with slavery; and, finally, to Heaven itself, who has unfolded the list of the nations, and has pointed out the place we were to occupy in the rank of the independent.

Chili has obeyed its call. The solemn act of the 1st of January, 1818, the expression of the individual vote, and the result of all private determinations. She has not deferred her revolution until the convocation of a Congress, difficult to assemble in the effervescence of war; she has dictated herself the measure which, in all circumstances, would have been sanctioned by her representatives, faithful to the trust and confidence of their constituents. When the latter will depute them, the representatives will ascend the altar of the law invested with all the plenitude of sovereignty required to proclaim it. This epoch is getting nearer as the expiring remnants of our enemies are terrified. In the mean time, to defend the magna charta, every citizen runs spontaneously to arms. A veteran army of twelve thousand brave men, and the enlisting of the militia, without exemption, are the pledge and the eternal foundation of our independence.

Free people of the universe! you who behold the basis of your sovereignty secured by this new monument of justice upon which Chili has raised its own decide, in this fatal struggle, between humanity and the vain spirit of domination; teach Spain that the former is the origin and object of every Government, and ask her then who is to give up? By uniting your vows to ours you will stop the blood which overflows vigorous America, and draws the

her be affected by her own evils, and by those we have suffered during three centuries; inspire her with a comparative feeling on her fate and ours; and when, calculating candidly the consequences that threaten her, she lays down her arms, and sacrifices to justice and liberality the illusions which precipitate her to her ruin, assure her, on our honor, that generous Chili will open her heart to the friendship of her brethren, and participate with them, under the glorious empire of the laws, in all the benefits of their immutable independence.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

DIRECTORIAL PALACE OF CHILI, *February 12, 1818.*

MIGUEL ZAÑARTU, *Secretary of State.*

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *February 13, 1818.*

SIR: Since I had the honor of addressing you last, the independence of Chile has been proclaimed with considerable pomp, in the presence of an innumerable concourse of Citizens— It had been delayed thus long in order to connect it with the day on which the battle of Chacabuco took place of which yesterday was the anniversary— The rejoicings continued until midnight and are now recommencing with a zeal and glow that evince much sentiment— Every house in the City exhibited some token of approbation by flags, emblems or inscriptions some of which were very appropriate.

I have endeavored to mix as much as possible with the Inhabitants so as to enable me to determine whether the view I had taken was correct and I am now persuaded that I have not exaggerated in saying that the sentiment of emancipation pervades generally the two classes designated in my last—

Genl. San Martin left Town during the night for Talca, from where it is concluded that the Royal army is advancing into the interior, if so, we may anticipate some early vessel: If the Royalists should prevail in this contest, the war will be protracted to an indefinite period, if unsuccessful, it will be at an End and Peru will fall immediately—

In mine of the 9th. of which I enclose a triplicate I did not attempt to give an estimate of the revenues, so few were competent to answer my enquiries that I could not obtain sufficient data upon which to hazard a communication— I am now enabled to approach the truth and may venture to state two millions of Dollars as the ordinary annual receipt, the principal sources of which are the Duties upon import, the duties upon export and the quint

¹ MS. Letters of J.B. Prevost.

on the product of the Mines— In the manner of assessing this fifth the Government however does not actually receive more than an eighth, but a considerable profit accrues upon Coining, the whole fifth may be calculated as the yielding to the Treasury— There are some minor impositions upon wine and other productions in the nature of excise, but of inconsiderable return— This amount may appear great for the population and state of the society, yet it is insufficient for the exigencies of the moment, and to supply this deficiency recourse is had to contributions under the name of *Donations*— destructive of confidence and extremely partial— An Individual possessing a large Estate or supposed to have amassed a considerable sum is liable to be called upon for any amount within the discretion of the Cabildo— It may be regretted that they have not adopted some equal and permanent mode of taxation on real property, a measure which policy dictates from the peculiar situation of their lands— Upon the conquest immense grants were made to the conquerors and to the great Families in Spain, whose descendants still hold under those grants and are more gratified by the extension of their domain than by its improvement— A moderate tax would relieve the Government and at the same time soften a pride destructive to cultivation— It would induce sales of such portions of the uncultivated grounds as would enable the poorer and laboring class to become proprietors—

Yesterday upon paying my visit of compliment to the Supreme Director upon the day, he touched upon the subject of our future relations and said that they were extremely anxious to obtain the confidence of the President and to maintain the closest relations with the U States as the only mode upon whose friendship they could rely; that the interests of both must unite them against European influence which was necessarily hostile to the Republics; That they had received considerable protection from Great Britain but would have preferred it much from us— I answered him that such was exactly our feelings and that the People of the U States took the most warm interest in this Revolution but that by their Collisions and party dissensions they had not inspired that confidence in their permanent separation which would justify the U States in taking Steps to involve them in a war when they should take Lima and should assure any political Shape we might be the first to meet the danger and to acknowledge their Independence— That for the moment they ought to be satisfied with the advantages they derived from the commerce by which alone they obtained the supplies necessary for their defense— He replied that we were right, that they had been torn by divisions but that they had all ceased and he hoped we should become one great American Family.

I learn at this moment by the arrival of the mail from Buenos Ayres that Mr. Worthington is on his way for this place in which case I shall leave

*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, February 27, 1818.

SIR: After a tiresome journey of 300 Leagues in the hottest season of the year over the burning pampas from Bs. Ays. to Mendoza and thence across the Andes a track of Country at all times difficult & dangerous I arrived here on the 24 Inst.

I met Judge Prevost here who did me the honor of handing me your letter of the 24th of July last & I shall with great pleasure conform to the wishes of the President as expressed therein. I was happy to find that the Judge coincided with me in the views I had taken of the affairs & the course of policy it was best to pursue in these provinces & from his able assistance & conciliatory disposition I augur an auspicious result to the mission which it has pleased the President to confide to us, he left here the day after he saw me for Valpo.

Ever since my arrival I have been treated in the most polite & friendly manner & on presenting myself to the Supreme authorities here this morning was recieved quite in an amicable & Confidential way. I have been told that the Government of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata have written to this place respecting me, which I suppose is the cause of this particular attention combined with the beneficial effect produced by the arrival of the Ontario the manly & correct conduct of Capt. Biddle and the good understanding on which Judge Prevost had placed things preliminary to my seeing him.

Judge Prevost requested me to press the necessity of our always having vessels of war in the waters of these Provinces and I fully concur with him.

With distinguished consideration [etc.].

*Miguel Zañartu, Secretary of State of Chile, to W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires*¹

[TRANSLATION]

MINISTRY OF STATE IN CHILE, March 1, 1818.

Although the Supreme Director of this State in the Credentials which I have the honor to return to you, remarks the want of a letter of introduction

¹ MS. Dispatches from Argentina, I.

at least, Yet not desiring to hinder the knitting together of the Relations of this State with a Government to which a thousand principles unite us; or me to say to you that you are recognized as Special Agent of the United States to treat on subjects of Commerce in this free State. And the consequence thereof you can commence the functions with which you are charged—

I profit of this occasion [etc.]

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*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru & Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, March 5, 1818

SIR: At the urgent request of the citizens of the United States now at Valparaiso I left there on the 3d Inst. for this place to have an interview particularly with Capt. Biddle. They wished if it comported with the instructions of Capt. Biddle that he would delay his departure hence till the impending battle between the Royal & Patriot Armies should decide the fate of this Country.

It is unnecessary for me to say that on taking this subject into the full consideration I have no doubt Capt Biddle will adopt the most proper line of Conduct—

I shall return hence on Sunday next for the Capital & most likely proceed thence to the Head Quarters of Genl. San Martin on the Rout to Talcahuano to witness this great approaching action which if in favour of the Patriot Armies will not only decide the fate of Chili & Peru, but be felt thro' all the branches of the Revolutionary Provinces of Spanish America—

Moreover should San Martin gain the Victory, I shall be near at hand to proceed immediately to Tacahuana to claim the U. States citizens' vessels, Beaver & Canton &c which have been illegally captured by the Royal Spanish Blockading Squadron in the Pacific & if retaken by the patriot forces their condemnation may be considered by them as Royal property & at least they may claim a Salvage on their Restoration which I may think it my right to dispute—

Every thing is at stake and it is thought a few days will decide on the protracted subjugation or established Independence of Chile & Peru

With distinguished consideration [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from Argentina I

*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *March 9, 1818.*

SIR: On my arrival here today from Valpo. I recvd. a letter of the 1st Inst. from the Hon. Mr. Zañartu Secretary of State as also one of the 2d in answer to mine of the same date, copies of which I have the honor to enclose.

I shall pause upon the subjects of Commerce & Seaman, perhaps, till after the approaching battle, Yet be on the alert to watch circumstances. Nothing important has yet happened between the armies, but the plot thickens, & it is my opinion from the best information I can get that either Ossorio the Royal General must retreat in a few days on Talca (& there take up his winter Quarters till perhaps the affairs in Europe may assume an aspect in favor of his Catholic Majesty) or San Martin will close the Tragedy by a Catastrophe infinitely more bloody & far more decisive than the battle of Chaccabuco.

There are great expectations that in a few days in consequence of the Windham a British East Indiaman having arrived at Valparaiso on the 5th inst. & which can mount 36 guns, that the Patriots will purchase her & thereby be enabled to capture the Venganza & other Blockading vessels & obtain the complete ascendancy on the coast of Chile. I am told this Government will Embargo Valpo. till they are ready to send out this force.

I mention these facts because Judge Prevost showed me his letters where he makes you acquainted with our respectable amount of commerce here & these proceedings & their probable results will have the most important influence upon us.

With distinguished consideration [etc.].

*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to Miguel Zañartu, Secretary of State of Chile*²

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *March 12, 1818.*

The Undersigned Special Agent of the United States of America for Buenos Aires, Chile & Peru had the honor to receive the letter of Recognition, addressed to him on the 1st Inst by the Honble. Mr. Zañartu Secretary of State.

It is regretted that the credentials are thought in any way incomplete, as is

¹ MS. Dispatches from Argentina, I.

² *Ibid.* Transmitted with a letter of March 20, 1818, from Worthington at Santiago to Adams.

intimated: But to account for which it will be seen on adverting to the Credential Letter Presented, that the battle of Chacabuco, had fought, when the present functionary was appointed & of course not ascended to the rank of a free Independent State—Yet his Excellency the Supreme Director, in the conversation which the Undersigned had the honor to hold with him on the 27th Ultmo. the day of his introduction collected that the views of the President in this Mission were confidential, which not only evinced the foresight of the chief Magistrate in anticipating in a great degree the present state of things, but it is presumed under the influence of that anticipation that the Undersigned was specially instructed to conduct the present Agency in the most conciliatory & friendly manner—When it is further considered that only a month has elapsed, since the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed in Chile: That it is possible, tho' in the opinion of the Undersigned, not without some degree of probability that the Star of Chile may again be eclipsed from the Banks of the Maule, the Plains of San Fernando or the Fields of Magallanes. That obligations are due in good faith from the United States to the Catholic Majesty between whom relations of Amity are still subsisting, that the extraordinary state of the Political World, did not justify, decided steps to be taken in the Patriot cause of South America, it is commonly believed, that even up to this date the United States & it's citizens, have done everything which ought to have been expected from them.—

Therefore the Undersigned with peculiar satisfaction remarks the manner in which she has been recognized here & has transmitted thereof to Washington & has no doubt, that the President will only repeat the same, and as he enjoys the confidence & it is believed represents the feelings of ten millions of People, over whose Republic he has been called to Preside, he will rejoice in the high destinies to which this important step in the great American family is so fast advancing & will fully reciprocate the wishes of his Excellency the Supreme Director “to strengthen the relations of this State with a Government to which a thousand principles unite and has been so happily expressed—

The Undersigned avails himself of this occasion [etc.].

*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, April 8, 1818.

SIR: Agreeably to the anticipation in my letter of the 9th Ult., the royal Army, I have understood, were retiring into Talca when on the 19th the Patriots attacked them in the afternoon & at the close of the day had gained considerable advantages in the contest, and occupied positions, which seemed calculated to terminate the Campaign on the ensuing morning, when they intended to renew the attack, with the complete destruction of the Royalists.

On that night to cover his Retreat the Royal General, as a bold & desperate measure, made a charge on the Patriot Army, so unlooked for, rapid & furious, that the Patriots were thrown into confusion & the greater part of their Army dispersed—This affair spread a panick thro' the Country—Early in the morning of the 21st I received an exaggerated account of it from Mr. Monte Agudo (the Auditor of the Army & private Secretary of the Commander in Chief) who had fled from the field of confusion, & at 5 in the evening I proceeded for Valparaiso to give the information & to await the result, and should the Country be overrun, as there were great apprehensions at that time, I would have returned round Cape Horn, in the Brig Ariel of Baltimore, to Buenos Ayres—

The Spanish General I suspect, neither anticipated, knew of, nor followed up his momentary success—Talca has proved to him what Capua was to Hanibal!—In the short interval the Patriots rallied again under their Leaders & on the 5th Inst after a well fought and bloody battle, a few leagues from this City, on the Plains of Maypo, with nearly equal numbers, under the auspices of Gen. San Martin the Royalists were all taken or destroyed & it is supposed their fugitive Commander cannot escape— A few days before the fight I paid Genl. San Martin a visit in his Camp. I was very much pleased with him—As also with the Supreme Director O'Higgins who is a patriot of the Roman School—This Blow in my opinion firmly establishes the Independence of Chile: & Peru will shake off her shackles next—

I have on the 2nd Ult. appointed Henry Hill of the City of New York, Vice Consul for Santiago de Chile & Valparaiso, by the express advice of Judge Prevost, as I doubted my Powers to make any appointments, but have no doubts of the fitness of the men & the necessity of the measure—Also on the 31st. Ultimo. Washington Stewart of Philadelphia for Coquimbo & Guano & should the Patriots retake Concepcion & Talcahuano, which they no doubt will in a few days, shall name some fit person there—

I enclose the official Letter & Proclamations of Genl. San Martin, respecting the splendid affair of Maypo.

With distinguished consideration [etc.].

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and
Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*

VALPARAISO, April 9

SIR: On the 5th. instance after a severe and bloody contest the R. was entirely routed, I may say annihilated, 2000 were left dead or 1500 are prisoners and the remaining few who are straggling about with the wounded constituted the whole force— San Martin told them of all means of escape had seduced Orsorio to advance within the Capital before he attempted resistance. The experiment was made and disapproved by many, but he rejected all interference and evinced his Superiority— Chile is now emancipated and with the attention to the three ports of Valparaiso Coquimbo and Talcahuano be made inaccessible to any force which Spain can hereafter furnish. The Indiaman of which I took notice in my last was really one of the vessels engaged in England for the use of the Patriots but from the peculiar situation of the country on its arrival, the government could not complete its purchase and thus it has remained in the possession of its owner until within a few days past, She is now nearly ready for sea, and as soon as she is equipped we intend to send her out to encounter the Spanish Frigate blockading the Port, the result if successful will assure the control of this sea and enable the General to proceed forthwith to Lima now wholly without protection. The said and composed of a disaffected population— Whatever measure we pursue the present character of the Ship, offers a full protection to our countrymen and enables us to proceed on our voyage which we are accordingly do on Sunday the day after tomorrow— The address of the Biddle of which I enclose a copy will I hope satisfy the President of the United States of our delay and of the advantages resulting from the present situation of Ontario.

I now think the moment is fast approaching when it will become necessary for our government to recognize the independence of a great portion of America and I again ask your attention to the incalculable sources of wealth which an ascendancy in the commerce of this Country offers to the United States. We already possess the advantage of shipping the productions of all parts of the Globe from the spot in which they are manufactured and can resist all competition if aided in the manner I have heretofore suggested. The Government of Worthington has named a Vice Consul for this port and one for Talcahuano— The former is a young Gentleman from the interior of the United States named Henry Hill and the latter Mr. Washington Stewart is the late general W. Stewart of Philadelphia. I have concurred with the choice and recommend them especially to the approbation of the President.

It is all important in the appointments here that natives alone should be Selected, there exists an american feeling which ought not to be checked and which no Foreigner can ever reciprocate—

I am really gratified in being enabled to say, after a residence of nearly three months that the impression first produced by the arrival of the Ontario has been daily augmenting and that this measure of the President has been the most happy in its result— It has not merely defeated the influence which Great Britain has been struggling to acquire but has confirmed a sentiment in favor of the U States which will not easily be eradicated— On learning the victory and the immediate prospect of taking Talcahuana I stated to Mr. Guido (the representative of the Provinces on the other side of the andes), who was here completing the Purchase of the Indiaman that Several of our Vessels were in Talcahuana under seizure and condemnation and that I thought it was not a moment for them to be contending with the citizens of the U States for this property whether legally or illegally confiscated— He assured me in answer that Such was his opinion and that on his return to St. Iago an order should be issued exempting american Vessels from Capture notwithstanding any change of property produced by condemnation and has especially promised an order from the Supreme Director for the delivery of the Beaver and Canton to any person I may designate— I understand that these ships have been condemned and robbed of their respective cargoes particularly the former yet I hope in this way to save something for the owners

I have instructed Mr Hill to take the deposition of several sailors who have escaped from Talcahuana shewing the manner in which they have been treated, if I can obtain it in Season for this post I will enclose it.

With every sentiment of respect [etc.].

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*Miguel Zañartu, Secretary of State of Chile, to W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, April 20, 1818.

MY ESTEEMED SIR: With the greatest regret I have delayed answering your highly appreciated favor of the 12th of March;² but the occupation of my destination has made it inevitable; this delay I hope you will have the goodness to view in this light, and excuse a fault of which I have not vollen-terily been guilty—although at the present time I am relieved from the at-tentions of the Ministerial office; yet I am about to enter upon a new carrier

We have no National Debt, and we already calculate on a Marine sufficient to govern the Pacific—free our Ports & ensure our enterprize against Lima, of which event you will be an eye witness, if you will delay your residence a short time in this country—Ten thousand veterans, accustomed to conquer trained to discipline, and fired with enthusiasm ensure the result; even if the Vice King of Peru (hated by the People, and now reduced to consider himself placed in that situation) should use all his exertions to impede our Glorious Progress.

Buenos Ayres & Chile in strict union already sound the Hymns of Triumph. Here Parties are not known and every one who aspires to put aside the Publick interest is an object of execration.

If the calculation of the progression of Population, which you make in your memorial is rendered difficult in many countries and can only be verified by a certain grade of Population, although the geographical superficies of the country opposes it in Chile yet we flatter ourselves we shall not encounter many obstacles on that head, and calculate certainly that within 20 years the population of this country will approximate to four Millions without enumerating the Copious European emigration which we have a right to expect when the Kingdom is constituted, a circumstance which has augmented considerably the population of your happy Country in the last four years.

Our System is to invite all men, to maintain with all relation of Friendship and the identity of Principles the condition of the Continents.

(la Calidad. de continentales) Every thing appears to unite as to that happy Power which you represent—May it please Heaven to knit together our bands of relationship in a manner that they may be undissoluble, Such, Justice and common interest require and such are the Prayers of your Friend.

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*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chile*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, May 5, 1818.

SIR: On the 25th Ultio—I finished my ideas of a Free Constitution for the State of Chile which I now do myself the honor of Presenting to you as the Head of this Government

The Venerable Institutions, which for so many ages had preserved the Liberty of Great Britain, the People of the United States of America, inherited from their forefathers, and on becoming themselves an Independant Nation—gave to the World an improved System of civil Polity under the form of a

confederated Republic, of a more perfect Character than till then had ever been enjoyed.

It has withstood the Intrigues of Peace and the Shocks of War and has afforded to our Citizens that protection & happiness which were pledged by the Compact. I therefore adopted it as my prototype and Guide.

We have seen the Son of Chile able to atchieve & defend his Independence & he will now be as capable of maintaining and enjoying all the Blessings which flow from civil Liberty, as was the antient Greek or Roman Patriot. I hope the time is fast advancing when your Native Land will be not only in taste & refinement of manners—but in her exalted notions of Freedom the Atica of the South

A well organized form of Government will ensure you Peace & Security at home, and respect abroad: It will tend to harmonize the discord, & bind up the wounds, which intestine commotions have inflicted, & evince even to your enemies, that they may have good Laws to live under, and they will become your Friends—

I think the Elections contemplated by this Constitution may forthwith take place and the Powers therein created be put in operation without embarrassing or impeding the ulterior military movements which it may be still necessary to prosecute—A Short Manifesto for that purpose I have taken leave to enclose.

Now Sir you can take no notice of, or act on these communications, as you may think proper—I am perfectly aware of the delicacy in a stranger offering them, yet being myself the only Public Functionary, from a Foreign country, resident near this Government, I have thought the peculiarity of my situation & the purity of my intentions, would Justify me in this measure—But as my health will not permit my writing much, I will make any personal explanations, on these fifty eight Sections whenever you feel disposed to honor me with a hearing

With the most distinguished Consideration [etc.].

[Worthington's draft of a proposed Manifesto for O'Higgins to sign is as follows:]

MANIFESTO OF HIS EXCELLENCY DON BERNARDO O'HIGGINS, SUPREME
DIRECTOR OF THE STATE OF CHILE

FELLOW CITIZENS: Having been honored by you with the first place in the State, since our Independence I feel it my duty to recommend to you the adoption of a permanent good & practicable form of civil Government—The following Constitution is therefore submitted to you, And that the necessary and highly important operations of the existing Government May not be perplexed by useless Political dissensions and discussions, I shall direct the Elections to take place, and the Powers specified in the Constitution, to proceed accordingly as this Constitution provides in itself, the time of session

to time be calmly and dispassionately Altered or Amended, no ill can result from adopting it, as the basis of our Government and this will avoid, the intrigues & confusions, which have ever arisen from conventions and Congresses in this Part of the World where they have had no proper Political bases to go upon, and degenerated into wild Theorists & factious experimenters.

I have always endeavoured to serve my Country firmly in the field, and faithfully in the chair of State and whenever they shall require it am willing to lay down the honors they have conferred upon me with a clear conscience, and fervent wish for their lasting happiness and prosperity.

BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

SANTIAGO DE CHILE,

May 5th 1818.

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *June 10, 1818.*

SIR: You will perhaps be surprized to receive a letter from me at this place and of this date, but circumstances which I shall proceed to detail induced me to return to Valparaiso with the Ontario prior to our visit to the North West Coast—

We arrived at Callao on the 21st. of April carrying with us the news of the destruction of the Royal army, the blow was not anticipated and caused a general and sudden depression— On the succeeding day I visited the Capital and after presenting myself to the Vice King I sent him a note of which the enclosed marked No. 1. is a copy. By confining myself to the injuries committed on the vessels engaged in the North West Commerce, as the immediate motive of the visit, I had in view to assume such a ground, that access could not be refused without offering an outrage— On the succeeding day I received a message from the Vice King requesting a private interview which accordingly took place at the hour appointed; he commenced by stating to me that the object of the President as indicated in my note could not be resisted and that he should take a pleasure in giving full effect to the demand that he had heard and believed the Canton and Beaver had been improperly treated at Talcahuana, that it was without the Vice Royalty of Peru and of course without his concurrence, that the place was part of the Royal government of Chile under the command of a Captn. General but that he had a controlling power upon application which he would exercise and order all american Vessels lying there under Seizure to be forthwith Sent to

Lima for a final examination to take place immediately on their arrival.—I mentioned to him that I possessed some testimony as to the Beaver which I should wish to be received, he assured me that there should be no obstacle and added that as to Seamen he was not aware that there were any under confinement, but that the Previous should be examined and the whole surrendered. He then requested me to relate the particulars of the engagement together with the extent of the loss of the royal army which I did and left him—

On the following morning a confidential agent of the government called upon me to ask whether it would be possible to return to Valparaiso with the ship so as to take a Minister on board for the purpose of effecting an exchange and of procuring a cessation of hostilities; that the Vice King had been indiscreet in confi—[? concealed in binding] an agent theretofore sent by the Patriots with the like object and that without the aid of a neutral Flag he could not hope to obtain access: That the Vice Roy would evince his sense of the act by orders to be given to the Squadron on the subject of all american Vessels not laden with arms to protect them from detention and injuries of any Kind, and that those engaged in the Whale Fisheries should receive their supplies hereafter without molestation—

I answered that the subject required consideration in as much as we had an ulterior destination and that a deviation would be attended with much sacrifice as well as with loss of time, yet that if the Vice Roy were sincere it might operate with me, as one object of the voyage was to obtain that protection to our Commerce which he now proffered—

Upon giving the subject all reflexion it appeared to me that sufficient advantages might grow out of the measure to justify me in complying with his request and I accordingly proposed the matter to Capt Biddle offering to take upon myself all the responsibility if he would acquiesce and write to the Vice King tendering the Ontario—After some hesitation he was induced to comply and the Vice King in conformity with the assurances which I have stated gave an order for the delivery of all Seamen in confinement and enclosed one to Capt Biddle addressed to the officer commanding the blockading Squadron directing him to suffer our Vessels of every description to leave the Port of Valparaiso without interruption— . . .

I am perfectly persuaded from information as well as from documents which I have seen and hope to obtain that a less friendly course would have been pursued towards us as well as towards my Countrymen, had the Royalists prevailed and that the whole of this liberality grew out of the defeat in the neighborhood of this City, yet we are not to ask the motive when we obtain a benefit:—The release of seven of our Countrymen some of whom had been upwards of four years under confinement the order to the Commandant of the Squadron relieving our vessels from the penalties which they had incurred and a hope of obtaining the remainder of the Captives and the Posses-

Whalers, are considerations which swayed me on this occasion and if I have erred, humanity must take a portion of the censure for having biased my Judgment.

On my arrival at this place I discovered that the Government had obtained possession of some original orders from the Court of Spain addressed to the Vice Roy of Peru one of which struck me to be of importance to our government, it is an order to different Vice Kings to cause estimates to be made of the injuries sustained by reason of any supplies received from, or aid afforded by, American Citizens to the Patriots from the time of Miranda to this date, embracing other objects more extravagant for the purpose as is stated in the document of enabling Spain to balance the demands of our government for former Spoliations, which could no longer be resisted—Without entering into the principle of this Setoff, the loose manner in which the estimate is directed must defeat the object when the fact can be ascertained as it now can be by a reference to the original—

I therefore called upon the Supreme Director and asked it of him as a favor, he was good enough in answer to say that it should be delivered for my use and upon my return home the enclosed note with the original were handed to me— I have given a receipt and accompanied it with a copy which I have certified in the office of the Secretary of State here, No. 3 is a copy of the note and No. 4. of the original which I shall hold until I think I can safely forward it to your department—¹

¹ The following is a translation of the original signed and rubricated order of the Spanish Court to the Viceroy of Peru, which reached the Department as an enclosure in a dispatch from Prevost of July 8, 1818, which contains no other pertinent matter:

MINISTRY OF WAR, MADRID, *July 31, 1817.*

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: The Secretary of the Department of State in a private official note of June 24th last tells me the following:

"Since the year 1802 there has been pending between the Government of Spain and that of the United States of America an arrangement looking to the completion and mutually satisfactory settlement of the indemnities or compensations on account of the damages reciprocally caused by the Government and the Vassals of Spain on the one hand and the Government and the Citizens of the United States on the other against the law of Nations and of the Treaty existing between the two Nations; and the time from which the said indemnities or damages which caused them to be counted from the time of the war between Spain and England, which ended in the Peace of 1801. It is likely that the manner of appraising and describing such injuries and the indemnities going with them will be the institution of a mixed commission of persons of the two Nations which would decide the cases brought before it; but as it might also happen that both Governments may take the decision of a lump sum settlement of the indemnities it becomes more necessary to bring together from all parts and in particular from the various points of Spanish America some data which are not as yet as accurate as an extensive examination of each case would make them, would at least be sufficiently so to enable H.M. to form an idea of the claims which he may for his part bring against the Government of the United States, for the injuries that the Agents of the said United States or its Citizens may have caused to the Spanish Government and Vassals, in violation of the law of Nations and of the Treaty existing, since the war which terminated with the Peace of 1801 up to date. The present investigation is not intended to inquire into the nature of the grievances in their political aspect nor to ascertain the degree of connivance or neglect that may be charged to the Government or its Agents in the grievances or injuries caused, but to ascertain their existence; estimate the amount of the damage done;

Finding also that an expedition was on foot for Talcahuana by sea, I have thought it expedient to have been made known to me that I ought to obtain a line from Mr. Guido the representative of the United provinces on the other side of the andes, in conformity with the promise stated in mine of the 9th. April relating to the Canton and the river. No. 5. is a translation of his answer which I subjoin for your perusal. In mark of good faith it is flattering and will be conclusive if the Patriotic Expedition is successful—

method used by the Government of the United States to bring out the injuries done to its Citizens by the Agents of the Government or Vassals of Spain; and to do every thing which H. M. wishes to do also on his part. To that effect the King orders that all The Departments in the Branches of their respective Provinces institute an inquiry (although it be for approximate figures) of the injuries which may have been done to the Spanish Government and Vassals at the hands of the Agents of the United States Government and its Citizens in the period above referred to; and to that effect shall be issued the proper orders to the Authorities under the several Departments that they may be informed of the facts, their effects and circumstances. As we are yet in position to proceed with a formal examination or liquidation but only to make an approximate estimate, it is the will of H. M. that care be taken to avoid for the present any publicity and announcement on the subject which might under other views have some bad effect and that only the respective Authorities and commercial Agents shall supply out of the information they may have or get such data as may be sufficient to form a general opinion which is desired at present. Among the injuries caused by the United States Government and Spanish Vassals by the Agents of the Government and Citizens of America, concerning which there will be occasion to ask for indemnity ought to be classed the acts committed by American citizens the object of which was to carry on hostilities against possessions of H. M. and foment the uprising of those Provinces since the expedition of Friar Don Francisco Miranda from 1806 up to the present date. To these should be included in the estimate of damages done to the Royal Treasury the losses sustained by the attacks on the Floridas and the Internal Provinces in 1810 and the following years by expeditions on and outfitted in Territory of the United States led by Citizens of the States, in whole or in part; the damage done by maritime depredations of the same kind which have contributed to foment the uprising and aid the insurgents in various parts of Spanish America; the outfitting of Privateers and vessels in the United States which have carried on hostilities against our Commerce for any other act originating in the Territory of the United States, or committing Citizens from the time above stated up to the present with the effect of doing injury to the Government and Vassals of Spain. The Authorities to whom Y. E. will be giving that information must not lose sight of the main object of this inquiry which is to get much into the hostility of the acts in question as into the pecuniary effects thereof, so as to say the computation of the damage done. So they must confine themselves to investigating the truth of the acts, their origin on American Territory or cooperation by Agents of the Government or Citizens of the United States. Statute of the law of Nations and the stipulations of the existing Treaty have been observed by them since the time of the War which ended in the Peace of 1801 up to the present amount of damage done by such acts to the Royal Treasury or to the Spanish Vassals and the ease or difficulty of producing proper proof of it all. As it is urgent to get those data in the Ministry in my charge and for the present it is not required to get full accuracy that would be necessary when the time comes for a formal examination and liquidation, H. M. wishes Y. E. to warn the Authorities under the Ministry to endeavor to endeavor to forward as soon as possible the data or reports that they may get on the subject in order that some idea may be formed at once on the injuries that H. M. may claim; without this standing in the way of what they may do by examination and if found necessary rectify or improve in the data or reports that may be obtained on the subject: in the understanding that on this date I also forward to the Minister and Consuls of H. M. in the United States of America to conduct the same inquiry by those employees in so far as they are respectively concerned."

All of which I forward confidentially to Your Excellency by Royal order for the formation, guidance and early delivery of the documents above stated. I am, Sir, guide Y. E. many years.

The army sent by the Vice King to invade this Country was larger than I had stated in my former letter, it consisted of upwards of five thousand men of distinguished regiments during the late struggle in Spain and constituted the whole force for the defense of lower Peru; its destruction has left that Province in a deplorable state—

Lima the Capital contains about 70,000 Inhabitants including all complexions; the Spaniards and Creoles are in equal proportions and together form about one half of the population, the residue is composed of Blacks, Mulattoes and Indians— The Spaniards and Creoles are always at variance, so much so that it requires the whole power of the government aided by that awful Tribunal the Inquisition here in full vigor, to preserve the preponderance of the former— Indeed I doubt whether this would suffice, were it not for the common fear of the Blacks who including those on the sugar estates in the neighborhood of the City are in a ratio of three to one, discontented and anxious to avail themselves of the moment— San Martin has gone to Buenos Ayres to obtain a million of dollars and to press the approach of Belgrano by the way of Upper Peru, while he shall proceed in this direction by sea: if he can give effect to this double movement, without the arrival of unexpected succour at Lima, he will certainly succeed and thus terminate forever the dominion of Spain in this part of the World—

Lima notwithstanding all the restrictions of monopolies &c is a place of great commerce— The consumption of woollens and Cottons in the two Perus and of the finer goods in the large Towns is estimated at fifteen million of dollars— The coarser Kind of Cotton goods is manufactured by the Indians at Casco and other places in the interior but the quality is so inferior to either the english or China Cloths that the Supply will hereafter come from abroad— The articles of export consist principally of Sugar bark and Vicuña Wool the latter as yet in small quantities from a wanton destruction of the animal; the returns therefore are mostly made in the precious metals of which they have an abundance.—Several hundred Mines were open before the late contest with these provinces but at present about one hundred and thirty only are worked with advantages. The frauds practised to avoid the quint render the yielding to the government inconsiderable in comparison with the quantity extracted. It is supposed at Lima that the larger proportion Wholly escapes the Eye of the government and I am convinced the evil exists in the same degree here where the mines are richer and more productive but not so extensively explored— It is impossible to convince them that by reducing the quint to a twentieth the treasury would gain although it is obvious that when the tribute shall be thus reduced there would be no inducement to incur the penalties of detection and the whole would then pass through the mint.

In Peru the state of development is inconceivable, the mind appears to have lost all its energy and with it its character. In Chile it is different

its separation from the rest of the Continent by the impenetrable the one side and the sea on the other, has preserved it in some degree from the severity and jealousies of a destructive government, and the People from the sprightliness and elasticity of Character which fits them for turbulence. The exercise of a little wisdom in adopting a wholesome system of laws to the present state of Society would have the most happy tendency in relieving the mind from the restrictions, penalties, terrors and vexations which offer themselves at every step in the Spanish Code— It is in the practice they are in a great measure exploded but the impression of the checks that rapid improvement which an abundant Soil and a liberal Government would lead one to anticipate.

The message of the President gratifies the rulers here much, the liberality of the magnanimity of the course which he adopts and takes the opportunity to express their approbation— I however have not thought it prudent to quit the ground of commercial advantages to be afforded to the citizens, most certainly not with an intention of obtaining exclusiveness which are disavowed but as a means of preventing hereafter any concession to be granted to the English— At present there is little to apprehend as they appear to understand the crooked policy of Great Britain and will treat the proposed embassy of mediation with great content.

Mr. Robinson has arrived here since my last and I shall endeavour to have effect to his views if he incline to proceed to Lima.

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

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*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile,
Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State,
United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, July

SIR: I shall now endeavour to answer in detail the duties as it respects the distant part of the Globe, which were assigned to me in my letter of instructions from the Department of State of the 22 of January 1817.- I enclose to Mr Secretary Tagle on the 30th November 1817, those here to Mr Secretary Zañartu on the 13th of March last, with a copy of that letter of Instructions—I read the greater part of the letter of the Supreme Director Señor Pueyrredon at Buenos Ayres, to his Excellency the United States, and did the same thing here to Genl. San Martin, the Su-

tor General O'Higgins & his Minister of exterior relations—To shew them that I made those enquiries, in the most friendly & confidential manner, and under the sanction of the President of the United States, he leaving the manner of doing it, to myself—

Indeed as I came to these countries so privately, and had nothing but a letter from the department of State to Shew, which was addressed to myself, informing me that I was named as "Special Agent, for the Spanish Provinces of Buenos Ayres, Chile and Peru"—I naturally supposed that these revolutionary countries would be suspicious of every one—specially when at the time that agency was given me, two of these Provinces were in the hands of the Royalists—

I told those Personages, when I read to them the extracts which I chose to make from my letter of Instructions—that I did not do it as an official act, it was a proceeding perfectly voluntarily with myself—that they had no right, nor, had any one to know or see my confidential instructions—I am happy to say that all those Gentlemen, treated the subject in the most friendly & Polite stile and when I expatiated on the features & character of my instructions, shewing not only the friendly, but the lofty course the United States persued respecting them, they acted towards me in the most delicate manner—

I am convinced that the open candid mode of proceeding which I adopted both at Buenos Ayres & here, influenced by the obvious & necessary address, was the cause of the recognition both there & here, and enabled me to interfere for our citizens and take a part in affairs of which a more cunning Policy might have deprived me—As I found the Government and People much more ignorant of us, than even we were of them. I determined to make the statistical exposition I did, with the double view of giving them correct notions of Us, to suport and enhance the American Character amongst them, as also to invite information from them in the Same Manly and open Course—

At Buenos Ayres though often promised they never furnished me with Minutia & my multiplied vocations & short stay there—enabled me to give you only the general outlines, which I did,—But I hope the Commissioners in the Congress have been more fortuneate in obtaining information from Mr Secretary Tagle—The Secretary here Mr Zañartu as you will see answered me on the 20 of April last,—But not being so full & minute as I could wish, I wrote fully on the same subject to Mr Irisarri the present Minister of State as you will see by my letter to him of the 20th Ultó—He has not yet answered it, & as Judge Bland has requested to be furnished with similar information which will most likely occupy all his time, the Judge being about to sail for home shortly & I shall remain here a few months more, rather than wait any longer, I have thought proper in addition to Mr Zañartu's answer—to take up the same Queres and answer them as well as I can myself—They will at any rate shew the differant opinions on these subjects—

Judge Prevost I am aware has also written on them—& Judge B he arrives safe home—The Great aim of the Government is to get and most correct information, altho' I am convinced that I should be a gainer, if we were all three to club our wits together, in writing on subjects, yet perhaps, as it may not be agreeable to all Parties, to do so take his own mode and give his own Ideas, from which diversity, the Government will be able, I hope, to arrive at the most correct and useful conclusion.

QUERES & ANSWERS

1st to ascertain the Principles and disposition of the People and Government of Chile, towards the United States?—

1st The People in Chile, appear to have a natural & instinctive attachment for the Citizens of the United States—Even the most uninformed seem to be gratefully aware, that we have aided them in their struggle for independence—by sending Armes to them &c. &c.—But I am strongly inclined to think the Present Government neither prefer us nor our Political Principles, to those of Europe—They view almost every citizen of the United States with peculiar jealousy, supposing them to be more or less attached to the party of the Carreras, over which the present rulers have taken a strong partiality. From what I can hear or see, that was in truth the great republican party in the North-American Party here,—the Great Chile Patriot Party—that as we come in for a considerable portion of the personal ill will against the extinguished leaders, even our form of Government becomes by comparison disagreeable and in a manner odious to them,—A Plain Simple Republic is not a favorite with the Major part of military men—whether this is a republic resembling ours, I think almost solely depends on our aiding their Independence in the first instance, by forming Alliances and intercourse with those People they will learn to love us & our forms of Government becoming enlightened, seeing the good effects of Free Government must in no very distant time assimilate with us & become in a very considerable degree, not unlike us, in civil establishment—

2nd Towards the Great Nations of Europe?

The large bulk of the People indeed with very few exceptions are attached to other European Power but the English,—I think the Present rulers are attached to them & their Government.—But the People have no peculiar partiality to them not a half dozen in the whole state, speak their language; no European Power seems to have any influence here—except naturally among the many—the Mother Country—But that grows rapidly weaker every day—

3d Towards the Brazil and the Spanish branches of the Empire there?

I have no reason to believe, that there is any more privity or union existing or affection between them & the Brazilian Portuguese, than

them & the inhabitants of Kamkatska—nor anything peculiar between them & the Spanish branches of the Government there—It may be different with Buenos Ayres & through that medium have an influence—

4th The commercial & other connections with them respectively?—

They have neither commercial nor other connections with the Powers of Europe except so far as they enter these Ports, bring matters of Commerce here and take off specie, copper wheat &c in exchange—Hitherto they have had very little commerce with any European power except England, no doubt they will annually have more; but England & the United States appear to be the great carriers for Chile—They have I am told, Political agents abroad, located more particularly at London than any where else—I know of no accredited Public Agent from any Country here, but myself. The Agency from Buenos Ayres, I look upon as a domestic thing—the same as if one of our states were to send an Agent to another, nobody would think of calling him a foreign functionary or treating him as such—no matter what might be his merits or demerits—At present it is true Judge Bland is here, but he is looked upon as commissioned only to seek information; if I may so express myself, as a *passive*, not active agent—Judge Prevost I think passes in Chile as a Private Gentleman, yet he may be known for ought I know, to the Government & Some few others as a confidential Agent of the United States—

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|---------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| 5—To enquire generally into the State | } | of the several Parties? |
| 6—The Characteristics | | |
| 7—The Proportions, | | |
| 1st as to numbers | | |
| 2nd as to intelligence | | |
| & 3 as to wealth | | |

Perhaps as to Parties here, it would be most correct to say, There are two Great one's. I will call them the Buenosayrean & Chileno,

The first consists of the officers & emigrants from the other side of the Andes, with all the Persons of consequence in Chile, who were opposed to the Carreras & their Party, at the head of which Anticarrera party, stands, I presume Don. Bernardo O Higgins the Supreme Director of this State, and at the head of the whole Buenosayrean Party, of which the Anticarrera, one makes but an ingredient, a component Part,—Tho' not obtrusively obvious, yet felt through every nerve of it, and vital in every fibre, Genl San Martin, directs its powers and gives it life and action.—

This party now rules from Copiapo to the Patriot possessions South of Talca, from the Cumbre of the Andes, the Eastern limit of Chile to the Waters of the Pacific Ocean, its western boundary—yet if not sooner, at least certainly then, when Peru shall be emancipated, the enemy driven from every foot of this soil, and the different Provinces, necessarily retiring within their accustomed & natural limits, must this Trans-Andean interest, diminish and

if not rudely & forcibly obtruded, decline & expire for ever. In addition to the Andes being a great & indistructable Physical impediment, to the amalgamation of the People of Chile with those of the United Provinces of the Rio de La Plata, there is I fear a large portion of early and invincible Jealousy & dislike between them—So that they will have a Government of their own—Then, comes up the Chileno Party—what it will be then, it is impossible for me to say, except from conjecture, and reasoning on it— What it is now, I will in a few words portray—It is every where, yet, by the influence of their friends from Buenos Ayres, and by the efficacy of the Bayonets of the other Party here; it is invisible; and except at extraordinary or very peculiar periods; intangible—It existed in the Carrera's, one is a exile in Brazils the other two were shot on the 8th. day of April 1818. at twilight in the evening in the Public Square of Mendoza It assumed a momentary impulsive form & body under Manuel Rodriguez—he was Murdered about the 15 day of May on the road to Quillota, after being immured, incommunicable in a dungeon—It is gathering around Lieutenant Col. Freyre one of the bravest men alive & the present hope of Chile—But he too will be carried off by the dagger or the bowl, if an extraordinary crisis does not save him— This Party will perish, and must so, whether Patriots or Royalists succeed, unless the United States acknowledge the Independence of Chile and take so decided a part in it—as to make England and the other powers of Europe, come out with their policy; if they pretend to meddle in the South American contest, and say openly whether they are for their being free and Republican, or subjugated to Spain, or ruled by Kings of their own—

The thing is important to the U. States— The same continent, naturally friends & Geographically considered neighbours—Then, if they are to have Monarchical or Imperial Governments—why as to us, they had better, continue under the unreforming, unenterprising Monarchy of Spain, than be erected into young and vigorous Kingdoms,—Better to have the lethargic extremities of the successors of “Philip the Catholic” though, odious in their contact, yet rendered harmless by their torpidity; impinging our borders; Than Kings who not being too gigantic in their dimentions, retain in their Hearts sufficient impulsion to force life & vigor into the remotest Parts of their Governments.

The Great Body of the People are all for a Government like that of the United States,—I dont pretend to say that they understand perfectly what that Government is—But they have heard of its good results—and as they more or less see them, they conclude from Cause to effect, that as the latter is good, that which produces it must be so too; It is often said: those People are not fit for a Government like that of the United States—Who says so? Why the very persons who do not wish them to be fit—I have seen a great many Poltticcal dupes and villains in the United States—Yet a very large

majority, are certainly fit for a pure republican government—To these People would be—They are now fit to commence and make the experiment—Give them the Liberty of the Press—give them religious Toleration, let them have a full intercourse with foreigners, and only disseminate schools throughout the country—and the work of Kings & Tyrants will swiftly be swept from the face of these delightful vales—

It is right to give Buenos Ayres her just praise, she has always been the focus of the opposition to the Royal Spanish Government since the Patriots have drawn the sword—She has fought & bled & Conquered for Chile—It was the indefatigable genius & labour of General San Martin which formed at Mendoza the Army of Chacabuco—It was due to him in an extraordinary degree, that the Armies of the Andes & Chile, on the morning of the 19th of March, last in the vicinity of Talca, consisted of, and displayed, Ten Thousand Troops in every respect of the first class:—and I shall always think his conduct, exertions & name in the greatest degree, caused the reunion after the dissension of Talca, and presented the army which saved Chile on the plains of Maypu—I am further of opinion that the Intercourse of the People of Chili, with the Buenos Ayreans who have come over amongst them, must have tended in many respects to polish and inform them—

Yet admitting that Buenos Ayres and her chiefs have been of the most important benefits to Chile, that will not Justify them in monopolizing all the places of Trust and profit, in the Government, or putting their creatures into them; much less require that this Country should become a kind of province or appendage of Buenos Ayres—They should agree as brothers till the great cause for which they are all fighting is accomplished—Then they should be liberally rewarded, and leave these People to form a republican Government for themselves—If they choose to enter into a confederation, Well & Good. To this crisis it is the Policy of the United States to wish things to arrive—and they would in a very short time, if we took the Part I have advised—It is not necessary to descend into the particulars of the foregoing enquiries; they are necessarily developed sufficiently in this Sketch—

8th To enquire into the amount of the Population?

It is not very easy to arrive at great correctness, on this head. In Mr Secretary Zañartus letter of the 20th. of April—to me on the subject of Statistics, I infer from his being certain that in 20 years the Population of Chile will amount to 4 Millions—he gives that as the duplication of its present numbers—But from the best & most various information I do not think, it can exceed one & a half million In the Constitution of the 5th. of April—which I presented to the Supreme Director in the 23 section, I divide the whole state into 15 districts, and apportion amongst them an aggregate representation of 50 Delegates—taking as my data 20 Thousand as the ratio, and the whole Population, one million—that was my opinion, but it is very

possible I may have underrated them—yet I am certain one million a half is as much as this country contains—

The character of these People may be inferred from the Government they have heretofore lived under, and the rapid improvements they have made since they have been fighting for their Independence—like man, where he has been seen him from 40 odd Degrees North Lattitude to 30° odd South, good or bad, Great or little in the aggregate or Individually, as he has been operated upon by moral & political causes—The mighty effects attributed to climate, either here or elsewhere, as forming human character, have been exaggerated, are visionary and Poetic. It no doubt gives slight shades of character—but the staminal, the moral or National character, the Author of the Universe left to Man to form himself. Education, reason, experience, stamp upon him, whether he is just above the brute, or just below the Angels.

This country has its advantages in climate as well as in other things. But it is capable of supporting quadruple its present Inhabitants under a wise Administration of Government and by the introduction of the arts of domestic Acconomy—which are in a state here at present, extremely rude and uncomfortable. The soil in the vallies is of the most fertile quality, wherever you can introduce water upon it, produces almost everything abundantly and in the most abundant perfection. Taking it altogether it is the most favoured country for improvement, & for the happiness of man who can live within it self, and for none of the necessities of life stands in need of any other—Unlike Peru in this respect, that Vice royalty depends on the import for Bread, dried fruits, dried Beef &c. &c. Indeed so necessarily intimate is the connection between them, that Peru can not exist without the assistance of Chile—As to its limits boundaries extent &c. I will refer to Zañartu's letter—and for a thousand other Particulars Frazier Molin can be consulted—With one caution, tho' to you unnecessary, that the writers on South America, it appears to me, have always exaggerated, and on North deprecated their subject—

9th the extent and organization of the military force?

The Government itself is a complete military one—Everything is done by Soldiers—Even for the execution of a thief or a robber the soldiers are drawn out, formed around the place of execution, a sufficient section of the regiment is drawn out and they fire upon the criminals. The Directorial Palace as it is called, is guarded and thronged with soldiers—Instead of orderlies or porters at the doors, soldiers with Bayonets receive you—The Dictator when he rides or walks out, has always on guard an escort of soldiers—In fine all the cities resemble military barracks and the country more or less covered with soldiery—Before the dispersion at Talca—the army of

In all its branches shedding reputation on its officers in every department of it—

At present I suppose 7,000 remain which will perhaps be as large a regular army as they will ever have, in many years to come, unless the Enemy should make formidable head in this country again—And jeopardize its existence—That is about the number I presume they will be able, to prepare handsomely against Peru—Cavalry appears to be their favorite force—I am inclined to think it is peculiarly the favorite force of Genl. San Martin—He sprang from the Cavalry—The country is susceptible of raising 50,000 irregular troops, say 20,000 pretty well armed with a Sabre often a gun and sometimes Pistoles—Those People are called hasas (pronounced wasas) on the Pampas of Buenos Ayres they are called Gauchos—This also is the efficient force of Artigas on the Banda Oriental. Their rude arms, are a long knife, if they have boots, stuck down on the out side of the calf of the right leg (it must be recollected they are always on horses) which they draw as soon as required if they do not wear boots—the right hand is carried behind on the right side, and in a sheathe of leather, the knife is inserted with the point slanting over to the left buttock, through the waist band of the breeches. To his recado (pronounced recow) is fixed a long hide string—it is coiled up, say it is usually 20 yards long or more—an inch in circumference, with a running noose knot; this they throw at the object they intend to take, ride off, and drag it after them—In this mode they used to ride suddenly & swiftly along the out Posts when the British invaded Buenos Ayres and in a moment envelope & drag off the centames—The agility of those People on horse back and their adroitness with the Lasso (which the aforementioned hide string is called) as related to me by Americans and Europeans, would fill volumes. A man might almost as well have the coil of an Anaconda around his neck as one of these Lassos—They throw three balls also, on the Pampas, with great certainty—They are three stones, generally about two sizes smaller than an Ostridge egg, sewed up in leather and fastened to three leather or hide strings about two yards long—which they whirl over their heads & Throw with great force and certainty either to kill or entangle their object—I have not seen the balls or balsas in Chile—They have also lances from about 6 feet to 8 or ten long—with a sharp Iron point—I have been thus minute in describing these People, because should a Russian Expedition ever be sent here—these Wassas & Gauchos will I suspect be very good matches for the Cossacks—and I have no doubt, in no great length of time, kill as many of them as the great Empire of the Czars, can vomit forth—In addition to the regulars I have mentioned, you see this great Militia from 20 to 50,000 can be counted; and they are daily substituting fire arms, for their rude Implements just described.—In my “Miscellaneous Remarks” No. 2.—you will see an amount of arms imported into this state—which is an important fact in estimating their force—

10th The pecuniary resources of the country?

This is certainly an inauspicious period to calculate the fiscal state. The whole luxuriant Province of Concepcion overrun and in possession of the enemy—besides the whole country in a state of war and convulsion—Still retaining colonial systems of revenue—wholly unequal and imperfect—A very large portion of everything valuable in Town & Country—is still monopolized by the Clergy and the Military—ments—and the whole system of things so completely Military that the financial Developments must be not only very little known but very inadequate to give ideas of the actual capacity of the country. However, I will endeavour to give you the best view I am able. I will give you the entire year from the 13th Feby 1817 to the 13th Feby 1818—this period because on the 12th of Feby the Battle of Chacabuco was fought—free— By the following Table you will see the principle subjects of Revenue & Expenditures— . . .

The foregoing are samples of receipts and expenditures given by the most important sources of revenue and the most important objects of disbursement—

There are a great many objects of revenue I have not enumerated. The whole amount of all kind, was for the period stated \$2,287,747—"The expenses absorb it as fast as it goes into the Treasury—Thus I am informed from Mr Zañartu—He says in his letter to me, They have received since the reoccupation "Sin tocar recursos muy violentes"—which translated "Without reckoning extraordinary contributions" literal translation would have an unpleasant appearance, but I will give you all the receipts from the Battle of Chacabuco to the 1st of May. This is ten days after his letter to me is dated; and the receipts in the interim that time amounted to \$2,658,735,"97½—including "recursos violentes" and all other resources. I make my calculations from the communications of the Treasury, as published to the World. . . .

It is useless for me to comment on this exhibition of things—I have no doubt that in a very few years if they dispossess the royalists from Chile & Peru—the melioration of the country in every respect, will be beyond all credit;—Those persons who were here before the Revolution, and returned since, tell me they never have seen Such rapid alterations for the better—

It appears to me, both morally & Politically ungenerous, to scrutinize Governments too minutely—We see them in the volcano of a civil war fighting for every thing that is dear to man! Straining every nerve and resorting to every mean, to shake off the hated weight, which has for centuries pressed upon the fair and agonized bosom of their Country. That the old and withered Hag of Spanish Policy, had cramped even

But the Genius of liberty when once infused into the members of the State, will expel all those ills, resussitate and restore youth, vigor, & strength, to the body politic, and prove that altho' the "Magnum opus" of Alchymists has remained a Fable in Physics; yet the real effects of Freedom in matters of civil Polity, equal the fondest fictions of those golden dreamers—

I have now Sir, rapidly passed through the Items of my instructions. On the subject of Commerce and some few others—I must refer you to the several numbers of my annexed "Miscellaneous Remarks"—I shall also send with this letter, various cases which I have brought before this and the Government of Buenos Ayres. Also public documents and papers—I shall continue to get more precise information and impart it before I leave this Country.

I hope however the United States will have sufficient information before then, to adopt some positive course of conduct towards these countries—My own opinion is, what sort of Government they have now or who may be at the Head of affairs, is not of much consequence; because things are very unsettled and very frequently changing. They will necessarily become more permanent and descided in their Government and rules—To influece Important Period, I think is the great desideratim of our Policy—The reasons are too obvious to need repeating—If, as I wrote from Buenos Ayres, an acknowledgement of their Independence, and Alliances with them, will not involve us in a war with England, I think the United States for their own Interest both commercially and Politically ought to do so.—Much more ought they be impelled so to do, from a great moral and Political high mindedness—when they consider by so doing, they will not only rescue either from European or South American Slavery so many Millions of their fellow beings—but be the certain means of leading them to the adoption of the best systems of Government, and ensuring to them, and to their posterity, all the enjoyments which Heaven has so bountifully placed within their reach—

With distinguished consideration [etc.].

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*José Miguel de Carrera, Chilean General, to W. G. D. Worthington (Buenos Aires), Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Buenos Aires and Peru*¹

BUENOS AIRES, September 12, 1818.

MOST RESPECTFUL SIR: A motive so powerful as that, which obliges me to take the liberty to speak to you, is sufficient for you, to be pleased to excuse me—

¹ MS. Dispatches from Argentina, I.

States—but I would take the liberty to say it would be particularly pleasing to Col. Poinsett & Commadore Porter two very distinguished citizens—That our citizens esteemed them, because they looked upon them as Patriots—They were so once but how they, now become to be considered otherwise, I had not learnt—I knew none of them personally—and if His Excellency wished to see the General's letter to me I would put it in my Pocket the next time I came to the Fort, I had carelessly left it laying on the Table in my room. He politely declined wishing to see it—and replied that the Carrera's might be patriots for aught he knew but that they seemed to consider Chile as their Patrimony, and rather than see her liberated by any other Persons than themselves would prefer to ruin her—That he should feel a pleasure in gratifying the feelings of those citizens in the United States whom I had mentioned—But that those two Brothers, would be tried in Chile not in Buenos Ayres.—and that with their release or punishment he had nothing to do—I told him I conceived it my duty to make the request, as I had been appealed to in a Solemn manner by the General; I neither could nor should do any thing further on the business, that I knew of; and took my leave,—It must be recollected that at that time I had other business with the Director and chose my moment for making those remarks—It was a delicate subject, particularly for me, as I had been appealed to under the impression, that I was somewhat in the character of a Minister Plenipotentiary—Yet I was determined to bring it forth—and although I could see it was a disagreeable subject with the Director—yet it went off really better than I expected; both as it regarded the Carrera's and myself—The truth is, I was not a Party man,—and they were convinced of it.—

*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, October 22, 1818.

SIR: Nothing of importance has happened here since my letter of the 9th of July last except the reported destruction of the fortifications and evacuation of Talcahuana, by the Royalists which is said to have taken place about the 1st Ultó—as published officially in No. 57 of the Ministerial Gazette—This I do not yet believe—It is admitted that they still have troops in Concepcion & Valdivia and retain possession—But if this news should turn out to be true this last movement would indicate the abandonment of Chile by the vice Roy of Peru, and the concentration of all his forces to defend his own capital unless he should intend establishing a line of communication all along the Coast to Valdivia, and the feasibility of that project would solely depend

¹ MS. Dispatches from Argentina, I.

upon the success or defeat of the Patriot Squadron. A part of w from Valparaiso on the Ninth Instant, as you will see by the 61st of the Ministerial Gazette.

The Supreme Director as well as the people at large expect a g sult from their Infant Navy, and altho' it is not so complete in r good in fact, as it appears on paper, yet I think the dispatch with w been got to sea after the Director arrived at Valparaiso reflects g on him and his officers, since the affair of the Lantaro & Esmer Marine has become a favorite subject with them and they are dai ing it, this brings us some times in collision, as the crews are com good many Americans & English, and the vessels themselves have belonged to those Nations it is in consequence of the sales of our v and discharge of our seamen that I issued my circular of the 15th o 1:—And in the case of the brig Ariel of Baltimore and the Brig Co New York, the extra wages has been deposited with the Vice Con paraiso—which in most of these changes, will enure to the Governn United States as the Seamen seldom reship for the U States—but a foreign service. This must have ocured often in the sales of other places, particularly since the struggle between Spain & th and must have accumulated considerable sums in the hands of th Agents &c which should be accounted for by them to the Governn quired in the Act.—

I make this remark to shew the absolute necessity for the appo the Vice Consuls, which I have made here and that the departme think proper may take some order in the premis—for the maxim i to take care of the cents and the Dollars will take care of themselv sarily the very reverse of the legal one, “de Minimis non Curat L 2 shews my appointment of a Vice Consul at Talcahuana—

No. 3. My Circular respecting the Navigation Act. As I have instruction on this last law I may perhaps be too fast—I have days since returned from a town beyond Coquimbo 150 Leagues fr The Notes which I made on that excursion—I have not yet be attend to— For so long a Journey there and back again being short of a thousand Miles made in less than two months, over mou roads excessively bad—has fatigued me considerably—Suffice there is no part of Chile where the American Character stands so where our countrymen are so much esteemed, as in the province o bo—The people of which are also thought to be the least corrup most Patriotic of any in this State—No. 4 & 5. The 1st & seco my Diary. The 3d part is from Mendoza to Santiago being the the Andes & the 4th & last part from Santiago to Valparaiso not by my Secretary.—I wrote as I rode, therefore could lay but ver tentation either to mistake or omit. I shall be glad to see your

lumbering the Department with these remarks. If I did not believe that the 2nd part with the Manuscript map might be of some use to some future officer of our government who might be sent, perhaps the same route—Altho' I have written few things of value and those few "*raro natartes in Gur-gite vasto*" yet as it is the first thing of the kind which I have seen respecting this Journey, it may afford, where it is deficient in instruction, Some small amusement to those who may take the trouble to read it—It is a kind of unofficial writing, for I really did not intend sending it to the Department. Yet when I considered my situation I doubted whether I had a right to send it any where else, so I commit it to your office "with all its imperfections on its head"—The balance shall be forwarded so soon as it is copied off—

On the 8th. Inst. and not till then did I hear of Mr. Halsey's consular functions at Buenos Ayres being annulled by the President— He enclosed me a copy of your letter to him of the 24. January last— As I presume the papers of the office were to have been handed over to me only in the event of not having proceeded to this place, I therefore did not consider it the wish of the Government, such not being the case, that I should on the receipt of this information endeavour at this inclement season of the year to recross the Cordilleros simply to be a "*locam tenens*" of the official Documents &c—I therefore on the same day that I recieved it, wrote Mr. Halsey, that I presumed his successor had already, or would shortly arrive and that he must in the interim adopt such course as would be best—

The American arrivals become more & more rare, I presume they took the cream of the market—The British flow in, and the country is becoming fast overstocked with their goods—they are so much more weighty in commercial houses, numbers wealth &c. that the American influence and interest, at present is much diminished & borne down by this pressure—Besides it is well known here that the "*Governor Shelby*" a vessel of 2 or 3000 stands of arms from New York has been sold to the Vice King at Lima—and that the Ship two Catherines of Providence R. I. which took in a cargo of wheat here for Rio Janeiro a few months ago in 10 days or thereabouts after leaving Valparaiso put into Lima, where wheat was 16\$ per Fanega—Tho' selling here for \$2 or \$3,—Sold it there and made a handsome profit—I think he took five thousand fanegas & bonded at 3\$ pr Fanega so that he may say all they can ask of him is to pay the \$15,000 forfeiture & that he is a Neutral. Yet the people who hear of it generally look upon it as feeding their half starved enemy and respect it accordingly—Taking all these and other things together, and keeping in mind my opinion of the disposition of this government towards us as expressed in my letter of the 4th of July—It requires no small portion of address & Judgment to maintain a respectable stand amidst those overwhelming difficulties—The policy of my Country is so plain and honest, disinterested as it regards these countries, that I stand

peerless amidst all the intrigues which surround me—It is difficult for others to believe it is of so pure and lofty a character—You cannot make people believe, that altho' you may act with the most perfect neutrality towards them and Spain, such acting is not a lukewarm or inimical proceeding towards them and an amicable one towards Spain. Therefore nothing of being the first to acknowledge their Independence and treat them on equal respects as a sovereign nation will convince them that we think and act towards them as we ought.—Whenever we take this decided stand, I may bid defiance to all machinations, whether emanating from abroad or originate here.

I make these remarks, by no means, obtruding my opinion on the determination of what they ought to do, but to inform them of the true cause. As the American influence is somewhat on the wane here, should that fact be insinuated or reported in the United States—The result is a common natural one for seldom indeed are individuals much less governments actuated by an affection for each other founded on abstract principles alone. Indeed from the late proceedings at Lima if this war continues much longer the Patriots will have as much cause to complain of our Citizens assisting the Royalists as the Royalists had on the contrary—I must confess I have always till now, been proud to think if we did at any time violate our neutrality it was always in favor of the Patriots—But the sale of the *C. Shelby*, &c., plainly shews, that self interest not principle has a great deal to do in the Patriotism of the day—

The expedition against Lima occupies the thoughts of all here—It is to progress slowly on the Patriot side—Genl. San Martin remains at Mendoza—I suspect they are much straightened for want of money. Their Army Infant Navy &c having exhausted their finances—Considering every thing they appear to be getting their military in the best order and order for this great Undertaking—The Vice King is said to be very active and preparing for a vigorous defence and the issue rendered very dubious by the delay since the victory of Maypu and the precautions taken by the Vice King—whether they will go against Lima during the Summer I think depends on the fate of their Squadron now in the Pacific. Which, green as they are, yet I am of opinion, will conquer the Spaniards if they fall in with them—The Commander of the Largest the *San Carlos* 64 Guns (lately the *Cumberland* an English East Indiaman) I am informed, has not seen much fighting service—he is an Englishman he is a Captain; therefore I do not expect much from him, I have seen his Grand Son of Genl Wooster one of our distinguished Revolutionary commanders the *Lautaro* 50 guns, I think he commanded the *Sea Fenix* at New York during our late war with England and was somewhat distinguished as a commander of the Privateer *Teager* &c. He is a regular bred soldier in the prime of life—fitted for the station he now fills and will I think

good account of his enemy—The Chacabuco lately the United States Private armed vessel, “the Avon” a beautiful corvett of 20 Guns—her commander a Native, an active, brave officer but I suspect rusty in sea affairs. I think he was once a midshipman in the Spanish Navy—The Araucano of 18 Guns lately the Elegant brig Columbus of N. York commanded by Capt Morris, I believe an active brave intelegent Irishman—The Pueyrriдон of 16 Guns not yet out, nor will she get out so soon as the Government have said—in No. 61—of the Ministerial Gazette, to the last article of which I take leave to refer you for the Government statement on the sailing of this squadron—which is of course put in the most favorable light. They daily expect two frigates from the U. States, and have some fine fast sailing Privateers in these Seas—The Maypu formerly the Brig Ariel of Baltimore, & the Lancaster witch owned by some Englishmen besides the Congresso, Chileno and some others which I do not just now recollect—

I cannot give so good a detail of the Spanish force divided as it is, to protect their merchantmen from Panama to Guyaquil some at Lima and perhaps some at or near Valdivia and some expected round the Cape—

If then the Patriots get the ascendancy on the Pacific by some splendid blow of their marine they will go immediately against Lima, which will fall, for I am told of late, the Patriot cause begins to infuse itself even into the beclouded minds & effeminate souls of that portion of the royal Spanish Territory—If they are unfortunate—or should return without effecting any thing the Expedition will move on slowly and the contest be considerably protracted—A month or two will decide this—No. 6 Project of a provisional Constitution for Chile of the 10th of August last. It speaks for itself—By a Publication from the Supreme Director it is said to have been adopted in all the Towns &c without one dissenting vote—this fact brought to my recollection the solitary negative of Carnot and made me admire him the more for it—If you make the application the inference & conclusion is inevitable—

No. 7 & 8 Files, sent in continuation of those sent by me with my letter of the 9th of July last, being of the Ministerial Gazette inclusively from No 48 to 64 & the Argus from 7 to 20 inc. with such references & observations written on their respective margins as I deemed proper—There are three other weekly papers here, but I have not complete sets of them, and they all cost me dear—They are of not much consequence other than to shew the progress of the press—They are called the Duende, the Sol, & the Chileno another one the Ingue, just made its appearance and I think has expired—

The British force in the Pacific is the Andromache a Frigate and the Tyne sloop of War—now lying at Valparaiso. The Blossom sloop of War having gone up to Columbia River—They are passing not infrequently between this & Lima. The Andromache returned thence a few weeks past—and in a

Lima and get advantages in it—But a short time ago it was in a criminal to talk of opening the trade with Lima, now, it is agitated, and talked of freely every where in that Capital, I had this fact from an English Commodore, yesterday who very politely offered me a passage to Lima—But Mr Robinson being still there, I suppose, & Junco having lately left there, I know of no good that can result from my going thither at this time, I wish particularly to return that way to the United States but not at the expence of exciting suspicions against me in those places where I have hitherto resided & thereby jeopardize the reputation of singleness & honesty of the political principles of our Public officers, which I have endeavoured to establish. I have no doubt but I should be differently treated by the Vice King—But I should be forced at this interesting time to remain an idler in his vice Royalty—as I could not think or act in concert with him and I trust I have too much honor and sincerity, which I have maintained under his controul and hospitality, to use duplicity or behave ungratefully—handedly—and I presume if the English induce him to open the trade cannot be to them alone, but must be free to us also—However I am leaving my affairs to a close here, and shall return home across the Cordillero the way of Buenos Ayres or across the Isthmus as soon as I can, as the enclosed card which I issued here No 9. will shew.—

As it may happen that the returns and information which I heretofore requested the Vice Consul at Valparaiso to make to the Department may not have been carried, I enclose a copy of them as made to me No 10—

My letters I fear often are lost as they go across the continent to Buenos Ayres—I send those by the Savage from Coquimbo—

With distinguished consideration [etc.].

*Report of Theodorick Bland, Special Commissioner of the United States to South America, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States, on the condition of South America, November 2, 1818*¹

[EXTRACT]

CHILI

On the 15th of April, 1818, I left Buenos Ayres, and on the 26th arrived at Mendoza. The distance, by the way of the post road which I travelled, was estimated at nine hundred miles. After making the necessary preparations

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 291. For the first part of Bland's report which deals with the Río de La Plata region, see Argentina, pt. II, doc. 241, under November 2, 1818, where it is stated that Bland arrived in Buenos Ayres on November 2, 1818.

in Mendoza for crossing the Andes, I set out on the 29th April, and arrived in Santiago de Chili on the 5th May following. On the 7th of May I called on Don Antonio José de Irisarri, and told him I wished to present my respects to the Supreme Director of the state, and to make some communications to him, with which I was charged by the President of the United States. Mr. Irisarri, after seeing the Director, replied that it would be agreeable to him to receive my visit on the next day at ten o'clock, when he would do himself the pleasure of introducing me.

On the next day, accordingly, at the hour appointed, I waited on the Director, and found him in the common hall of audience and business. He received me respectfully, and I congratulated him on the late splendid victory of Maipu, which had freed his country from its foreign foes, secured its independence, and would, I was sure, be attended with the happiest consequences. He expressed his pleasure at my congratulations and good wishes.

I told him I was one of those who had been sent by the President of the United States in a public ship to that country, for the purpose of obtaining correct information of its situation, and of making some communications as to the course pursued by the United States, as well in a general as a particular point of view; that the President and people of the United States felt a lively interest in the fate of that country, whose people were not looked on as insurgents in rebellion, but as waging a civil contest, in which each of the contending parties were entitled to equal rights and respect; that the United States had, and would, observe the most strict and perfect neutrality; and that nothing should be yielded, or any manner conceded to the one, which would not, in like manner, be granted to the other, according to the law of nations. He said he had already been assured of the friendly and neutral disposition of the United States, and that it was expected the independence of Chili would be first recognised by the first independent Government of their own continent. I assured him that the United States wished no advantages of any kind whatever of this infant republic; that he would see, by the late message of the President to Congress, the United States neither wished, nor would ask, any commercial advantages of that country, in any treaty which might hereafter be formed between them; that the interests of my country were altogether and perfectly compatible with the best interests of that; that the United States not only wished that country independent, but also earnestly hoped it might be free; so that each might thus form a security to free institutions, and contribute to the prosperity of the other; and that the late splendid victory having swept from Chili every thing like a foreign foe, I presumed it would now set about forming a constitution and form of government for itself. He said he felt assured of the mutual interests and goodwill which subsisted between our countries, and that he should be glad to see the President's message to Congress; that the state of that country, hither-

time a provisional regulation would be promulgated for its temporary government. He added that, under existing circumstances, it was deemed practicable to form a constitution, and dangerous to convene a congress. He expressed a hope that there could not now be the least apprehension of an alien foe. He said there was not; but that congresses had been found very dangerous; that they brought with them and excited feuds, and dissensions, and party spirit, and intrigue; that that country had once almost been lost by a congress; that Venezuela and other provinces had been lost by a congress; therefore, no representation would be convened there unless the affairs were more suitable. I told him I had been charged by the President to seek and to ask for information concerning that country from the most direct sources and the highest authorities; that the Government of the United States, owing to that country's having been so entirely closed against all foreign intercourse under its late system, was, comparatively, very uninformed to its situation, strength, and resources: I was, therefore, directed to ascertain a statement of its population, its military and naval forces, its revenue, its resources of every description, and its relations with other Powers; that such communications might be made confidentially; or, in whatever way it might be made, I could assure him that the Government of the United States was actuated only by the most frank and friendly motives, by no other than those of regulating its conduct hereafter with a correct knowledge of the state of affairs, and that no use whatever should be made of the information thus communicated, other than to promote the amicable relations and the best interests of both countries; that it was important, as well to that country as to the United States, that any measures hereafter to be taken should be adopted advisedly, and with a perfect knowledge of the state of things. He expressed his assent to what I stated respecting the propriety of acting on the information of circumstances; and added, that he should take pleasure in ordering the communication to be made out as requested. I then told him that I should take the liberty of again troubling him, when he was at leisure, with some other communications, which I was directed to present to his view. He replied that he should feel great pleasure in having an interview with me upon matters relative to our countries, whenever it might be convenient. I took my leave.

On the 9th May I called on the Director, and delivered to him a perfect copy of the President's message of the 2d December last, which he had expressed a wish to see. I said to him that he would perceive by it that the United States were desirous of cultivating the most friendly intercourse with that country. He replied that they felt sensibly the value of our amicable dispositions, and should not be wanting, on their part, in promoting amicable relations on the most liberal terms. I expressed a hope that the information

He replied that it should be made out without delay. I told him there were some other points which I should, at another time, bring into view, but with which I would not then engage his attention. In answer to which, he expressed a readiness to hear me with pleasure when convenient. I asked him if there was any news or any occurrence of importance of late. He said there was nothing but the singular and unlucky affair of their ship, the Lautaro, which, after having vanquished two frigates of the enemy, the Esmeralda and Pezuela, had, in the most unaccountable manner, suffered them to escape. I observed that I had heard it spoken of as an extraordinary event. He said he could only attribute it to the misconduct of the Chilinos on board the Lautaro, who were wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs. I observed that I presumed there were but few sailors among the people of the country. He replied it was true; for, indeed, *there was not a sailor to be found among all the people of Chili*; and he added, that such was their information of the then circumstances of Peru, and the feebleness of the royal forces there, that, if Chili now had but a few ships of war to clear the coast, and to transport its forces to Lima, that city, with the whole province, would at once be relieved from under the colonial yoke; but that the difficulties of procuring a naval armament were very great. I expressed my regret that an achievement so splendid, one so important in its consequences, and on every account so much to be desired by them, should be obstructed by a difficulty so serious and insurmountable, and bade him adieu.

On the 14th May I called again on the Director. I told him that there were some other points which I had been directed by the President to bring into the view of the public authorities of the Patriot Powers I should visit. The first of these related to Amelia island and Galveston, which had lately been taken possession of by the United States. The Director said he had never before heard of these places, and asked for an explanation of their situation and nature. I described to him the geographical position of these two places; and then added, with regard to Amelia island, that the United States had not taken possession of it as being a part of its own territory, but to prevent its being used as a means of violating its municipal regulations, by smuggling merchandise into the United States in fraud of its revenue, and by introducing negro slaves into the States immediately adjoining, contrary to its positive law, and thus increasing a species of population which was considered as an evil, and the addition to which it was determined to prevent by all possible means. That Amelia island had been a rendezvous for a set of pirates and freebooters, who had, for some time past, infested those seas, interrupting and annoying as well the commerce of the United States as the fair traders of other nations; that, for those reasons, the United States had thought proper to take possession of that island, and expel those cruisers who pretended to sail under commissions from the patriot authorities of Mexico, of Venezuela, or such of them as seemed best to answer their purpose; that Amelia island

was taken possession of by the United States under a law, or act of Congress, which authorized the President to occupy Florida, so as to prevent its falling into the hands of any other nation until the claims of the United States against Spain were adjusted; and that it would be held accordingly, subject to explanations to be given to Spain.

With regard to Galveston, the same reasons had induced the United States to take possession of it, so far as regarded the violation of its municipal and commercial regulations; and, in addition to these, the United States claimed, and would continue to hold that position as a portion of its own territory, included, as it contended, within the true and rightful boundary of Louisiana; that, in occupying those two places, and driving off those cruisers who prowled along and infested those seas, in the name of the Patriots of South America, the United States conceived that they were, so far from injuring, rendering an essential service to the patriot cause, by preventing its name and honor from being tarnished and disgraced by a set of sea robbers and freebooters, committing the greatest outrages under its name and flag. The Director said he saw it clearly, and was very glad the United States had adopted so correct and decisive a measure; and, so far from seeing any thing unfriendly, he anticipated from it the happiest consequences to the patriot cause, by thus preventing an odium from being unjustly brought upon its name. I then told him that the Government of the United States had been informed that some of the cruisers, under the real flag of the patriot authorities, had committed considerable violations on our commerce; that, if any such wrongs were to be committed by armed vessels sailing under the Chilino flag, he could not but perceive how inevitably such acts would tend to disturb all harmony between the two countries, and to crush, in the very formation, every friendly relation that might be begun, and desired to be matured between the two nations, since my Government would feel itself bound to protect the rights of its citizens against the insults or injuries of any other people, however deeply it might regret the repulsive measures it was thus driven to adopt; and that the President would wish to be informed if there were any prize courts yet established in the country; and, if any, what regulations had been adopted for the government of the public and private armed vessels of Chili. The Director said that whatever cause of complaint the United States might have against the people of any other of the Patriot Powers, none, he felt satisfied, could be made against Chilinos, or those under the flag of Chili; because, until very lately, there were no shipping or vessels of any kind belonging to it, excepting, indeed, some fishing boats, and that, within a few months past only, some few vessels had been commissioned; that he had heard of complaints of abuses committed under the flag of other Patriot Powers; and, to prevent the like, as far as practicable, from being perpetrated by those of Chili, it had been determined to put on board each an officer, and

chievous propensities of seamen; that, with regard to matters of prize, they were brought before the ordinary and temporary tribunals of the country, until more formal and systematic institutions could be established; and that, for the regulation and government of armed vessels, a set of rules and orders had been adopted, a copy of which should be furnished me, which was accordingly handed me, and accompanies this as document marked A. I expressed much pleasure at hearing that measures would be taken to prevent an injurious and wrongful course of conduct in the only subject which seemed likely at all to disturb the harmony which it was so desirable should be cultivated and improved between the two republics; that the people of the United States not only felt a wish to cherish the amicable relations between the two countries, with an eye to the extension of the channels of commerce with countries which had what they wanted, and were purchasers of that which they had to spare, but they also felt a very lively interest in the patriot cause, arising from moral and political causes. They had once been colonies, and recollected the colonial Government from which they had disengaged themselves by a sharp and trying struggle; and, having since experienced the blessings, and ascertained the prosperity flowing from an independent state, with liberal, political, and civil institutions, they could not but feel a very strong sympathy in favor of the people of South America, who, they were induced to believe, were not only struggling to throw off an odious colonial system, but also to establish for themselves republican institutions substantially similar to those they enjoyed. These were powerful causes for sympathy, and the people of the United States felt them with all their influence.

That, with regard to the present condition of Europe, it seemed to be admitted by all that it was in the most unsettled and unhappy state; that it could not, and would not, long remain pacific; and whenever its peace should again be entirely broken up, then that country must look to its neutral friend, the United States, as its only carrier; that former experience has evinced, under similar circumstances, that, while the contending nations and warring monarchs of Europe, pursuing a policy peculiarly their own, and with which the United States is fortunately not entangled, had closed every channel of commerce against each other, the peaceful republic became the same carrier to them all; so, when a similar state of things shall again arise, as seemed by no means improbable, Chili, being without a single seaman, must see that the only neutral willing and able to conduct its commerce in such an event would be the United States. Indeed, in whatever light the subject was viewed, that country must see that the United States was its natural, permanent, and fast friend, who had no interest incompatible with its most rapid prosperity, its greatest welfare, and most perfect freedom; that, although Chili formed a portion of this vast continent, yet such were the natural barriers which divided it from the rest, passable only at certain seasons of the year, along mere mule paths, it should be regarded, in many respects, as an

island separated from the world, perfectly secure, and capable of defending by its own citizens, unaided, against any foreign force which might attack it. Chili was now truly independent; nor was it by nature tied by any other than those of free and mutual benefit, to any other country; and, therefore, should henceforth regard itself as holding its destiny in its own hands. The people of the United States wish you independent, not connected with you, by treaty, for commercial advantages, (for, as you have seen in the President's message, they stand pledged before the world to ask no special regulations from the new-born nations of our continent,) but to stand upon terms of equality and mutual benefit. They ask justice and no more; and, for the rest, rely on their own skill and enterprise. They are reproached with the epithet *rebel*. The people of the United States sympathize with you when the term, with as little liberality, was cast upon them; and they sympathize with you. They are free; and their freedom has caused them to prosper above all other nations: they wish you, in like manner, to be free. If you have freedom, you too may prosper; and because free institutions are everywhere circulated than any other to preserve the peace of nations; and that they flourish, the greater will be the scope of our commercial and benevolent course with you. It is with these views that I have been directed to seek correct information of you, to the end that the relations between the two countries may be better understood, and, in due season and manner, may be brought into strong and lasting friendship. The Director expressed himself gratified at my view of things; declared that, on his part, nothing was wanting to promote the most perfect amity, and that he did most willingly reciprocate the friendly dispositions of the United States; but, that, in times of revolution, we have seen that it is difficult at once to bring about an important, material change, however desirable and reasonable, without endangering every thing. We have seen that our people are not used to congresses; they are not used to congresses; and, therefore, congresses have often failed in that country. The Mexican Congress lost that country; the Congress of Venezuela had once lost that country; and the Congress of Buenos Ayres had endangered that country, until now of late it had learned to act more cautiously and with greater propriety. I observed that, no doubt, in the early years errors would be committed; but that every thing good must have time to mature, notwithstanding some minor evils might arise; that I hoped the representative system introduced into that country; and that it would not be effected at once upon a large and comprehensive scale, by the election of the leading offices by election the whole system would soon begin to flourish; and, if cherished and sustained by a perfectly free press, I felt that the happiest effects would soon arise, and that the principles of a free government would be as well understood there as in the United States. I said it was his determination to adopt, as soon as practicable, the same system of government, and that he was confident it would be successful.

published, in which all his views and intentions would be disclosed. A copy of this manifesto is annexed, and marked as exhibit B. After these observations, I bade the Director adieu.

On the 21st May, being in company with the Supreme Director, in the course of some trivial conversation with him on the affairs and situation of Chili, he said to me that there always had been a good understanding between the Government of Buenos Ayres and that of Chili since the revolution, but now the tie between them was very intimate and strong; in short, said he, whatever the Government of Buenos Ayres was to ask of this Government, no matter what, it would be done; and, on the other hand, whatever should be asked by Chili of Buenos Ayres would in like manner be granted; so that, in fact, the bonds of union are as strict as they can be, for they are as two bodies animated by one soul. Previous to the late battle of Maipu, said he, we were obliged to manage and get on as well as we could; but now the two Governments are united, never more to be separated; they cannot be separated. You may hear some dissatisfied people talk, and say many things; but the truth is, that Chili and Buenos Ayres can never hereafter be separated. The conversation then turned on other subjects.

On the 25th May, again meeting with the Director, after the usual civilities and some other conversation, I asked him if he had heard of the news or the rumor that was said to have been brought by the last Buenos Ayres mail. He asked what it was. I told him I understood it was of no less importance than that an agent or commissioner had arrived at Buenos Ayres, bringing authority from England and the Allied Powers to mediate between the Patriot authorities and the King of Spain. He said he had not heard any such news, and he did not think it could be true, or even probable. I told him I viewed the matter in a light rather more serious than he seemed to do, and would give him my reasons. I then told him that on my way thither from home I had stopped at Rio Janeiro, and there had heard, through our minister resident there, from the Spanish minister resident at the same place, that Spain had prevailed on England to use her influence with the Allied Powers to prevail on them to undertake a mediation between Spain and her colonies, to induce the colonies to return to their allegiance, on the conditions of granting them free trade and some other privileges, and modifications of the colonial system, the basis and principles of which were formerly proposed, and rejected by the Cortes or revolutionary Government of Spain, prior to the restoration of Ferdinand VII., and which rejected articles of pacification were to be found inserted in a book lately published in England, entitled "An Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America," which book I understood Mr. Irisarri, his secretary, late from England, as well as Mr. Monteagudo, an officer of the Government, and who had also lately been in England, were well acquainted with; and, further, that I had understood England had actually agreed to intercede with the Allied Powers, and it was confidently ex-

pected its intercession would be effectual, and that the Allied Powers at least be induced to give the subject a serious consideration ; but that I did not understand that England, or any other of the monarchs of Europe, had once thought of including the republic of the United States in the contemplated pacification of the Patriot authorities; perhaps, because they saw that the interests of the independent republic of North America were so very unconnected and dissimilar from their own, that to include them would fall within the compass of their schemes, or might materially embarrass their plans. The Director, after a moment's pause, said that he did not think there was any thing in the report that England wanted their commerce; that he did not believe she would take an active part against them ; and that any modification of the colonial system, or return to the allegiance of Spain, by that country, it was utterly out of the question. I replied that although the last report might be groundless, he might rely on it that there was then an actual negotiation on foot to induce the Allied Powers to take sides with Spain against them, and that England had actually moved to open a negotiation. What was the nature and complexion of the negotiation, and what would be its result, time alone would disclose. I made some further observations as to the general policy of the European Powers, and the acknowledged and avowed political principles of hostility to all new and rebellious Governments, which had held them together as allies for some years, when the conversation turned upon other subjects.

On the 7th June, in the course of conversation with the Director, he told me that he had thought, at the time, that there could not be any truth in what I had told him respecting the mediation of the Allied Powers, as reported by England, and that I must have been misinformed; now, however, said he, I am perfectly satisfied of its truth; for Captain Shirriff, of the British frigate *Andromache*, who had just left Santiago, told me he had in his power some information on that subject, with which he was going to Lima; that he should soon return here on the same subject, and bring with him some account of what might be done; and that his Government had, he was sure, induced the Allied Powers to mediate between Spain and her colonies, and that the subject would be taken up in due form. The Director did not seem willing to go further in explanations as to what Captain Shirriff had communicated, but gave me to understand that all attempts at a reconciliation between Spain and that country, upon any other basis than that of the recognition of the entire independence of Chili, would be vain and fruitless.

On the 9th July I received the statistical information which had been promised, and which is hereto annexed, and marked as document C. I then called at the office of the Secretary of State, and, after having some conversation with Mr. Irisarri on the subject of his communication, I took my leave of him. I then called on the Supreme Director for the purpose of taking

iso, where I intended to embark for my country; that I had received the
nised communication, which, although very concise and much condensed,
ld, I hoped, be deemed satisfactory; and that I had also received a copy
e rules and regulations for the government of cruisers. He said that he
ntended to write to the President of the United States, merely to say to
as the chief magistrate of a great nation, that Chili had declared itself
pendent, so that he might be officially apprized of that fact, and also to
se him his late manifesto, a copy of which he had sent me, (and is an-
d,) and that if he could find leisure he should still do so; but that the
e of his crippled arm, (his right arm had been broken by a musket ball in
conflict of Cancharayada,) and the great press of other business of more
ediate urgency, had not left him a moment's leisure or ease. I observed
ould, with pleasure, be the bearer of any despatches he might think
er to send to my Government; and, if he thought proper, I would call on
again. He said he would not ask that, but would endeavor to have his
r prepared before I left town, and send it to me. He then expressed a
e that much good might grow out of my mission, and that it would lead
ne most permanent friendly relations between our two countries. I told
I most cordially reciprocated the hopes he had expressed; that, for my-
and as an individual, I had seen, since my visit to Chili, much that
ld induce the United States to cultivate its friendship; that the interests
ne two countries appeared to me to harmonize as perfectly as any two
ons could possibly do; that they were, in no respect, at variance; that all
best interests of my country were compatible with the most perfect free-
, and the most rapid growth and prosperity of Chili. The Director said
subject had made a similar impression on his mind; still, however, said he,
would have a powerful effect in confirming the independence which Chili
declared, to have it recognised by some of the most respectable independ-
nations, Chili would be willing, indeed does actually expect and intend,
xtend many commercial advantages to that nation which shall first re-
se its independence; and, in doing so, it would be peculiarly gratifying
that favored nation should be the United States, a republic of our own
inent, to which Chilinos are strongly disposed to become attached, and
e upon terms of the most intimate and cordial friendship.
told him that the people of the United States sympathized very strongly
at that country in its struggle for freedom, and had, in various ways, more
icularly in the mission which had been sent to it, shown a very great dis-
tion to sanction the independence, and to cultivate the friendship of
i, but, with regard to any commercial advantages to which he alluded, I
no instructions to speak; indeed, on the contrary, he would perceive that
President, in his late message to Congress, had taken that manly, open,
generous ground from which I did not believe the nation would wish to

them as an inducement to the acknowledging, or as a compensation for sustaining the recognition of the independence of Chili; the republic to which I belong wishes to be informed—to see its way clear—to act with a due degree of circumspection, and it will then treat with a new people contending for their liberties, as it ought, upon terms of the most exact equality and reciprocity, and be prepared to meet all consequences. But, said the Director, we shall certainly make regulations in favor of that nation which shall first recognise our independence; our people will expect it, and it will be done. I observed, that the people of the United States would not fail duly to appreciate whatever municipal regulations, in favor of the commerce of their country might flow from the voluntary goodwill of the Government of Chili, in the event of its independence being recognised, but I felt confident that my Government would not ask to have any advantageous stipulations inserted in any treaty it might enter into with Chili; that the United States sought only for justice and perfect equality, and relied for all advantages on the intelligence, skill, and enterprise of its citizens, to insure to them every benefit they could wish from their good friends the Chilinos. The Director then desired that I would present his highest respect to the President of the United States, and express to him his amicable disposition, as well for himself, personally, as in the name and in behalf of Chili. I wished him much happiness, &c., and bade him adieu.

On the next day, the 10th July, 1818, I left Santiago de Chili. On the day following I arrived in Valparaiso. On the 15th I sailed from thence, in the brig *America*, Captain Daniel Rea, bound, by the way of Cape Horn, for Philadelphia, where I arrived on the 29th October, 1818.

In contemplating the state of things in Chili, one is struck at once with the variety and novelty. A country exhibiting features so bold, and in many respects so entirely singular; where nature has been in some cases so liberal in bestowing her benefits, yet has withheld them in others no less important; whose soil is generous in the nutrition of the cereal gramina to the utmost bounds of what has been anywhere known, yet more than half of its whole extent refuses to sustain a timber tree; a sky seldom overshadowed with a cloud, and rarely swept by a tempest; the surface of the territory bound with chain above chain of rocky mountains, yet frequently trembling with earthquakes, and seldom refreshed by a shower; a people mild, amiable, brave, and uninformed, who but yesterday passively yielded obedience to a monarch known to them only through the medium of his oppressive deputies, yet whose cause they for a time espoused, and whose wrongs, deposition, and vices, agitated and awoke them into their present revolution: a people who have, with a bravery never surpassed, and worthy of the cause in which they have engaged, declared themselves independent and determined to be free;

off their sackcloth and ashes: a country where the old institutions are many of them tumbled into ruins, and there seems to be a wish or a necessity to abandon them all; where society has swung from its ancient moorings, and is loosely or only held together by the first principles of civilization, or an ill-jointed military despotism, well disposed to command, yet trembling at the very name of the people; altogether presenting a scene which cannot be viewed with indifference, to which it is difficult to do justice, and with which the understanding may be readily misguided by the feelings. In such a state of things, to collect, digest, and arrange a clear and distinct view of affairs, of the commerce of Chili, of its strength, military and naval, of its capacities in peace and war, its political institutions now existing, or the nature of those likely to be framed, is by no means an easy task. In a time of revolution every fact and circumstance is apt to be distorted by the passions; generosity hopes too confidently and paints too fair; ambition colors to suit its purpose; and malice and indolence are always boding ill, and often denounce venal feelings as evidence of incurable vice, and proofs of the necessity of continuing the exercise of arbitrary power. Without, however, presuming to indulge in speculation, I shall confine myself to the path of duty, and endeavor to draw together and arrange a plain account of present and existing facts and circumstances relative to a country in many respects so interesting to the United States.

The long and mountainous territory of Chili commences on the Pacific at the mouth of the Rio Salado; thence, ascending that river, and extending away from it toward Paquil by a line in a northeasterly direction, over a portion of the frightful desert of Atacama beyond the twenty-fourth degree of south latitude, until it intersects the great chain of the Andes covered with perpetual snows; thence, turning directly south, and taking for its boundary the summit of the most elevated Cordillera, and continuing along it south, embracing what is sometimes called New Chili, or the land of Magellan, until it reaches the strait of the same name; thence, returning by a coast of more than two thousand miles in extent, indented by numerous bays and harbors, along which are found the mouths of about thirty-five rivers, which, after irrigating some of the most productive valleys on earth, pour the melted snows of the Andes into the Pacific; including also, as a part of the dominion of Chili, along its bold, brown coast, many islands, besides the great one of Chiloe, or those which form the archipelago of Chiloe or the Ancud.

The traveller who should set out from the straits of Chacao, and make the tour of Chili entirely to its northern boundary, the Rio Salado, would form an opinion of the country in many respects materially different from what would be taken up by reading any account of it that has been hitherto published: he would find a land whose advantages and inconveniences are in

terms, yet the excellencies of which have not been so accurately and estimated as they ought to have been. Laying aside, however, what belongs to history and philosophy, and without entering into a scientific discussion of the physical peculiarities of Chili, I shall make some few observations on the qualities of the territory, and its capacities, as evinced by experience, to furnish its quota to the general stock of commerce, and opening in itself the avenue to a more extended scope of mercantile enterprise and profit. Supposing the tourist to commence from the straits of Chiloé, and to view these objects in view, he would naturally have his attention directed to the number of the articles of the first necessity with which the country is clothed or furnished by nature; and he would no less attentively observe its capacity to produce those articles by cultivation as well as what is extracted from it of real or of artificial value; and, these being ascertained, every thing belonging to natural philosophy would be understood relative to Chili necessary for a foreign Government to know in order to regulate its commercial intercourse with it to advantage.

Taking leave of the shore opposite the island of Chiloe, and entering the territory of the Araucanian Indians, a citizen of the United States might imagine himself among the mountain forests of his own country. He would, no doubt, be struck with the great dissimilarity of almost every thing in the vegetable kingdom from those of the northern hemisphere; but without proceeding to inquire and investigate as a mere botanist, he would see a country abundantly clothed with fine timber, excellent in every kind, and extremely well adapted to domestic and to naval architecture, and all other useful purposes; he would find the soil which was thus shaded prodigiously fertile, almost all of it fit for tillage, and well adapted to the cultivation and growth of the various kinds of grain; the climate he would find not materially different from that to be met with in the United States among the mountains at a similar distance from the equator; not so cold in the winter, but no less generally salubrious. This would be the general face of the country until he arrived at the banks of the Biobio. He would find this fine region at present owned and occupied by the warlike Araucos, a peculiar race of American aborigines, who, with sinking fortunes and broken spirits, still have something of their former character and virtue left, but who are declining in numbers and in strength, and among whom the names of Lautaro and Capaulicon are yet remembered but are revered as the last of the Araucos.

Crossing the Biobio he would enter immediately into the bishopric of Concepcion, a country occupied by Spanish population, and similar to that of Arauco, except so far as its present civilized owners have wrought out its features. At the river Maipo, he would find the limits of the

the temporalities of the church had been established by nature herself; that her clothing of rich forests, which have been gradually made thinner, was here entirely thrown off; he would observe, here and there, a solitary tree, but no more of what could be called a timber forest; he would observe some trees and thickets skirting the margins of the rivers, and notice that the valleys and mountain sides were gayly decorated with flowers of the most vivid colors, of various shrubs and plants, and that they were thickly clad with grass and herbage, but that, stripped of all umbrageous covering, nature lay exposed under a calm and cloudless sky, basking in the strong rays of a fervid sun. From the city of Concepcion to Santiago, the capital of the state, he would, with the exception of one or two ridges, pass through one continued village of peasantry; and, pursuing his route still northwardly, until he arrived at the river Aconcagua, he would observe that the soil had nowhere diminished in its general fertility, but that it was yet more destitute of timber and forest trees; and he would remark that, from Santiago, and indeed some distance to the southward of that city, no valley or field could be planted or cultivated in any way which was not so situated as to be regularly irrigated from some river or stream of water.

After crossing the river of Aconcagua, he would perceive that he had left the forests and the timbered regions of Chili far behind; that he had passed the country so astonishingly productive of wheat and barley; and that he had now entered upon the dry and sultry regions of the mines of tin, copper, silver, and gold, where the soil was less productive of vegetable fruits, where nature was in those respects less kind or more neglected than farther to the south. After passing this comparatively unproductive but golden region, whose riches chiefly lie hid beneath its surface, he might be received into the wretched casucha of a vacuna hunter on the banks of the Salado, the northern boundary of the state, and on the confines of the dreary desert of Atacama, where thirst and famine claim an entire dominion, and forbid, under heavy penalties, the encroachment of either vegetable or animal life. He would then have passed over numerous valleys of a rich black and chocolate-colored soil, some in grain, but mostly grass and herbage, of almost incredible fecundity. He would have frequently passed steep *cuestas*, or declivities, and *portezuelas*, or little doors, in the ridges which appear to girt and belt the country in every direction. He might, on casting up his eyes as he crossed a valley, imagine himself in the bottom of an immense natural basin, surrounded on all sides by high mountains, by which the rays of the sun appear to be concentrated to a focus, and poured with the greatest intensity upon the flat, unshaded surface below. Until he had reached the river Maule, he might occasionally at any season have been deluged with rain; but at Santiago, for seven months in the year, the valley is never once refreshed by a single shower; and beyond Copiapo rains are scarcely known.

another; and holding a course generally from south to north, he would occasionally have followed the valleys as they inclined or declined easterly or westerly. He would have scarcely ever lost sight of the principal tower of the Cordillera of the Andes on the right; and now and then, rising on an eminence or looking through a portezuela, in the ridge which lifts its brown side almost perpendicularly above the waves, he would have had a sight of the great Pacific ocean. He would have travelled upwards of one thousand miles, and seen all Chili.

Taking this as the extent of Chili, as it is generally considered when spoken of by its own people, (for they seldom make any account of the lands of Magellan,) the state may be divided, as to its climate, into two regions; the variable and humid region south of the Maule, where the weather is characteristically so, and it rains occasionally throughout the year, as in the United States; and the invariable and dry country to the north of that river, where it does not rain for two-thirds of the year, and in the most northerly province which it rains not at all. And with reference to its natural productions, the country south of the Maule may be called the timber region, from Biobio to the valley of Aconcagua, inclusive, a land flowing with corn, wheat, and oil; and from thence to the northern boundary, the region of valuable minerals and precious metals. These leading characteristic traits and features are intelligibly and visibly stamped upon it by the hand of nature; they are evident at first sight, and at once attract the attention of every stranger. But to this, as to other general rules, there are exceptions; there are some forest trees near Santiago, and they will grow wherever there is a regular supply of moisture. Wheat and vines are cultivated near Copiapo, and gold is said to be found in greatest abundance near the southern extremity of the state. And the Chilinos, when in their boastful mood, say, with no more foundation of truth than at first might be imagined, that they possess a country which is throughout of greater fecundity than any other on the globe, and that they never put their foot upon it without treading on silver and on gold.

The average production of wheat in the grain country south of Aconcagua I believe to be truly estimated at about fifty bushels for one sown. The fertility of the valleys of Chili certainly has every external appearance of fertility; but still I am inclined to believe that much is to be attributed to the peculiarity of the climate of the middle and northern parts of the state. The grain is sown at the commencement of the rainy season, or soon after it begins; after that is over, and as it is required, the field is regularly watered from a neighboring stream: there is not much dew, no rain, and never a winter break or prostrate the stalk of the grain during the period of its growth. Thus furnished with an abundance of moisture at the root, where for wheat

point the hopes of the farmer, urges an uncommonly generous soil to exert all its energies, and gently bring to maturity all its fecundity. As a proof of the uncommon aridity of the atmosphere, near and north of Santiago, it is usually observed that iron retains its polish a long time, and is very slowly affected by rust. But accident drew my attention to what appeared to be a more accurate test of the dryness of the air in Chili. In the humid atmosphere of the neighborhood of Punta San Luis, just above the great pampas, there is found in abundance, growing wild, a small parasitic plant much admired for the beauty and sweetness of its flower, called the *flora del ayre*, from its deriving its subsistence entirely from the air: it has been taken to Buenos Ayres, and there flourishes well. But, on inquiring for this little parasite in Chili, I was told that it had been very often brought over the Andes, but was never known to survive the extreme dryness of the atmosphere of Chili more than one season.

The soil of the valleys of Chili is as productive of barley as of wheat, and apparently for the same reason; but there is not much Indian corn raised, because, as is said, it requires its top as well as its root to be moistened and refreshed, and, therefore, the climate does not everywhere suit its growth as it does small grain. Chili is no less wonderfully fruitful in the production of hemp than in wheat. In all the humid region, and in every part of it where the soil can be regularly irrigated, hemp may be produced in any quantity. The vine also flourishes exceedingly well wherever it can be watered, and is very generally cultivated with great profit. The fruit of the vineyards of Chili is very abundant; but the means used for preparing the product for market are awkward, wasteful, and bad. Their presses and distilleries for making wine and brandy are rudely managed, and the liquor is generally bad; but I have tasted some excellent Chili wine that had been made with care in Penco, near Conception, and by one or two others near Coquimbo. The raisins, when carefully dried, are very fine. Figs grow in great abundance and perfection. The olive tree also grows to a great size, and yields abundant crops of very large fruit. Almost all the olive oil used in Chili is made in the country; it is as well tasted as that of Europe, but not so well clarified. The stocks of cattle are everywhere numerous, particularly from Aconcagua to the southward. Each landholder has a great number of horned cattle: the oxen would be reckoned very fine in the United States. The cattle are of a large size, and generally in a condition for beef, except about two months in the year, when the pasturage north of the Maule fails; that is, after the first rain has destroyed the grass which has been dried on the surface of the earth, and before the next covering springs up. The horses of Chili, whose rising forehead and sprightly countenance bespeak them to be of the Moorish race of Andalusia, are uncommonly active, spirited, and serviceable; they are numerous and cheap. The most common

great numbers, and are certainly the finest I have seen anywhere. The country seems to be in many respects peculiarly adapted to sheep. There are none, or very few, of the merino breed; but of the common kind there are great flocks that are little attended to, and by some owners not shorn of their wool once during the whole year.

In the dry regions, the ridges and lesser mountains, which cannot be watered, seem to be condemned to perpetual pasturage. They are annually clothed with a rich coat of grass, which is slowly ripened and gradually dried into hay, in which state it remains on the ground as good food for the cattle until the first rain in autumn, when it is spoiled or swept off, and then follows a season of scarcity of about two months until this mountain grass springs up again. This is a short interval, and of pleasant weather, compared to our winters; but the cattle feel it severely, as nothing is provided for them. Hides, tallow, horns, and jerked beef, are, at present, cheaper in Chili than in Buenos Ayres; but its mountain pastures can never be expected upon a large scale, to compete in these articles with the great pampas of Buenos Ayres. The husbandry of Chili is in the very rudest and lowest state: there appeared to be no one single operation conducted with skill or with the proper advantages; yet there are few, if any, countries on earth where the labors of the husbandman, shepherd, and herdsman are so generously and liberally rewarded. The riches that Chili even now derives from these articles are considerable, and they might be immense. It is now, and must always be, the granary of all the tropical regions fronting on the Pacific. But Chili has not hitherto been permitted to know its own value, or to exhibit the various sources of its wealth. There are a few flour mills in the country, which manufacture some for exportation. It is not, however, for want of streams and falls of water that more and better mills are not erected. Immediately in the suburbs of Santiago de Chili there are three mills turned by the river Mapocho. They are said to be as good as any in the country, and are what would be called in the Middle States of our Union tub-mills from the structure of the water wheel. The whole machinery of them is extremely simple and rude.

There are so many valuable and productive mines in the province of Conquimbo and the country to the north of Aconcagua, and the people there are so little engaged in agriculture, and so much devoted to the digging after metals, that it is emphatically called the mining country. But, besides the mines beyond Aconcagua, there are mines and lavaderos all over the state, which contribute more or less to the general amount. It is difficult to form a very accurate estimate of the actual annual amount of the precious metals produced from Chili during the past years of colonial peace, owing to the loose, obscure, and mingled state of things under the late system, and which have been still more confused since. If it be true, as has been

there can be little doubt that much the greater part of that amount was obtained from Chili, because, as is acknowledged by all, there never was a period of time when the mines of the high provinces were less productive, owing to the country's having been so long and so much the seat of war; and, indeed, of the reduced amount that has been extracted, the greater part was from the mines of those provinces in the actual possession of the royalists; and, therefore, from thence none could have gone to Buenos Ayres. In corroboration of these reasons, it seems to be the universal impression, acknowledgment, or complaint, in Chili, that great sums of money have been sent over the Andes, during the last year, to Buenos Ayres. Besides that which has made its way abroad over the mountains, there has gone from Chili, direct to foreign nations, in other ways, in payments for its imports by sea, upwards of one million more, which would swell the last year's export of coin or bullion to near three millions—in a year, too, of distraction and civil war. Hence it would appear that the state has, in that time, sent abroad more than twice the amount of precious metals that has been coined at its own mint; and from the present exhausted state of the country, and other circumstances, I am induced to believe it very probable.

But the precious metals of Chili can be considered as among the number of the articles of its commerce only to that amount which is over and above what may be necessary as coin to carry on its own domestic exchanges. After deducting the amount of its necessary circulating medium, the surplus is clearly one of its productions, which it offers to the exchanges of foreign nations. It is true, as Mr. Secretary Irisarri has observed, that the coinage at the mint does not give the amount actually extracted from the mines. The exportation of bullion is prohibited altogether, yet a considerable amount is annually smuggled out of the country; (and this is the contraband to which he alludes;) and it will increase, because of the temptations held out by the high duties on coin. All metal is directed to be carried to the mint, where it pays a *quint*, or one-fifth, duty; and then the coin, if it be exported, is taxed with a duty of nine per cent. more; but if the bullion be smuggled abroad, the *quint* and nine per cent. are saved. That species of bullion called *plata pina*, from the silver having been cast into lumps resembling a pine burr, is worth one-eighth more than the standard coin. This furnishes another inducement to smuggle; and, so soon as it shall be well ascertained that *plata pina* may be passed for the same superior value in China which it bears in Chili, this inducement will be much increased. Before the ports of Chili were opened to foreign commerce, the people had no means of procuring many necessary household utensils, such as plates, dishes, mugs, cups, bowls, forks, &c., other than those made in the country; hence it was not altogether pride and ostentation which caused so general a use of silver utensils of this description; they were necessities, and the cheapest, instead of being the objects of luxury. This is the

consumption alluded to by Mr. Irisarri; and it is articles of this description, chiefly, which, in the mint report annexed to his letter, are designated by the name of *chafalonía*, or botched, old-fashioned ware. The consumption of silver in this way, formerly, to gratify the ostentation and the convenience of the Spanish families, was very considerable; but, since the porcelain from China, the British Liverpool ware, and the English cutlery, have been introduced, the *chafalonía* or old-fashioned articles, disappear very rapidly. Therefore, of the two causes alluded to by Mr. Irisarri, which render the mint estimate an unfaithful guide in ascertaining the actual production of the mines, the one increases and the other diminishes with the opening of the ports and the activity of foreign commerce. Upon the whole, however, it is reasonable to suppose that Chili produced, just before the commencement of the revolution, more than three millions of the precious metals; and as but a small quantity of this could be required to keep up the necessary amount of its circulating medium at home, this article of its commerce may therefore be set down at about three millions annually.

Beside the precious metals, the copper mines of Coquimbo have actually produced, during the last year, ending 1st May, 1818, amidst the difficulties of the times and the dangers of the state, and shipped in foreign vessels, chiefly of the United States, forty-one thousand quintals. The copper mines are principally situated near the coast, and are believed to be the most productive in the world. In addition to the copper, there has also been shipped from Chili a considerable amount of tin. Of these two metals, the annual production may be estimated at about five hundred thousand dollars.

In the valley of Santiago there is a great abundance of a species of thorny shrub, or scrub tree, called *espino*, and which we should, from its appearance, most probably call a dwarf honey locust. It is from this the city is supplied with fuel. This kind of growth is found all the way to the north, but less and not so abundant in Coquimbo as farther south. This is the only fuel at present used in the furnaces for extracting metals; and the mine country has been so nearly stripped of even this scanty supply, that it is dug up by the roots. Fuel has of late become of much more serious consideration, in the process of extracting metals, than it used to be; and if the mines were wrought with greater activity than they are at present, the country of the principal mines would, ere long, be entirely deprived of all fuel. This difficulty has, however, been looked to and considered as it approached. It is said that, in addition to the wood fuel which might be had from the timber country, there is, immediately on the banks of the Biobío, near the city of Concepción, as fine pit coal to be had, and in as great abundance, as in any part of the world.

Besides the territory north of the river Biobío, or all that portion of Chili settled by a civilized population, which is somewhat limited, there is a vast

ing of it in general terms, there are the city and district of Valdivia, the land of Magellan, or New Chili, the island and archipelago of Chiloe, and some other islands of less importance. The district of Valdivia is about thirty miles in length and eighteen in breadth, but thinly populated, and more remarkable and valuable for its timber than any thing else. There are said to be forty-seven islands scattered about in the archipelago of Ancud, or Chiloe, as it is more frequently called; the largest of them is that which has imparted its name to the whole group. It is about one hundred and fifty miles long, and fifty broad. The inhabitants of this and the whole group are a mixed race, the greater proportion native. They are called Chilotes, are much civilized, and have been long under the Spanish Government. The principal articles of commerce furnished from these islands is timber, which is brought to Valparaiso, and the ports north of it, in planks, scantling, &c., chiefly for domestic uses, and pork, a considerable quantity of which is cured into hams, that find a market in the city of Santiago de Chili, and in other more northern parts of the state. This archipelago of Ancud is principally valuable, however, on account of its fishery, and as bidding fair to be the future nursery of Chilino seamen. The two islands of Juan Fernandez, so famous for having been once the habitation of the fabulous Crusoe and real Selkirk, are at present uninhabited, and seem destined by nature to remain so. The largest, called Isla Tierra, from its being nearest the land, was made the prison of the patriots by General Osorio when he resubdued Chili, from which they were relieved, after suffering two years' confinement, when Marco was defeated and taken at the battle of Chacabuco, and the patriots regained their ascendancy. The Government of Chili has always claimed the land of Magellan, but has as yet had no civilized population within it, nor exercised any other jurisdiction or influence over it than over the other neighboring tribes of savages.

There are few or none of the valleys of Chili from which there is a gentle communication into those adjoining. A high ridge or a mountain surrounds them all; and a cuesta, or a portezuela, more or less rugged and precipitous, and passable only for mules, is, in almost all cases, the only means by which the society of one valley carries on its intercourse with that of its vicinity. In some happier times, the industry of the inhabitants and the energies of the people may be directed by more liberal and enlarged views, when the present difficulties and restraints upon internal communication from valley to valley may be rendered so easy as more intimately to combine and develop the best feelings and greatest interest of the country. At present there are not more than three carriage roads in all Chili: one, which has been made at a considerable expense over three or four very elevated ridges, from Santiago, the capital, a distance of nearly one hundred miles, to Valparaiso, the principal seaport on the Pacific. There is another road, passable for carriages, between the same cities, but of much less utility, and a third, from Valparaiso to

about, but, in some respects, a better road. This was the original route of communication between the capital and its port. From the city of Santiago to the city of Concepcion there are only two ridges to prevent the passage of carriages the whole way, a distance of four hundred and thirty-five miles. Except these, there is not another road on which a wheeled carriage can be travelled with safety out of the particular valley to which it belongs. The very clumsy ox-carts, which effect a great portion of the transportation between Santiago and Valparaiso, are a week or more in performing the journey. They carry from one ton to a ton and a half, and charge for it twenty-five dollars per load. Except these carts, all transportation beyond the valley is made on mules. The fare per mule load, which is four hundred pounds weight, from Santiago to Valparaiso, is one dollar and a half, and so in proportion in any other direction. This inconvenience and expense of inland transportation was much enhanced to the mine country under the colonial system, which exacted a duty on wheat and flour shipped coastwise from one province to another. Coquimbo drew from its southern neighbors a great portion of its bread, and was, therefore, under the necessity of getting its wheat from Aconcagua on mules, or of paying this duty on it by sea. This colonial regulation has, however, been abolished by an edict of the present Director, passed on the 29th May, 1818.

The numerous ridges by which the surface of Chili is broken present difficulties in the way of internal communication, but such as are nowhere insurmountable. The loose composition of those ridges is such that roads may be shaped along their sides with comparatively little labor; and, when made, such is the temperate regularity of the seasons, that, with few repairs, they may be preserved for ages. But the wide desert and the lofty Cordillera, by which Chili is enclosed and separated from the rest of the continent, present a barrier formed of a lifeless waste, or a range of mountains lifted in such rugged masses, and reared so far into the region of snows, that it is only practicable for mules by some few narrow passes, and during particular seasons of the year. The desert of Atacama may be said to commence in Chili, almost immediately after crossing the river Juncal, or Dry river, as it is sometimes called; thence to the river Salado, the northern boundary of the state, is a distance of fifty miles; thence to the town of Atacama, in the viceroyalty of Peru, is a distance of nearly three hundred miles, by the way of the coast, and the road passes wholly over a dry, sandy plain, where the traveller meets no living thing either of the vegetable or animal kingdom; and, losing sight of every other guide, his way is often only to be directed by the bleached bones of mules which have perished in attempting to force a passage over that terrible waste. Instead of passing this dreary region, it is generally thought safer and better to climb the steep crags of the mountains, and take the road leading over the Andes, along their giddy precipices and narrow passes. Travellers and postriders sometimes cross the desert of Atacama, and sometimes

and more level road, but few or no traders or carriers ever venture to pass that way; nor, it is presumed, would any military leader lightly be induced to encounter its difficulties for the purpose of carrying hostilities along that route into Chili. The desert of Atacama may, therefore, be considered as a great natural barrier, by which it is closed on that side against both commercial and hostile visitors.

The great elevated boundary of Chili, the principal Cordillera of the Andes, is passable only for mules from any part of the civilized settlements on one side to those of the other. The pass most frequented is that of Putaendo or Uspallata, leading from San Felipe to Mendoza, and is the one by which all travellers from Buenos Ayres to Santiago de Chili cross the Andes. On going out of Chili, after passing the village of Villa Nueva, on the river Aconcagua, about six miles above the city of San Felipe el Real, you ascend the valley of Putaendo, and begin almost immediately to climb the mountain; from Villa Nueva to the guardia or outpost of Chili, is a distance of thirty-eight miles; and thence it is thirty-two miles to the cumbre, or extreme ridge. The path winds along near the margin of the river Aconcagua, rising from elevation to elevation, by a zig-zag path, up rough ascents, that seem to be almost perpendicular; or passes along frightful precipices, from whose dizzy height the stream is seen below foaming and tumbling through rocks abrupt and sounding far, until at length, arriving at the source of the river which gushes from the foot of the highest ridge, by another laborious march you reach the bleak cumbre itself; whence, below, on the west, are seen the fountain waters of the river Aconcagua, that, with headlong speed, are hastening to the Pacific; and on the east, at the foot of a long steep slope of naked clay, is seen one of the head branches of the Tanuyan, which, with a rapid current, but not with such impatient haste, is bearing off its waters to swell the great collection, made from among these snow-capped elevations, that is poured into the Rio Colorado, which glides over the great pampas into the South Atlantic ocean. From the cumbre to Uspallata, a distance of seventy miles, the path is extremely rugged, but not so precipitous as that on the western side. A large branch of the Rio Tunuyan is poured through the valley of Uspallata, which forms some level, the grass and shrubbery of which afford a little picking for the mules. On this stream the guardia or outpost of Buenos Ayres is planted. From Uspallata to Villavicencio is sixty miles; and, with the exception of two or three steep, narrow passes, the mule path is comparatively good. From the last eminence the boundless plain, stretching along the eastern foot of the Andes, presents itself like the ocean seen from a lofty promontory's top. Making an estimate of the width of the Andes along this mule path, as it mounts and descends the ridges, or winds around about them, from Villa Nueva, in Chili, to Villavicencio, in the province of Mendoza, the whole will be found to be about two hundred miles. The whole

dred miles, and common carriers usually perform the journey in seven or eight days.

The chief difficulty in passing the Cordilleras, by the way of Putaendo, seemed to arise from the want of food for the mules; the little they could gather from the shrubbery and herbage at night, when unladen and turned loose among the crags of the mountains, was scarcely sufficient to keep the creatures from famishing; yet the carriers never think of taking along any food to sustain them by the way. On each side of the cumbre there are four or five casuchas, or huts, built entirely of brick, and covered by an arch; they are about twelve feet square within, and the floor is elevated about eight feet from the ground. These casuchas are placed at short and convenient distances one from another, and are intended as places of refuge for those who may happen to be caught in a *temporal*, or one of the terrible snow storms of the Andes, like the similar buildings of the natives along the same path, of which there are the ruins of one or two remaining.

There is another pass over the Andes to the north of this, leading from the city of San Felipe el Real, in Chili, to San Juan, called the Patos. The distance through the mountains is greater, and the path much more rugged than that of Putaendo. It was through these two passes, of the Putaendo and Patos, that San Martin conducted the army which fought the battle of Chacabuco, took or destroyed all the royal army, captured Marco, its commander, and restored Chili to the patriot power. Farther to the north, the mountains are wider, and the passes leading from Copiapo, in Chili, in the direction toward Rioja, Tucuman, and Salta, are much longer than that of Putaendo, and as rugged. There is a pass to the southward of Santiago which follows the Rio Maipu to its source, and thence crosses over to the branch of the Rio Mendoza, which is said to be much easier than that of Putaendo; and, still farther to the south, the Andes are said to subside into such gentle slopes, that a good carriage road might be had the whole way from Chili to Mendoza; but the country is entirely in possession of the savages, who have hitherto refused to suffer their territory to be made a thoroughfare, or there is so little traffic and commercial intercourse leading in a southerly direction, that those passes have been as yet only explored, and are very little used.

The pass of Putaendo, the Patos, and most of the others, are utterly impracticable, even for mules, in the winter season, that is, from the middle of May until the 1st of October; but during that time they are continually passed on foot. Peons, or laborers of the country, are hired to carry the baggage of the traveller, made up in diminished packages, over the frozen and snowy region, which is about four or five days' journey in that manner. A Swedish officer, who was travelling for his own amusement, or the information

did not think it so bad as many of the mountains of Sweden in the winter season; but that the people, being little accustomed to such passes, as there were few in the country, were ill provided, and very awkward in encountering their difficulties.

It is by the pass of Putaendo principally, and those to the north of it, that all inland trade between Chili and the provinces east of the Andes has hitherto been conducted.

During the colonial system this traffic was considerable, and for some time after the battle of Chacabuco they were almost the only routes of the foreign commerce of Chili. The manufactures of Europe, of England particularly, made their way into Chili by these paths. The matte, or yerba of Paraguay, so necessary a luxury to Chilinos, will, perhaps, long continue to be imported by these ways; and if the experiments now making should prove that tobacco cannot be raised in Chili in as great perfection as is expected, that is another article of which there will, perhaps, continue to be considerable importations over the Andes from Paraguay, Tucuman, and Salta. The citizens of Buenos Ayres have been declared to be naturalized citizens of Chili. Hence they import and export, in this way, almost all articles free of duty. Matte, when brought in by this route, is free of duty; when imported by sea, it pays four dollars per quintal. Tobacco is imported in the same way on similar terms. Specie, when exported from Chili by sea, pays nine per cent. duty; when sent over the Andes, it pays nothing; and if exported from Buenos Ayres, it pays six per cent. From Santiago to Buenos Ayres the exchange is two per cent.; so that to remit specie from Santiago by the way of Buenos Ayres, there would be a saving of one per cent., supposing all duties and charges paid, and all other expenses equal. This intercourse along the mule paths of the Andes, so beneficial to Buenos Ayres, and disadvantageous to Chili, may subsist so long as their ruling chiefs shall find it convenient to do what either may ask of the other, right or wrong, or to act as two bodies animated by one soul; but it is obvious it cannot continue long under any circumstances which shall leave the Pacific ocean open to foreign intercourse, and the real interests of Chili to their fair and natural operation.

Mr. Irisarri has thought proper, in his communication, to confine himself to a mere list of the several cities, ports, and towns of Chili, without saying any thing as to their population, commerce, or other circumstances, which might be interesting to a foreign and friendly Government. I will endeavor to supply this omission as far as in my power. The city of Santiago, situated near the western foot of the Andes, and about a hundred miles from the seacoast, is the principal city of Chili; it contains a population of about forty thousand souls; it is the seat of Government, and, also, singular as it may seem, the seat of the custom-house, into which all foreign merchandise must

The cities of Coquimbo and Concepcion are not much inferior in size to Santiago, and, from the greater communication with foreigners, and the better means of information, the inhabitants are said to be, generally, more intelligent than those of Santiago. All the other towns of the state are similar in general character, differing only in size; as to which, however, must be recollected, that the distinction between city and town is not always made with reference to the importance and population of the place, but more commonly in allusion to the organization of its corporation. Rancagua is a small town; but the patriot forces under the present Director, having formerly made a bold stand there against the royalists, he has thought proper to issue an edict investing it with the name, honors, and privileges of a city. So, too, the little village of Casablanca, situated in the midst of a fine valley, held chiefly by mayorazgos, and, therefore, not cultivated fully as it might be, was too distant and inconveniently situated to be held under the jurisdiction of Quillota, and, therefore, the present Director, by his edict, gave it the separate magistracy of a town. The inland towns of Chili are, perhaps, not worthy of attention in any other respect than as being the seats of manufactures, or of so much intelligent population, and consequently, political power and commercial capacity and wants. But the seaports are the doors by which we shall communicate with Chili, and are, therefore, more particularly interesting.

The northern seaport of Chili is Copiapo. It is situated immediately at the mouth of the river of the same name. The harbor affords good anchorage, is easy of access for vessels of any size, and is safe from the northern and southerly winds. The country round Copiapo is the least productive of any in Chili; indeed, it may, in some respects, be considered as barren. It is visited chiefly for the metals which are extracted from the adjacent country. Coquimbo is farther to the south; it is seated a short distance above its harbor, which is a fine, capacious bay, easy of access; and when vessels are anchored in from six to ten fathoms, near the Tortugas rocks, they are not only protected from all winds, but likewise from the uneasy swell and roll of the sea. This is the chief port of the mine country; the richest of the copper mines are near it, and husbandry is in as good a state just about this city as in any part of Chili. Refreshments may be readily had there. Guasco or Huasco, is a port about fifty miles south of Coquimbo, with good anchorage, and capable of receiving large ships, having from eighteen to twenty fathoms near the land. The small town of Guasco is about six miles to the southward of the river of the same name. The next port south of Guasco is one which, on several accounts, is most interesting to citizens of the United States, as well for the honor which was there sustained by their fathers as for its conveniences of trade, is that of Valparaiso. A high brown promontory

easy, and safe; and ships of any size, or in any number, may ride at good anchorage in perfect safety against all winds but those coming directly from the north, when, if it blow a gale, the harbor is unsafe, and vessels must go to sea or be driven on shore. But such gales seldom happen. The trade-winds of the coast of Chili setting almost invariably from south to north throughout the year, there is a considerable swell usually setting in from the ocean, which might be very easily checked by piers from the projecting points of the harbor. Such a useful erection was once begun by an enterprising individual, but was stopped by the colonial Government, lest it might favor smuggling. Valparaíso contains about ten thousand inhabitants, in a town principally strewn round the beach, and in the gullies of the promontory by which the harbor is formed. In the suburb called the Almendral, or Almond Orchard, situated a little to the east of the usual landing place, there are a few small quintas; except which, there are no gardens or any cultivation near the town. Its supplies are almost altogether brought from the fertile and plentiful valley of Quillota, about thirty-six miles to the south, along a road over the ridges which project into the Pacific. But the provisions derived from thence are so cheap, that, according to an account which an American captain showed me he had made out to render to his owners, his crew of eleven men, including himself, were abundantly supplied with bread, meat, and fresh provisions of every kind, for more than six months, for three hundred and fifty-six dollars. Valparaíso is the principal port of importation into the country at present held by the patriots. It was fortified, under the colonial Government, against a maritime attack, and some new works were thrown up during the last year for a similar purpose, but they are not yet finished.

Talcahuana is the port and harbor of the city of Concepcion, on the north side of the river Biobio. It is one of the most capacious and finest bays on the coast of the Pacific ocean; quite easy of access for ships of any size; and, when in, there is good anchorage and safety against all weather. It is about six miles from the city, which stands immediately on the river Biobio. This harbor has never been fortified against a marine force; and it seems to be questionable whether it can be perfectly secured from an attack in that way. It is at present the rendezvous of the royal marine force acting against Chili. Six or eight miles to the south of the Biobio is the bay and harbor of St. Vincente, which is also secure against all winds. But this good harbor is too little noticed and valued, owing to its having so fine a bay and harbor as Talcaguana in its immediate neighborhood. The port and harbor of Valdivia is fine, capacious, and safe. It is much celebrated in the history of Chili for having excited the cupidity of the predatory Dutch and English prowlers. But there is no extent of territory and civilized population round Valdivia, to give value to any intercourse with it at present; it is, therefore,

importance at this time. If I am not mistaken, the port of Arauco, spoken of by Mr. Irisarri, is that formerly held by the Spanish colonial authorities on the river Larampangue, whose mouth is opposite the island of Sta. Maria, and to the south of the Biobio; if so, it is now entirely within the acknowledged territory of the Araucanian Indians. Nor have I been able to learn where the port of El Gobernador, of which he speaks, is situated, unless it be at the mouth of the river Tucapel Viejo, where Governor Valdivia was killed by the Indians, which is between the islands of Mocha and Santa Maria. Besides Valdivia, there are the harbors of Imperiale, at the mouth of the river Cuetan, the Estero Maulin, Calbuco, and others within the Araucanian territory, which will be more known, used, and valued, when the progress of the civilized population of Chili shall either expel or incorporate the Indians of that country. Of the various rivers of Chili, there are none which are navigable except for small vessels, and a short distance into the country.

Mr. Irisarri, in his communication, sets down the population of the state according to a census made a few years since, during the first period of the Patriot Government, at one million two hundred thousand, and makes an allusion to some supposed inaccuracies, the nature of which he has not explained. I am induced, however, to believe that the census was substantially correct, from the general understanding and belief in the country, from the number of towns, and the apparent numbers inhabiting the several valleys; and, also, because Chili not being at that time at all connected with any other province, there could be no motive for underrating its population, or of misrepresenting its strength in any way, or for any purpose whatever. All the civilized or Spanish population, except the small parcels of Valdivia and the islands, is situated altogether north of the river Biobio; and if, from this portion of Chili, is deducted all that dry unproductive district to the north of the river Juncal, which, except a few vacuna hunters, has not an inhabitant upon it, then it will appear that nearly the whole of this population of one million two hundred thousand is seated on perhaps less than two-thirds of that extent of territory which is generally understood to be comprehended under the name of Chili. The entire length of the state, from the straits of Chacao to the river Salado, may be estimated at about nine hundred miles; and from the brow of the Andes to the shore of the Pacific, it cannot be fairly estimated at more than one hundred and forty miles in width, on an average. This, then, would give an extent of one hundred and twenty-six thousand square miles altogether; only about eighty of which are occupied by the civilized Chilinos of European or mixed descent. On comparing this country with some portions of our own, it will be found to contain nearly as many inhabitants to the square mile. The States of Maryland and Virginia, including the District of Columbia, together, contain one million four thousand nine hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, and are estimated to contain one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, or about one hundred and twenty square miles to the million of inhabitants. Chili, on the other hand, contains one million two hundred thousand inhabitants, and is estimated to contain one hundred and twenty-six thousand square miles, or about one hundred and twenty square miles to the million of inhabitants.

of their population, according to the last census, was one million three hundred and seventy-nine thousand one hundred and ninety souls. If we recollect the mountainous surface of Chili, and that there are few or no inhabitants on the mountain sides, it will appear evident that its population is very much condensed in its several valleys. Of the whole of this civilized population there is, at present, no more than about two-thirds of it, or eight hundred thousand, at this time, actually under the government of the Patriot authorities. The royalists have possession of Penco, with a considerable extent round the city of Conception, which is well fortified on the land side, and is their stronghold; they have Valdivia and the archipelago of Chiloe also, whence they have drawn a few recruits for their army, and some other resources.

Immediately after it had been determined that a partial independence, at least, should be carried into effect, the patriot or ruling authorities of Chili, in the year 1811, passed a law entitled "An act for opening and encouraging commerce and navigation." This law declared the ports open to all friendly and neutral nations, and specified Talcahuana, Valparaiso, and Coquimbo as the greater or proper ports of entry for all foreign merchandise; and went on to regulate the commerce and navigation of Chili in various particulars, and prescribed a tariff of duties. This legislative act, with some few alterations, contains the tariff and regulations by which foreign commerce is at present governed. I procured the manuscript copy which accompanies this, marked as exhibit F, by which you may ascertain specifically and in detail what are the existing commercial regulations in all material points therein specified. But as there are some matters which would not appear, or be readily understood, merely from reading it, I shall, therefore give an explanation of the duties, charges, and embarrassments to which our trade with Chili is at this time actually subjected.

The duty called *almoxarifazgo* is one which has been levied and collected in Spanish America ever since its settlement. It is levied on every thing imported into or exported out of the country, but is more generally and properly the name given to import duties. It has, from time to time, been raised and lowered, and varied with the various articles on which it has been laid; but the *almoxarifazgo* duty of Chili, at this time, is twenty-two per cent. on all imports. The *alcavala* is an excise paid on all articles sold. This is also a very ancient Spanish form of taxation, and is an excise, the origin of which, in America, is coeval with its settlement. All foreign merchandise imported is subjected to this *alcavala*, and, at present, its amount is ten per cent. When a vessel arrives at her destined port in Chili, her cargo must be landed and placed in the warehouse of the Government, until the amount of duties is adjusted and paid, or secured. To prevent smuggling, and also that the importer may not be imposed on, the Govern-

it may be paid for this trouble, it imposes another duty, called subvencion or help, for this its assistance given to the importer, of one and a half per cent. The custom-house officers, and other agents of the Government employed in collecting the customs, are allowed no fees, to insure their integrity and vigilance; however, in order to raise a fund to pay them a salary, there is an additional half per cent. duty imposed for that purpose, called the *impuesta de averia por el estado*. The court of justice called the *consulado* is a tribunal that was erected for the use of merchants particularly. None of the members or officers of this court are allowed by law to receive any fees: but, as they labored for merchants, it seemed fair that commerce should be taxed to raise for them a reasonable compensation; therefore, there is another tax of one-half per cent. laid and collected for this purpose, called the *impuesta de averia por el consulado*.

These several ad valorem duties are laid on according to a valuation of the goods at the market price in Santiago, when they arrive there; the sum total of them makes what is called the regular legal amount of single duties on all imports; that is, thirty-four and one-half per cent. When double duties are imposed, which is the case on liquors, ironmongery, claret in casks, Windsor chairs, ladies' silk and morocco shoes of French fabric, and some other articles, all these duties are doubled, except the subvencion, by which the sum total of duty on such articles is raised to fifty-seven and one-half per cent. But tobacco, snuff, arms, and ammunition are to be sold only to the Government, unless by special permission. This rule, however, has been much relaxed of late.

Such is the law; now for the practice. The custom-house is in the city of Santiago, a distance from Valparaiso, the nearest seaport, of ninety or one hundred miles. The mere underlings and the guard only are situated at the ports; consequently all authoritative communications, permits, and the like, can only be had from Santiago, where the whole cargo must be sent and deposited, before any of its packages can be opened or exposed to sale, with the exception of some few heavy articles, such as iron, &c. Notwithstanding what is paid for subvencion for the state, and for the consulate, the importer finds himself under the necessity of hiring assistants, of feeing the officers and the consulate, or, in fact, bribing them, or his business stands still. I shall give the example of an American ship, the cargo of which was valued at \$197,000; but, as regards the following fees and charges, they do not materially vary with the value of the cargo; they are paid in the lump, and must be incurred to have the cargo, great or small, placed in the stores for sale. The first charge is for inspectors, porters, boatmen, storage, &c., \$155; that is for subvencion, which the Government, by that phrase, had intimated was not to be paid by the individual. The next is for despatching mules, carts, and permits for the goods, \$200. Another is for transporting the goods to the custom house in Santiago, and the next is for the duties on the goods.

for sale, \$814; these two last items of expense are incurred merely from the custom house being planted at the foot of the Andes, instead of being near the wharf; for some of these very goods were sent back and exposed to sale in Valparaiso. And, finally, the expense of petitions and expresses, \$26; fees to the officers of the consulado, to whose use a per centage had been paid for rendering their services to the merchant gratis. These charges amount to \$1,195, and are no more than what is usual, in addition to the delay, vexation, and trouble of the merchant.

The export duties are similar in their nature. On tin there is paid a *derechos de salido*, or an export duty of three per cent., and the *subvencion*, the *averia por el estado*, and the *averia por el consulado*; making a sum total of five and a half per cent. on the standing Government valuation of ten dollars per quintal. On copper, the sum total of duty is thus divided: the *derechos de salido* three per cent., *alcavala* six per cent., *subvencion*, *averia por el estado*, *averia por el consulado*, and two rials per quintal. These are all paid into the *aduana* or custom-house. The *ventado*, or inspection, five per cent.; and one rial per quintal to be paid into the treasury, or *caxas del estado*. These *ad valorem* duties are levied on the market price of the copper, and amount to sixteen per cent. and three rials, or thirty-seven and a half cents per quintal besides. On wheat, hides, tallow, &c., the growth of the country, exported in foreign bottoms, (and there are as yet but one or two others,) the duties are as follows: *almoxarifazgo*, one and a half per cent., *alcavala* four per cent., *subvencion* three-fourths per cent., *averia por el estado* one-quarter per cent., usually making the estimate of duty on the most reduced market prices; on which articles the total amount of export duty is thus made up to seven per cent. The law allows the merchant to bond for the payment of the duties in three months, which indulgence the Government frequently extends to six, and even nine months. The exportation of gold and silver bullion is absolutely prohibited; and coin, on being exported by sea, is subjected to a duty of nine per cent.

In reply to my inquiry, what was the amount of the revenue of Chili, the sources whence it was derived, and the objects on which it was expended, Mr. Irisarri has thought proper merely to furnish a copy of some of the treasury accounts of the last year. This might, perhaps, be deemed the most concise, accurate, and perspicuous mode of answering a citizen of Spanish America, but not a foreigner. Therefore, as these accounts may in the United States be considered as obscure, I shall take a review of them, and make such observations as appear to be necessary in order clearly to understand their nature, and what are the sources of the revenue of the state, and the objects on which it is expended.

The papers annexed to Mr. Irisarri's communication, marked as Nos. 4 and 5, are two treasury accounts of receipts and expenditures of revenue. The first of these is a statement of the receipts of the treasury for the year 1817, and the second is a statement of the expenditures of the treasury for the same year.

to the present revenue of Chili. I shall therefore notice each of its several items. The whole receipts of the treasury, according to this account, are comprehended under nineteen distinct items. The first is the amount of the common internal revenue; the fourth is the duty on tobacco. The eleventh, twelfth, and fifteenth are duties on flour, liquor, quicksilver, gunpowder, stamped paper, hides, and other articles, all of which are principally collected in the shape of an alcavala. The second and fourth, derived from mining and coining, have been already explained. The third is the amount of the customs or duties, or the exports and imports of the country, laid and collected, as has also been explained. The sixth is the proceeds of pap bulls and indulgences, or dispensations from crimes, sins, and observances of the church: they are of two classes; bulls for the living, and bulls for the dead: by the first may be obtained absolution from crime, from sin, or from a party be indulged in eating eggs and milk, or even flesh meat, during fast days and lent. This is a greater relief than might at first be imagined. Near the bay of San Antonio I was shown a species of sea-weed of which the faithful peasant made a porridge when neither the bull nor fish could be had. The bull for the dead is purchased by the relations of the deceased on his behalf, and is a means whereby the pains of purgatory may be lessened and shortened. These bulls are small pieces of printed paper, intimating, in substance, what extent of indulgence the pious holder may ask for; and, after having been duly and regularly sanctified in the church, they are put into the shops, and sold as a sort of stamped paper. And it would also seem from this item of the treasury account, that contributions are still, in the most distant regions of the earth, levied on the faithful to raise a crusade for the relief of the holy land, and for the redemption of those made captives in so glorious and pious an enterprise.

The seventh item was the amount of what were called the monthly contributions, which, in a note, Mr. Irisarri says have been abolished, without telling us what has been substituted in their place. On looking among the edicts issued by the present Patriot Government, however, I found the one which furnished the explanation. By this edict, dated on the 9th of December, 1817, after reciting that the burdens of the state ought to be equal and proportionably borne; that large landed estates were held in absolute proprietorship by all the religious institutions; that almost all the great landholders had, in one way or other, charged their estates with the rendering of some rent, corrody, or benefit to one or other of the religious institutions; that such institutions also held a considerable amount of censos or money interest; and that merchants, who might not have any lands or tangible property, were yet, commonly, wealthy in floating capital, it enacts and declares that all lands and other property, whether held by the church

the mortgagee, to be adjusted proportionably, according to an actual valuation which shall be made; and that merchants shall also be taxed one per cent. on what shall appear, on investigation, to be the actual amount of their capital. What will be the amount of the proceeds of this tax it is impossible to say, as the first year's collection of it had not been brought into the treasury. It is, however, I believe, the first *direct* internal land and property tax ever attempted to be levied in Spanish America, and the first tax that ever has been laid on the property of the church in the Spanish settlements; and I am inclined to believe that it will prove to be more fruitful in revenue, and in its consequences, than any tax ever laid in Chili. The eighth source of income set down is that of the tithes. By adverting to the paper No. 2, attached to Mr. Secretary Irisarri's communication, it will be perceived that he has given an average of the product of the tithes of all Chili, under the old regime, when the state had not been wasted or disturbed by war, at \$216,811. This is stated to have been the annual amount paid into the treasury; but of the entire product, a small part of what is actually collected (but what proportion I could not learn, even from the Secretary himself) is paid to the clergy. It has always been usual in Chili to farm out the collection of the tithes, sometimes to favorites, at a considerable sacrifice to the state. During the last year, the tithes of the valley of Coquimbo, which were estimated and said to have actually produced twenty-four thousand dollars, were farmed out to a collector for sixteen thousand. The ninth article is the amount of the voluntary contributions. This is an evidence of the patriotic spirit of the people; and, on looking over the names, most of which had been published, I find the ladies of Chili as distinguished for their patriotic liberality as their countrymen. The tenth item is made up principally of fines and confiscations imposed on godos or tories and their property. It is inevitable and fair that those whose principles have induced the contest should abide the loss; but I am very sorry to be obliged to say that no inconsiderable portion of this amount is derived from fines and the sequestered property of real patriots, who do not happen to belong to the present reigning faction, but who are, perhaps, still more inimical to the royalists and godos than those in power. It would seem, however, that such is the indiscreet eagerness with which property is seized, under the pretext of disaffection, or such the liberality of the ruling authorities, that a great part of what is seized is restored. The thirteenth item is a toll collected for the repairs of the pass of Putaendo over the Andes. This toll was gathered under the colonial Government, and is continued since; but, except the casuchas, there appears to have been very little applied to the improvement of the road. The fourteenth article is the proceeds of the estates of the Jesuits. When the King of Spain expelled that religious order from his dominions, its estates were taken into the hands of Government as regal property; and the amount here set down is the proceeds of those estates lying within the reach of the

present patriot rulers. The sixteenth item is the proceeds of a duty imposed on all goods required to be weighed by the Government. The seventeenth is the amount of a prize captured by the brig *Eagle*, a Government vessel. The eighteenth is the amount of property the owner of which is unknown or the right to which is contested. The Government, therefore, holds and uses it as revenue, until the true owner is discovered, or the right settled. The nineteenth and last source of revenue specified is that derived from a discount on the salaries of civil officers. These are the several sources of revenue, and the amount of each, derived from so much of Chili as is subject to the present patriot authorities.

The same paper will show the various ways in which the receipts of the treasury have been expended. Of the twenty articles of expenditure, sufficiently appears, from the face of them, that the first, second, third, fourth, seventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth have been incurred to carry on the present war for independence and freedom. The fifth item of expense is what may, in some respects, be deemed a distribution of a small portion of the first-fruits of Chili, after the battle of Chacabuco. This sum of new coin, as appears by a report to the delegated Supreme Director, dated on the 1st of July, 1817, was thus disposed of: one thousand dollars were given to his excellency the Supreme Director of Buenos Ayres, Don J. M. Pueyrredon; one thousand to General Belgrano, commander of the Buenos Ayres army of Peru; one thousand to the Supreme Director of Chili, Don B. O'Higgins, to be distributed among the officers of the army of the south then under his command, near Concepcion; and the other thousand to the commander-in-chief, General San Martin, to be, in like manner, distributed among the officers of the army in Santiago under his command. The sixteenth is the amount of debts paid which were contracted in the first epoch of the Patriot Government. The eighth is the aggregate amount of pensions and annuities charged upon and payable out of the treasury. A part of these were granted during the Government of the viceroyalty. The ninth is the amount of property which had been sequestered, but, not being confiscated, was therefore restored. The tenth is the amount of the civil list. The eleventh and seventeenth are two items showing the amount of the rents, annuities and pensions with which the Jesuits' property was charged. The twelfth item is the amount of expenses incident to the Treasury Department. The fifteenth specifies the gross amount of the expenses of the national armory in Santiago. The eighteenth is the salaries of the superintendent of the mines.

The nineteenth item is for defraying the expense of completing the valuable work or canal of Maipu. I have before described the vast importance of water to the valleys of Chili south of the Maule; some of which cannot be watered at all by any artificial means, others have not an abundant

to be. One of the most valuable and interesting of the remaining monuments of Indian ingenuity and improvement in that country, is the Salto del Agua, about five miles to the northeast of the city of Santiago, where a great part of the river Mapocho, on which the city stands, is brought, by means of a canal, through a gap in the ridge, which terminates at and immediately overlooks the city. From this gap, standing on the margin of the Indian canal, and nearly on a level with the valley behind, you have under your view a part of the city, and the fairest portion of the valley of Santiago. The water, on passing the gap, is, one part of it, made to wind along the mountain side to the north, another to pass along to the south, and the surplus is suffered to leap immediately down its steep side, from eight hundred to a thousand feet almost perpendicular, whence the work takes its name of the Leap of the Water. The water of the southern canal turns a grist-mill on its way down; and all, after reaching the plain, is poured over it in many directions, so as to irrigate the various vineyards, quintas, gardens, and farms, which are thus rendered astonishingly fruitful. The Spaniards say that the Salto del Agua remains now as the savages left it more than two centuries and a half ago, without any alteration, and with little repairs. The river Mapocho, a part of whose waters had been thus turned in so useful a direction by the Indians, after passing the city of Santiago, crosses the valley in an easterly direction; then, pursuing its course south along the foot of the opposite ridge, sinks under it, and, rising again near Francisco del Monte, hurries into the Maipu, which it finds above Melipilla, after that river had taken leave of the principal Cordillera, about twenty miles south of Santiago, and made its way directly east over the valley. Between these two rivers, on a dry swell of the plain, about ten miles southeast of Santiago, the famous battle of Maipu was fought. And this portion of the plains lay so high, for many thousands of acres in extent, that it could not be watered from the small canals of the Mapocho, and, therefore, was only used as pasture ground. It is intended, by the work of Maipu, to bring the waters of that river along the foot of the mountain in a canal, terminating at the Mapocho above the city of Santiago, so as to water and render fit for cultivation all these plains, which, anciently as well as lately, have been so celebrated. Such are the works of a people, whether of aboriginal or of foreign descent, who really own a country, and govern and manage it for themselves. The nature of the two last items of expenditure in this account needs no explanation.

Among the official printed accounts of the state of the treasury, which have been sometimes published monthly, from which Mr. Irisarri appears to have copied his No. 4, and made up his succeeding No. 5, I find the official treasury account up to the last of February, 1818, and, by adding its gross amount to that of Mr. Irisarri's No. 4, it will give the amount of the first

the battle of Chacabuco, which was fought on the 12th day of February 1817; according to which, it appears that the whole amount of revenue received amounts to two million one hundred and seventy-seven thousand nine hundred and sixty-seven dollars, and the total amount of expenditure in the same time, has been two million one hundred and nineteen thousand five hundred and ninety-five dollars, leaving a balance in the treasury of fifty-eight thousand three hundred and seventy-two dollars. This exhibits a view of one year of the war establishment of Chili. To see what would be the state of its finances in peace, according to this same account, we need only to deduct the net amount of the confiscations, the proceeds of the prize, and the sum raised to purchase arms, which, together, amount to one million and ninety-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-four dollars, from the receipts of the year, and we shall have one million and seventy-thousand three hundred and forty-three dollars, the receipts of the treasury from what appears to be the product of the ordinary system of peace establishment. And if we then, in like manner, deduct from the gross amount of expenditure all those items which have been manifestly occasioned by the present war, it will appear that the peace establishment would cost no more according to the present system, than four hundred and seven thousand two hundred and thirty dollars, which, deducted from the peace receipts, would leave a balance in the treasury of six hundred and seventy-one thousand one hundred and thirteen dollars. This calculation ought not, I should conceive, to be at all affected by what is said in the Treasurer's note to Mr. B. because he speaks of charges that will evidently be included in the following year's account. According to these views, it would appear, then, that the abilities of Chili to defray the expense of its own Government, and to support the extraordinary expenditures of a war of defence, are not only very abundant, but that its usual ordinary resources, in time of peace, would be sufficient for all the purposes of roads, canals, and other public works so valuable in all countries, and which would be to Chili of the most incalculable benefit.

But it would seem that these formal accounts of the state of the treasury from time to time published for the information of the people, are not altogether so correct as they should be; that the abilities of Chili have, probably, been strained much beyond what is here represented; and that there have been dispositions of its treasure to a considerable amount over and above those set down. In a communication I had with Mr. Irisarri, on the 17th of July last, he assured me that the revenue of Chili had, during the last year, yielded four millions of dollars; and in the written communication now before us, he says that there are not comprehended in the official account some receipts of much importance, which, by their uncertain nature, ought not to be included in it. In addition to these declarations of the Secretary of State, it seemed to be the current opinion and belief of the public, that the

yielded about four millions of dollars. Chili, it was said, was much exhausted, and there had been a clamor that its revenue had been grossly misapplied, which clamor, it was said, caused the resignation of one of the secretaries. It would seem, then, that since the battle of Chacabuco, a sum not far short of two millions of dollars has been gathered up in some way or other, (in what manner I could not learn,) and either lies dead in the country, or has been sent out of it. It could not have gone out by fair commerce; because an exportation of riches in that way would, instead of exhausting the people and causing them to complain, have benefited them much. But I need make no further observations; the facts and circumstances are before you.

Mr. Irisarri has given a statement of what, he says, are the numbers of the veteran forces of Chili, and nothing more. It is of importance, however, that the nature and composition of this veteran force should be understood. Under the first government of the patriots, many who had offended the reigning party, which was at times the Carreras, and at other times the Larrains, with O'Higgins at their head, were banished to the other side of the mountains; and in consequence of these internal divisions, in a great measure, a principal portion of the patriot forces of Chili, under the command of the present Director, which had made a stand at the town of Rancagua, were there attacked and defeated by the royalists on the 2d day of October, 1814, after which the remnant of the patriotic forces, with all who could, and deemed it prudent, fled in every direction over the Andes. This defeat of Rancagua closed what is called the first epoch of the Patriot Government. The Chilian refugees and exiles of all parties rendezvoused at Mendoza. General San Martin, who was then there, made common cause with O'Higgins and the Larrain faction, and undertook to reorganize an army from these motley and shattered materials. He procured arms and a reinforcement of about two thousand free negroes from Buenos Ayres. O'Higgins was made brigadier general; but almost all the other officers of the army were either citizens of Buenos Ayres, or commissioned and appointed from thence. There was no Chilino officer in it higher than a captain, except O'Higgins. This army, thus composed, amounting in number to about four thousand, was led over the Andes by General San Martin, through the passes of Putaendo and Patos. With some skirmishing in the pass of Putaendo, but without any material loss, the whole arrived safe in the valley of Aconcagua, near the city of San Felipe; and pushing forward toward Santiago, it was met by the royal army under the command of Marco, at the foot of the cuesta which enters into the valley of Chacabuco. A battle ensued on the 12th of February, 1816; Marco was captured, and his whole army cut to pieces or made prisoners. Thus the patriots regained Chili. O'Higgins was made Supreme Director, as he says in his manifesto, by the voice of the capital and the state; but every one will perceive that this army at least had its influence in the

This army has been occasionally divided and united; its parts have been distinguished by various names; it has sustained many losses and been often recruited; but it has received no aid from abroad, it has been supported, wasted, and strengthened, altogether in Chili; it is now called "the united army of the Andes." As it fell back on the approach of the royal army under the command of Osorio, it was said to have sat down at Cancharayda, nine thousand five hundred strong. It may have then consisted of that number; but on the night of the 19th of March last it was attacked by the royal army, panic struck, and almost totally dispersed. It rallied again in the valley of Santiago. The royal army under Osorio came up, the troops which were composed principally of veterans from Spain, that had been transported by the way of Cape Horn to Lima, and thence to Concepcion; and with some Chilotes and other auxiliaries of the country, was about five thousand strong. The rallied patriot army could not have exceeded, according to any account, six thousand men, almost all raw troops or militia, except the Buenos Ayres negroes. The royalists had a decided advantage of ground and twelve pieces of artillery more than the patriots. In this situation, the two armies met about ten miles to the southeast of the city of Santiago, on the plains of Maipu; and early on the morning of the 5th of April last a most desperate conflict commenced. The royalists charged fiercely; the negro troops flinched; but the Chilinos, the militia no less than the rest, animated by one invincible fervor of patriotism, with shouts of "Viva la Patria," carried all before them, sword in hand, or at the point of the bayonet. The field was literally strewed with heaps of slain. The combat continued with various fortunes until late in the afternoon. It is said that, for the number engaged, there never was a more obstinately contested combat or a more bloody battle fought in any part of the world. Of the royal army, the half were found dead or wounded on the field, and all the rest made prisoners. The loss sustained by the patriot army is estimated at about fifteen hundred. The victory of Maipu has completely confirmed the independence of Chili. Since the battle, many of the troops who had fled from Cancharayda have been rallied, and there have been also many recruits enlisted. Yet, after making all allowances, I could not find among the citizens that any one estimated the army at more than six thousand strong on the 1st of July last. But it may, as Mr. Irisarri states, amount to eight thousand four hundred. Of the officers of the army, there are at present but two Chilinos in it above the rank of captain; the one is the present Director, who is a brigadier general under General San Martin, and the other is Colonel Raymon Freyre, a native of Santiago, about twenty-three years of age, but confessedly one of the most distinguished officers in the patriot service; he is as modest and unassuming as he is intrepid, and is said to be firmly devoted to the establishment of a free and liberal constitution.

another part, including the Buenos Ayres negroes, is in Santiago, as a guard to the capital and the palace.

With respect to the militia, the estimate given by Mr. Irisarri is of so much of the country as is at present in the power of the patriots. I did not, however, understand that they had been completely officered or organized. As to arms, they have few or none; and I question whether the Government have arms for them over and above those necessary for the regular troops. There are, however, a great many arms in the country, belonging to merchants, for sale; and the people are, either by purchasing arms for themselves or by being occasionally exercised in the militia, improving very rapidly in the knowledge and use of arms.

The marine of Chili is made up of those vessels specified in the paper No. 7, attached to Mr. Irisarri's communication. They have been lately purchased and are altogether officered and manned by foreign seamen, chiefly Americans and English. The brig *Aquila*, of eighteen guns, has performed some service; she was purchased soon after the battle of Chacabuco. The brig *Buenos* is of not much value.

Just previous to the battle of Maipu the English ship *Windham*, carrying fifty-two guns, then lying in the harbor of Valparaiso, bound on a trading voyage to Botany Bay and India, was purchased by sundry persons, principally Americans and English, in partnership with the Government, and commissioned as a Chilino cruiser, under the name of the *Lautaro*. She made one short cruise, in which she had a combat with the two Spanish ships *Esmeralda* and *Pezuela*. About the latter end of June last, she was purchased by the Government entirely of the individual owners. Since then she has not been completely manned. The *Coquimbo* was a privateer ready for sea in the beginning of July last, and in that situation purchased by the Government. As to the two ships, *San Martin* and *Chacabuco*, spoken of in this paper, General San Martin had a considerable sum of money sent over to Buenos Ayres, where he employed Mr. Aguirre and Mr. Gomez, two gentlemen of that city, and placing the funds of Chili in their hands, with a commission from it for Aguirre, sent to the United States as agents to contract for the building of two vessels of war; where they arrived and contracted for the building of them in the city of New York. Since then, further sums have been remitted from Chili, through Buenos Ayres, to Messrs. Aguirre and Gomez, to meet the expenses of completely fitting out these ships, which were to be called *San Martin* and *Chacabuco*. They had not arrived when I left Valparaiso. As to the privateers of Chili, it has not been long since they commenced their career; some, it is said, have been successful. A copy of the rules and regulations by which they are to be governed was handed to me by Mr. Irisarri, and accompanies this, marked as exhibit A. I did not hear that any acts or conduct contrary to the usual practices and the laws of

It would not, perhaps, be correct to consider either the exports and imports of Chili, during its subjection to the late colonial system, any more what it has received and sent abroad during the present revolutionary era as an accurate criterion by which alone to ascertain the annual value of commerce, when the whole country shall be united and settled in a state of peace under one and the same Government. But a knowledge of existing facts and circumstances, taken in connexion one with another, will enable us to form some opinions approaching the truth as to what its real capacity is, and may be in future.

Considering the precious metals, in bullion and in coin, over and above what is necessary to carry on the exchange of the country, as among the articles of its exports, the following is a list of the chief of them at present: silver, copper, tin, wheat, flour, hemp, cordage, hides, tallow, jerked beef, vacuna, guanaco, and chinchilla skins, and several kinds of dried fruit, raisins, &c.

Since the opening of the ports of so much of Chili in February, 1817, the patriots obtained possession of, there have arrived twenty-four American vessels, principally ships of two hundred tons and upwards. Of these were whale ships, and four other ships engaged in the sandal-wood trade on the northwest coast trade; these ships called, obtained refreshments, and some little trade. The other sixteen brought cargoes for the Chili market, consisting of arms, ammunition, naval stores, tobacco, iron, furniture, glass, hollow-ware, British dry goods and crockery, India goods, French goods, jewelry; which have been, at a reasonable estimate, supposed to be worth one million three hundred and eighty-five thousand dollars. And, during the same period of time, there arrived twenty British vessels, one on a whaling voyage, and one bound to the northwest coast, and eighteen with cargoes either from the river Plate, with articles collected there, as yerba, tobacco, &c., or from Europe, but chiefly with British goods. The total amount of their cargoes has been pretty fairly estimated at about one million eight hundred and thirty-five thousand dollars. Many of these vessels, as well as Americans as British, had left Chili in July last; others still remained there; it was estimated that neither the Americans nor English had, at that time, collected much more than half the returns for the imports. Besides these there had arrived, in the same time, two Russian ships, one Swedish, one French, and one merchantman from Buenos Ayres in ballast, which was there and fitted out as a privateer. The British have, it is said, for some time had a ship of war on the coast of Chili for the protection of their commerce. The British frigate *Amphion* left Valparaiso in February last; and in March the sloop-of-war *Blossom*, and soon after her the frigate *Andromache*, arrived on the coast. The *Blossom* had sailed to Columbia river, and the *Andromache* was at Lima on the 15th of July last.

The whole amount of imports into the ports of Chili, which

trials during the last year, as well over the Andes as by sea, has been estimated at little short of four millions of dollars; of which, two millions, it is believed, have come from England, one from the United States, and one from Buenos Ayres; while, during the same period of time, it is supposed there has not been exported from the country, including specie, more than about two millions; which, at present, leaves an apparent balance against it of half the whole amount of its imports. This is owing to two causes: in the first place, according to the colonial system and course of trade, which is continued, with few alterations, merchandise imported was never sold, so as, within the last year, to place the returns in the hands of the importer, because, if he was a foreigner, as has uniformly been the case latterly, he was not, nor is he now, allowed to retail them himself; or, as the law has defined what shall be considered retail, by reference to a mule load, to sell any package, two of which are equal to a mule load, or, in other words, to sell a package of less than two hundred pounds weight. And, according to the former custom of the country, no retailer would take more than what he immediately wanted. This precautionary and dilatory custom has increased with the late precarious revolutionary times. The consequence has been, that as great an amount of goods has not been vended as might have been if the actual demands of the people had been gratified. The other cause is, that, in anticipation of the market, without a correct knowledge of the wants and taste of the people, a greater amount of some articles has been introduced than was, for the present, wanted; and a considerable amount of others has been imported, which are utterly unsaleable. Hence, in some respects, commerce has not yet completed its circuit; the goods are unsold, still lying in the hands of the foreign merchant; the country is not indebted for them; and, therefore, the balance of trade is not so much against Chili as would at first appear.

As regards foreign commerce, the market of Chili may be considered as being yet untried, unexplored, and but very imperfectly known. Many things are getting into use, and the demand for others increases as the people become better acquainted with their utility. There are some few articles of the growth or manufacture of the United States which have been found to answer, as saddlery, Windsor chairs, furniture, tobacco, and some others; of the European fabrics, those of France and Germany are greatly preferred. It has been remarked, that even the miserable casuchas of the huasos are beginning to exhibit some conveniences of foreign fabric, which, until the opening of the ports of their country, were unknown to them. Indeed, I presume it will be regarded as one of the inevitable consequences of the present revolution, that, as the comforts and conveniences of the mass of the people shall be substantially improved by it, their wants will be multiplied, and their capacity to pay for them proportionably augmented.

In estimating the powers of a state, we naturally look first at its physical

intercourse by which one district may aid and supply another; the nature of its productions, and how its population is seated; whether crowded into small space, or sparsely scattered over a great tract. These, and such circumstances, are necessary to be known, in order to form a just opinion of the capacities and energies of a people. I have, therefore, endeavored to present you with a clear view of all these matters as regards Chili. But the human institutions of a country, though not so indelible and unchangeable, are often no less powerful in their operation than those physical qualities. Superstition spreads over the social visage the sickly hue of pestilential vapors, and the hands of arbitrary drones disappoint the hopes of the harvest like rust or a mildew. In a salubrious climate, amidst the abundance of agricultural pursuits, and with the advantage of a condensed population, if anywhere, it would seem that there life should have all its gayety, its delight, and its value; that there all the social ties should be most strongly felt, and that there human excellencies should be most fully developed; but a mayordazgo, a monk, and a regal superior, shall be permitted to walk hand in hand over this goodly scene, and they will gather up all its abundance, banish its festivities, and leave it like a barren but inhabited waste, a scene of beggary, of squalid raggedness, and filth; where the human creature, inspirited by no motive, and lost to every sentiment of his own dignity and worth, shall value nothing so much as a long interval of repose; and a modern philosopher, unmindful of Christian feeling, shall look upon such creature, so circumstanced, and in a spirit of what, by some, might be deemed philosophical liberality, once pronounce him utterly unfit for liberty. All human institutions which in their operations and consequences paralyze human industry, or waste and consume its fruits, are most serious evils. Their pernicious effects are everywhere severely felt, and they never fail to abstract from the capacities of a nation, to enfeeble it more effectually than war, famine, or plague. All colonial establishments are ruinous to a colony, because they gather up the wealth of the country, regardless of the beneficial reciprocity of fair commerce, and send it abroad. An ecclesiastical establishment consumes the productions of a country within itself, yielding no return. It is like a rot in the ear of the corn. They are both of them political evils of a similar nature. The one Chili has banished forever; the other has been shaken and loosened, but yet remains.

The church, in all the Spanish possessions in America, was well provided for; in Chili particularly so. There are said to be about ten thousand monks and nuns in the whole country; that is, of the class called regular clergy, in contradistinction to the seculars. The religious institutions, filled by the regular clergy, are said to hold, in one way or other, either in absolute proprietorship, or charged with the payment of annual sums or corrodies, under mortgages, nearly one-third of the landed property of the state. The lands of the religious houses held in absolute proprietorship, and

rented by a person, who again underlets them to other tenants, who hire slaves and huasos or peasants, and cultivate them, as a sort of terre-tenant or stewards. Thus two sets of drones are supported from its profits—the monkish proprietors and the mesne tenants, neither of whom ever pay any other attention to the estate than to collect the rents when due. The effect upon agriculture and society of suffering a great portion of the land of a country to be held in mortmain is well understood, and in Chili it is quite obvious. In addition to the landed estates held by the religious institutions, they have what are called their censos, or money lent out on interest of five per cent per annum, to the amount of ten millions of dollars; and besides their share of the tithes, which the state still permits them to draw, the clergy have the first-fruits or *anatos*, which yield to each curate between two and three hundred dollars per annum. When we contemplate this prodigious wealth of the church of Chili, compared with the revenues of the state, and recollect the searching prevalency of pecuniary influence, we shall at once see the full force of the Spanish saying, that, in that country, “it is doubtful whether the state be in the church, or the church in the state.”

The present patriot authorities, owing to the nature of revolution itself, to their prodigality, to their having too many hungry expectants about them, or to some other causes, are continually pressed for resources. They have repeatedly cast an eye upon the accommodations and the wealth of the church. They have solemnly asked the opinion of the holy fathers as to the propriety and policy of raising a considerable sum of money by the sale of bulls and indulgencies; and were answered that neither right nor religion would forbid it. They have seized upon two large monasteries, turned out the monks to seek accommodation elsewhere among their brethren, and made barracks of the holy lodgings. They have taken the house of exercise, that is, the large edifice where the faithful used to resort to receive the pious instruction of the fathers, and to punish the body for the good of the soul, and converted it into an armory. They have tried and convicted monks and *nuns* of high treason, and sent them into banishment; and, some months ago, urged by their continual pecuniary necessities, they proposed merely to borrow the censos of the monasteries, and accordingly instituted an inquiry into their amount; and thus ascertained that, in the bishopric of Santiago, they rose to about six millions of dollars; and in the bishopric of Concepcion they were in amount about four millions. The church clamored prodigiously at this most unholy attempt to touch the support of religion. The state, however, made out to relieve itself from its exigencies in some other way, and for the present abstained from borrowing the ecclesiastical censos: but a farther and general tax has been laid on all church property.

The Spanish chiefs or viceroys under whose auspices Chili was conquered made very extensive grants of its territory among their principal followers and favorites; or, actuated by the religious fervor of the times, they made

settlements of whole valleys, or the most choice and extensive tracts, for some religious houses, or for some pious purposes. The lands thus granted to the religious institutions being held in mortmain, were inalienable. Those large tracts granted to individuals were commonly entailed, and admitted entire, as fettered inalienable inheritances, according to the principle of the Spanish law of primogeniture called *mayorazgo*. The expression was often used in an original grant, as descriptive of the tract conveyed, to give an idea of their extent. They were, that the grantor should hold all the tract within the waterfalls, from such a point to such a point. These expressions, not unfrequently, by thus calling for the adjacent ridges as the confines, comprehended the greater part of a large tract, so that the *mayorazgo* might stand on his estate, and behold its extent and boundaries, like an immense circumvallation thrown up by the nature all around. The effects upon husbandry, commerce, and the progress of society generally, of suffering these fettered inheritances to continue in any country, are well known. It is said that their effects have been extremely pernicious in Chili. The present Director has, however, put an end to them. By his edict of the 5th of June last, all *mayorazgos* were abolished and prohibited in future.

Before the revolution there never was a printing press in Chili, and no science reach it but what was carefully passed through the strict strainers of the holy inquisition of Madrid, or the no less holy inquisition of Lima. The taste for intellectual pleasures was everywhere sufficiently religiously restrained; and the charms and heresies of modern literature were permitted, in no shape, to lead the faithful Chilinos astray. Till within these few years, was a machine of as much entire novelty and curiosity to the people of that country as any other of the useful mechanical inventions of modern times; its powers and its value were unknown, and the earthly immortality which it bestows upon the labors of vigorous genius was a matter wholly beyond their conception. The press, however, no more than the great instrument by which all human knowledge may be speedily and extensively diffused, and easily multiplied, and perpetuated. But it never has, nor can it be used as a machine to give a talent for discussion and investigation, or to arouse a people to the assertion of their rights, whose minds have not been previously impressed with a knowledge of letters, and also been imbued with a talent for disputation. The first revolutionary impulses, on such a people, like those made by the Romans in the time of the elder Brutus, or on the English at Ruessborough, or on the Swiss in the days of Tell, or on the Spaniards who followed the fortunes of Padilla, must be from other causes and by other means than through the instrumentality of the press; and, perhaps, I should not

that cool but potent instrument of reason, but by those animating strokes which, falling directly upon the heart, and on the sentiments and feelings of the bosom, arouse passions sufficiently strong to burst all bonds and to encounter all perils. Such is the impulse which has been given to Chili; and the Spaniards will long remember that, on the plains of Maipu at least, the sentiments and feelings of Chilenos were kindled to deeds of noble daring, far beyond all ordinary power of resistance. After a people have thus had their passions and sentiments completely unfettered, the influence of the press gently follows, as a reasoning friend, who diligently instructs the head and justifies the feelings of the heart. The press has, as yet, therefore, had little or no effect in Chili, nor is its operation likely to become immediately, and at once, extensive and powerful, under any circumstance in which it could now be placed, owing to the previous habits and education of the present generation of the people.

The Christian religion, as has been justly observed, is, in all its various forms, essentially an intellectual mode of worship. All its different sects, more or less, inculcate the communion of mind with infinitely amiable and benevolent mind. Its fundamental principles, therefore, correctly understood, are exceedingly friendly to the cultivation of the intellect. But a contrast of the Catholic establishment in Chili, with the established church and toleration of our country, under its colonial system, will show how extremely different the effect and consequences of the same divine emanations may be, in proportion as they are mingled or effusated with the sordid objects of Governments and of men. The rival sects in our country, as well as the church of the state, which was itself a deviation from the older establishment, made the cultivation of the mind and exercise of the intellect essentially necessary, as well for the pastor as for each of his flock. To set forth the correctness and the excellence of his creed, and to expose the errors of others, which he deemed it a solemn duty to instruct his followers to avoid, continually called on the preacher for an intellectual effort, and imposed on him a ceaseless task of reasoning.

The church was thus made to every hearer a school of polemical exercise, as well as a house of adoration and prayer. The colonist of our country thus had his mind imperceptibly enlarged and invigorated, his polemical skill continually improved, and his reasoning faculties sharpened and prepared for political as well as religious subjects. On the other hand, the established church of Chili tolerates no rival, suffers nothing like religious controversy, and is itself the congregated original, whose creed suggests no inquiry, nor challenges any investigation. The mind hears the dogma dictated which it is commanded to believe, without daring to doubt, or presuming to ask a question. Men are faithful but not rational believers: the rich and shining ceremonies of the church glitter before their senses; they yield reverence from habit; and their minds, overshadowed with a

gloomy obeisance, rest content in a kind of irrational silence. The religion itself is better understood in our country; because its principles are discussed and explained, and much has been published in its defence. But in Chili it is never controverted, seldom expounded, and stands of no vindication. It is upheld by power. The people come to the ceremonies without presuming to question their meaning; and, consequently, the great mass of them understand little of the principles of the religion they profess. Hence, from this cause among others, in our first revolutionary blow aroused multitudes of the most adroit and eloquent argument, whose reasoning powers attracted the admiration of the people. But the Chilino, with awakened feelings as keen and as strong, and with a courage as determined and invincible, is, as yet, a stranger to the struggle and political controversy.

Soon after the commencement of the revolution, in the year 1810, when the Carrera party was in power, a printing press was imported from New York, which was set up and managed by three citizens of the United States who went with it, and a weekly newspaper was published called *El Mercurio*, edited by Camilla Henriquez, now of Buenos Ayres. This was the first newspaper ever published in Chili. After the Carreras were expelled, the party now in power obtained the ascendancy, the paper was transferred to Arauco, and was edited by Mr. Irisarri, the present Secretary of State. Since then there has been continually a newspaper published in Santiago; it has always been under the absolute control of the reigning party, and no one dared to say that the victory of Chacabuco had been gained by the brave efforts of the sons of Chili; and, by an edict of the present Government of the 14th of March, 1817, the printer was commanded to give up the paper to the author, that he might be punished as a libeller, who designs to excite jealousies in the minds of the Chilinos against the generous Government, and their liberties from Buenos Ayres. There are, at present, four newspapers published in Santiago; none anywhere else in the state. One is the *Official Gazette*, a Government paper, formally made such on the 1st of May, 1818, and placed under the management of the Secretary of State. The others are *Argos*, *El Duende*, and *El Sol*, each issuing once a week; and all are printed at one and the same press, belonging to the Government. They are understood to be edited by the clerks and officers of Government, and are wholly subservient to the powers that be. There are two other printing presses in the country, which were carried there by citizens of the United States for sale, but they are not found to be saleable articles.

The present Director, on the 25th of June, 1818, issued an edict ordering all newspapers and pamphlets from postage, and allowing all foreign books to be imported free of duty. Thus, light may begin to break in. But the prevailing fellowship and a social principle in human rights which promotes the one to cherish and sustain the other. Nothing can prevent the intru-

the representative system, for the hearts of the people are bent upon it; that will draw after it discussion: the press is the very chief instrument of investigation; and when a people begin, with that help, to think, to inquire, and to vote, their advancement must inevitably be very rapid, unless their country be distracted and devastated by foreign foes. Thanks to Heaven! there are few hereditary enemies to reform on this continent; none which surround Chili; and not many on the globe who have strength and length of arm to strike it; not one that can subdue it.

The greater part of the Europeans who settled in Chili are said, by some, to have emigrated from the southern provinces of Spain. But there is a tradition in the country, that, immediately after the barbarous wars conducted by the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, many of the adherents of Philip II. of that country emigrated to Chili. But, from whatever portion or province of Europe they have principally derived their descent, every stranger acquainted with other Spanish settlements in America at once remarks the fairness of the complexion of the Chilinos of unmingled European descent; blue eyes and fair hair are common. Perhaps a regular mountain climate has rather given prevalency, and cleared than darkened the fine complexion of the first European settlers. It is among this class that all the intelligence of the country is found, who are said to be in general much better acquainted with ancient than modern literature. And, as in every other Spanish settlement, all the most respectable land owners are residents of the cities, and do not dwell on their estates in the country.

When Chili was conquered, the natives who survived the war, and submitted to their invaders, had a portion of land allotted to them, which was called the Indian pueblo, or town: all the rest was parcelled out among the new comers. There was in almost every valley a pueblo of peaceful and submissive Indians: besides these, there were throughout the country many Indians held as slaves, whose descendants, held in slavery at this time, are said to amount to about fifty thousand. The mixture with those of the European race in and about the Indian towns is so general, and the population has been so blended and whitened in them, that, in the project of a constitution presented to the Congress of the first period of the Patriot Government, it was proposed to consider them as a portion of the people, entitled to all the privileges of citizens. The huasos, or peasantry of the country, are all of this mixed class: they are universally illiterate and indolent, but kind, docile, brave, and humane. Previous to the arrival of the Buenos Ayres negro auxiliaries, there were not, in all Chili, one thousand of the African race, bond and free. By a law passed during the first epoch of the Patriot Government, the children of all slaves born after that date were declared free from their birth. This law, suspended by the return of the royalists, has been since held to be in force. Upon the whole, it is universally admitted that the population of Chili has less of the African

blackening, has a smaller proportion of slaves, and is altogether more homogeneous, than any other of all Spanish America.

But the order and arrangement of nature in Chili, according to the most plausible theories, is such as will have a strong tendency to inspire an animated love of country which, in its legal and ecclesiastical history, there has been manifested so much anxiety to crush and destroy. Nature is sometimes called a mountain nymph; yet mountainous countries have often been enslaved and subjected to arbitrary government. Natural liberty does, in such countries, once obtain a habitation and a name, and flourishes with more vigor than in most others.

There is an inspiring genius in the mountain scenery of Greece, which prompted its ancient owners to assign a guardian divinity to regions of grandeur of every lofty eminence, and to protect the beauties of every vale. They admired and rejoiced over the gay diversities of their country, and were patriotic. Switzerland presents a similar scenery, which operates fully in binding the affections of the inhabitants to it, that the love of country is not only an ardent sentiment, but, under some circumstances, a preying infirmity. In ancient Rome, the annual festival of the Saturnalia called the proprietors, cultivators, and peasantry to the fields, and enlivening season of the year to offer sacrifices and make libations to the God of Boundaries, to ask a blessing on the fruits of the earth, and to perform a religious processioning of their lands. This gay festival cherished social feelings; by anticipating, it prevented controversy; and it warmed the bosom with an ardent love of country. Amidst the mountains of the regions of Greece, of Switzerland, and of Chili, nature herself inspires the inhabitants of each valley to an annual terminalia. The mountains are gayly decorated; the streams pour down their libations on the earth; they flourish and are blessed; the inhabitants rejoice over the abundance; their affections are warmed, and they are thus inspired with an animating love for their country. An intelligent civilian of Switzerland called his country the Switzerland of America: it is so in scenery, in bravery; and why should there not be William Tells among Chilians? He will, ere long, lead the mountain nymph triumphant through the streets, and give her a welcome and a home in every valley?

Without travelling through a long historical detail of events, it is sufficient to observe that, in Chili as in Buenos Ayres, the movements of the revolution were not the oppressions of the Spanish monarch. The people of Chili were not first awakened by persecutions and sufferings. A sense of their power and their rights; they had always been quickened by more than two centuries and a half. The united vigilance and cares of the monarch and state had tamed every restless spirit, and checked every waywardness. The rulers and pastors of the people had diligently removed every obstacle to liberty, and passive obedience had become a habit. When the

out of the French revolution, involving and disturbing all the nations of Europe, overwhelmed the peninsula of Spain, drove the ancient dynasty from the throne, produced a struggle for the sceptre, and broke loose at once those curious bonds of mere prejudice and superstition which held the various parts of that great monarchy together, such was the state of the mother country that it was manifest the colonies could no longer be governed as formerly. Each one, consequently, began calmly to think of self-government, not as a matter to which it had been excited and persecuted, nor in a spirit of rebellion, but as a deplorable act of necessity, in obedience to a melancholy fatality which had rent asunder the several parts of a great empire that had been until then so quietly and happily united.

The Junta or Congress assembled in Chili in 1810 was much influenced by this view of the subject, and by a strong sentiment in favor of the mother country. But there were many men in it, and in the country, of much capacity and intelligence, who clearly saw, at that day, that the only alternative allowed to it was absolute independence or colonial despotism, who admired the political example and precepts of the United States, and who regarded that as the favorable moment for giving a new and improving direction to the destinies of their country, which ought not, for a moment, to be lost. At the head of this party was the venerable but unfortunate Don Ignacio Carrera and his sons. There was another party who, swayed by old prejudices, were disposed to compromise. Don Juan Egana, a lawyer of eminence, and who is one of the commissioners appointed by the present Director to draught a constitution for the state, was of this party. He drew up a projet of a constitution in the year 1811, and submitted it to the Congress then in session, who ordered it to be published for information and discussion. In this projet, which asserts that Chili should have a government of its own, free trade, &c., the idea of a political reunion with Spain, and the other provinces of America, when circumstances would admit, is provided for and continually held out.

Thus the minds of the people began for the first time to be awakened. They were thus looking around, and slowly taking a survey of their circumstances and their interests, when civil war, with all its fury, rushed into their country along with the preparations for political inquiry and discussion. The agitation was great; the people staggered, changed, and faltered. They had the courage, but not having the information and the means of concert at once to assume a correct course and to maintain it, they were distracted, divided, and beaten.

The party now in power, and who, it would seem, had then, as now, a great respect for the British, were induced by the English Captain Hillyar, of the ship of war *Phœbe*, then lying in Valparaiso, to compromise with the royalists. "But who would believe," says the present Director, in his manifesto of the 12th of February, 1818, "that in a crisis as favorable to our

enterprises as melancholy to the self-styled *national* army, the capital of the 3d of May, 1814, would have been made? It is necessary to wipe away the shame: suffice it to recollect that it was ratified by the Government, guaranteed by the mediation of Commodore Hillyar, and by the authorities of the Viceroy of Peru, accepted by the commander of the army from Lima: ours retired, restored to the enemy the prisoners, and exhorted the people to acknowledge the peace so solemnly published." After making peace, as they supposed, with the enemy, they were attacked by the royal or national army, and on the 2d of October, 1814, were defeated at Rancagua. The remnant of the patriot forces fled to the Andes, where, with other Chilino refugees and the two negro regiments, the officers from Buenos Ayres, they were reorganized under the name of the united army of the Andes, re-entered Chili, vanquished the enemy at Chacabuco, and thus regained their power. In June last a commissioner arrived in Santiago from Lima, charged with a proposition from the Viceroy of Peru to adjust an exchange of prisoners of war; and, on inquiry, he found that all the Chilino prisoners that had been taken by the royal army, having been placed upon the island of Juan Fernandez, were released by the patriots after the battle of Chacabuco, and, consequently, that there were now few or none in their hands. But the Patriot Government of Chili, on the one side or the other of the Andes, eight thousand of the royal prisoners of war, which they were willing the Buenos Ayres authorities should exchange for those of the United Provinces in the possession of the viceroy. No cartel of exchange was, however, agreed on, owing to the informal or contemptuous style in which the patriot authorities had been addressed.

This short statement of the chief causes and course of the Chilino revolution will be further illustrated by the declaration of the present Viceroy, dated on the 1st of January, 1818, (annexed, and marked D,) and by the declaration of the 12th of February following, (annexed, and marked E,) and together with his manifesto of the 5th of May last, will furnish an account of the course of events: they will show that a brave people are now unshakenly resolved on independence and liberty; that they have boldly vanquished, and captured, in succession, almost every man of two hundred and twenty pointed veteran armies that had been sent against them, leaving them either to return upon their country; and that they have determined to abolish the representative system of government: for, in the proclamation of the 1st of January, the Director declares "that the then actual circumstances of the war would not allow of the convocation of a Congress;" in the proclamation of the 12th of February he says, "it has been wished to delay the calling of a Congress, so difficult to be gathered together during the effervescence of the revolution."

of the 5th of May he declares that arrangements are making for introducing the representative system; that a committee has been appointed to draught a constitution on that basis; and he has issued his edict actually making the appointment. All which are acknowledgments and proofs (if, indeed, proofs were wanting) of the anxious and unanimous wishes of the people, and of the existence of a design somewhere to pacify or elude the gratification of those wishes. This strong and general popular desire to have a Congress called, thus, under various pretexts, postponed, parried, or evaded, must soon prevail. It not only pervades the minds of the citizens generally, but, since the victory of Maipu, it has begun to spread along all the ranks of the Chilinos of the army. The much-talked-of invasion and liberation of Peru is a project plausible and popular enough; but it draws off the attention of none from the great object of having a Congress at home. The restraint of some, the banishment of others, and even the destruction of one of the active advocates of the call of a Congress, has rather served to excite and to irritate, than to quiet the minds of the people. A Congress will, ere long, be convened, and the work of reformation then really be commenced; awkwardly and unintelligently at first no doubt, and, perhaps, passionately; but the revolution will move on, often checked and diverted from its best course, as all others have been, by the working off of the pernicious old leaven of kingcraft and priestcraft, to the attainment of much good and substantial freedom ultimately.

The movements of the military leaders, and the position in which they have left the patriot forces under their command, have, in the judgment of some, been so contrary to every thing like military skill, zealously directed for the good of the cause, as to cast a shade of obscurity and mystery over all the affairs of state. The same observations are made on this subject in Buenos Ayres as in Chili. Why, it is asked, are not the militia of the high provinces attached to the Union, and who are so extremely zealous in the cause, furnished with arms? It is said that the gauchos, under the command of Guemez, are more than a match for all the guerrilla parties of the royalists in that quarter; and, also, that the people of Potosi, Chuquisaca, and their neighborhood, are resolved on independency and freedom. If so, it is asked, why are not Belgrano and Guemez ordered to press forward towards Peru, and leave arms with the people in their rear to protect themselves in case of need, instead of remaining so long stationary near Salta? Why is an army of twenty-five hundred men, principally freed negroes, left in the city of Buenos Ayres, when no enemy threatens it, and only three thousand sent under Belgrano to the frontiers to face the national foe? Why not arm the militia of the capital and its vicinity for its temporary defence, in a moment of emergency, such as that of the late attack of the English, and send the regular forces to the frontier? In Chili similar observations and inquiries are made. Almost immediately after the battle

of Chacabuco, San Martin, the commander-in-chief, instead of the enemy to the walls of Concepcion, and closely investing him, no more could be done, or of instantly and vigorously pursuing forces in every direction, and of destroying the adhesions to the wherever to be found, left the army in Santiago, and went over Ayres, and staid there so long that, when he returned, the royal recruited and prepared for the siege which he then laid to the conception. The battle of Maipu was fought on the 5th of April, ten days after, instead of leading the veteran African auxiliaries Ayres, with the brave Coquimbos and Aconcaguas, instantly to conception, and laying siege to it, cutting off all its supplies, the were sent home, the Coquimbos to the neighborhood of Penco, and regiments quartered in Santiago, while San Martin again made Buenos Ayres, where he still remained in the middle of July last measures, according to some reports, for the invasion of Peru.

It is said that this invasion can only be made with certainty by sea, and that ships of war and transports must be procured on purpose. The chiefs say that, in the bustle and effervescence of war preparations and efforts, the representative system, and the excellent institutions they intend giving to Chili, cannot be adjusted on a firm basis; and, therefore, this great work must be postponed until the forces have taken possession of Lima. On the other hand, distinctions are heard among the people of Chili, that while the military are celebrating their triumphs in Lima, they will occupy themselves with the representative system of government for their country. More than one-third of the population of Peru are whites of unmixed blood; a great majority of them are, however, ripe for revolution, and will throw off the colonial yoke; but the other two-thirds are negroes, half-bred, bond and free; many of whom are wealthy, and have been instructed and educated as the whites. Hence the whites, fearing revolution, are afraid, alone, to make the least effort for emancipation; they should kindle the latent flame of a servile war. They are, it is said, determined to wait the arrival of the forces of their brethren from the south or the east, who may be ready to extinguish the dreaded fire, if it break out.

Whether the movements of the military leaders are the result of ignorance or imbecility, or whether they are made with a design to prolong the war, so as to continue a pretext for holding the country in the hands of the army, under their control, and with a design to crush the principles of republicanism, which accumulates and gathers strength with the progress of independence, is not positively known; but some burning jealousy has been lighted up on both sides of the Andes. What will be the result when the patriot forces shall plant the standard of independence?

Plaza of Lima, is also problematical; it would evidently contribute to the final and secure establishment of the independence of Buenos Ayres, as well as Chili, to expel all royal authority from Lima. But when a military leader from Buenos Ayres or Chili shall make himself master of Lima, what will then be the consequence to Peru itself; and what may, in a short time, be the nature of the reaction from thence on Buenos Ayres and Chili, of such a chief established there, and believed there to be necessary to prevent the flames of a servile war from bursting out, are questions which time alone can solve.

The colonial Government of Chili, like that of all the other Spanish provinces, was a simple unqualified despotism, in which the people had neither voice nor influence, such as I have described that of Buenos Ayres to have been. Don Bernardo O'Higgins tells us, in his manifesto of the 5th of May last, that, after the expulsion of the royalists, "the first step was to nominate a person who might be charged with the executive government in circumstances so difficult; that the capital of Santiago called him to that station by the universal acclamation of its inhabitants; and that that voice had been uniformly followed by the provinces and the people of the state; that he entered on the administration, and already knew that it is only by a vigorous and energetic government that tranquillity and order can be maintained, and the public mind prepared to receive convenient institutions." Whether his excellency was called to the supremacy of the state by the people of the capital, or of Chili, in reality, or by the Buenos Ayres chiefs of the army, I shall leave others to determine; but certain it is that the much more loud call of the people latterly for a Congress does not appear to have been so distinctly heard, or it has not been so willingly attended to. The Supreme Director O'Higgins has taken possession of the palace of the ex-vice-king, which he has now guarded principally by the Buenos Ayres negro regiments. Finding himself invested with all the powers of a vice-king, without the control of a royal master, he uses his authority accordingly, and the Government of Chili is, in other respects, organized as it was under the colonial system.

Upon the whole, when I reflect upon the circumstances and state of things in Chili; a million or more of agriculturists gathered into the small compass of its delightful valleys; a population so homogeneous as to leave no ground even to suspect the existence of any latent cause of civil feud or servile war; a people extremely ignorant, but, like all villages of agriculturists, easily instructed and susceptible of rapid improvement; secure among mountains, and far remote from the contending potentates of modern times, yet seated immediately along the margin of the ocean; a country that has hitherto been debarred of all the benefits of foreign intercourse, but which, from the nature of its productions, will command a choice of commerce; I am strongly impressed with a belief that the day is not distant when she will, in spite of

faction and craft, and the occasional risings of the leaven of heretofore, be admired and respected by the nations of the earth. She is the firmly established republics of our continent—when she was another young Minerva, with her back against a wall—that was the snow-capped Cordilleras of the Andes—looking with mild countenance on an ocean which presents to her a new world of commerce, which is unobscured by no rival, which is too distant for the hostilities of the nations of Europe to reach, and whose placid surface is seldom visited by storms. Thus stationed, she will be only accessible by way of her high mountains, neither fearing nor being feared by foreign nations, making a barrier to her bold shores, and pouring out her abundance and her riches to all who want and seek to obtain them by the just and peaceful way of commerce.

I have so far confined my inquiries to Chili itself; and the independence of the United States have in its independence and freedom appear to themselves sufficiently important to attract the serious attention of this country. The subject, however, enlarges as we approach, and before us an extensive and fruitful field, not confined to Chili, but evidently connected with it. The free access to that great market of the other hemisphere lays open channels of trade hitherto closed to us, and cherishes and sustains every other branch of all our rising and increasing commerce of the Pacific, which heretofore has been marked by many privations and perils. I shall take the liberty merely to sketch of those branches of trade, and their probable value, which will inevitably be either opened, cherished, or enlarged, in consequence of the independence of Chili, leaving it to others who are more fully conversant with the details to determine on the correctness of the facts and circumstances, and to say what will be the new state of things most likely to result from them.

I have endeavored to give an idea of the amazing fruitfulness of the valleys of Chili in wheat. I did so, because I was impressed with the fact that its grain fields are now destined to become the means of the improvement, its most rapid prosperity, and its inexhaustible wealth. Chili is now, and must, from the nature of things, become the great granary of all the countries fronting on the shores of the North and South Atlantic ocean of this continent. In this supply of grain, Chili has no rival; and now that the doors of its commerce are thrown open to all, the market for Chili grain has already so extended that the price has risen beyond its old colonial market has been, and will, for a while, be entirely shut up. None of the tropical regions of America, whether on the Atlantic or Pacific shores, produce wheat, or indeed any grain in sufficient abundance for their inhabitants.

In Brazil, there is no wheat cultivated, nor is there any pro-

navigable waters, suited to its growth, except it be the plains on the Rio Grande de San Pedro, immediately bordering on the Banda Oriental, to which it is similar in its nature, and at present is, like it, applied solely to the purposes of grazing. All the fresh beef presented in the market of the city of Rio Janeiro at this time is drawn from Rio Grande. The Portuguese value that part of their Brazilian territory very much, on account of its furnishing an abundant and cheap supply of jerked and fresh beef to those other portions of it which, as they conceive, are so much more profitably employed in rearing the tropical productions of coffee, sugar, cocoa, and the like. It is not likely, therefore, that wheat will soon be cultivated for sale in any part of Brazil; it must, consequently, be supplied from abroad. Heretofore it has procured some from the United States, and from the Mediterranean, as far as Odessa or Ochakow, on the Euxine; but latterly there have been several American and English ships laden with wheat at Valparaíso for Rio Janeiro, which yielded a good profit. Brazil may, therefore, be considered as one of the standing markets for Chili wheat.

I have described the pampas of Buenos Ayres, and, from all I could learn of the actual experiments that have been made on them, I cannot believe their grain productions will soon be brought to rival those of Chili anywhere; on the contrary, the population on the shores of the river Plate have, of late, received occasional supplies from Chili; and the Banda Oriental seems, also, from the character and situation of its present owners, to be destined to continue as pasture grounds for some ages to come. As a proof of the extent and value of the market on the coast of the South Atlantic, wheat was at a higher price, under all the embarrassments of trade in Valparaíso, in July last, with these new markets only open, than it ever was under the colonial system, when the trade of Chili was confined entirely to Peru.

But the great, constant, and increasing demand for Chili wheat is to be found on the shores of the Pacific. At present, there is no island in the north or south of all that great ocean, nor any civilized settlement on the shores of the continent, which either cultivates or is suited to the growth of wheat, other than Chili. California, it is said, will one day be a grain country, and I have understood that small quantities have been purchased there by some of our northwest coast traders. But it will be unnecessary to inquire into the ability of California to rival Chili anywhere, until it shall be settled, civilized, and cultivated. Under present circumstances, which are not likely to be altered by any revolution now in agitation, or that may probably soon take place, it may be confidently asserted, therefore, that the whole of the settlements on the coast of the Pacific, from Acapulco to Cobija, are entirely dependent upon Chili for bread; and that they do, in almost all respects, as regards supplies of bread and necessities, stand in the same relation to Chili that the West Indies do to the United States. Although the table lands near the city of Mexico produce as abundantly

and as fine grain as any in the world, yet, owing to the distance and the ruggedness of the way, flour is sent cheaper from Baltimore than from Mexico to Vera Cruz; and, for the same reason precisely, Acapulco can be supplied with flour from Valparaiso cheaper than from the plains of Mexico. The existing state of things has furnished conclusive proof of the correctness of this statement. The last crop of grain, just before harvest, in the territory of Penco, and in the neighborhood of the city of Concepcion, was laid waste for the purpose of cutting off the supplies from the royal army. No wheat was, therefore, exported from Talcahuana, and the war completely closed all communication between the patriot portion of Chili and Peru. In consequence of which, wheat, which could in June last be put on board a vessel in the harbor of Valparaiso for two dollars the fanega, (seventy cents the bushel,) had risen in Lima, at the same time, to the enormous price of twenty-five dollars the fanega, (ten dollars the bushel,) and was even scarce at that price. Therefore, whatever may hereafter be the condition of Peru, whether independent or colonial, this grain trade with Chili must be open, and accumulate its resources to the benefit of foreigners; what is most likely, be carried on by them; because Chili, as was admitted by the Director himself, has not, at present, a single seaman of its own. The returns for Chili wheat will be, as under the colonial system, made in specie, because Peru has nothing else with which it can pay for what it wants over and above the supply of Chili in sugar, coffee, &c.

But the inevitable consequence of allowing this necessary partial opening of the ports of the Pacific for the admission of bread-stuffs will be, that a very great proportion of the precious metals will make its way out, thence, to them, from every part of the rich mine districts of the Andes to the northward of Chili; and it seems to be in the natural course of things that the precious metals extracted from Peru-Alto, or most of the high provinces of Buenos Ayres, should also take a direction to the ports of the Pacific, not altogether, at least in as great a proportion as heretofore. The city of Arica, situated about three hundred miles to the south of Lima, is a place of some importance, and much frequented, under the colonial system. It was from the wonderful salt mines in the neighborhood of Arica that most of the settlements along the coast were supplied. The salt is obtained in large blocks of about one or two hundred pounds weight, and thus brought to the city for exportation. I have seen mules laden with these blocks of salt in Valparaiso, going into the interior. Arica was also visited for specie, from the rich mines of Potosi and its neighborhood, which four hundred miles away from thence. The port of Cobija, situated about three hundred miles south of Arica, on the Rio Salado, and two hundred and sixty miles below the river of the same name, which is the northern boundary of Chili, was as remarkable as another of the ports whence some of the precious metals of the mines to the eastward of it got abroad. Commerce naturally

inevitably seeks and adopts its best interests and greatest conveniences, unless dragged away from them by a master as inconsiderate and arbitrary as a Spanish viceroy. It is, therefore, reasonable to presume that the commerce of Potosi, and the provinces round it, will, under any future peaceful condition of them, be suffered to follow as much or rather more of their own interests than they have done heretofore; if so, a view of their geographical situation will clearly show in what direction those interests will lead.

The distance from the port of Arica to the city of Potosi is one hundred and twenty miles; thence to La Plata or Chuquisaca it is fifty miles farther; but, from Potosi to Jujuy, on the direct road to Buenos Ayres, the distance is four hundred and forty-seven miles; and thence, by a cart road, to the city of Buenos Ayres, it is twelve hundred miles farther. From the port of Arica to the city of Catagayta, one of the principal cities of Chicas, a rich mining province, still farther south than Potosi, it is one hundred and ninety-two miles; and thence to Jujuy it is two hundred and fifty-five miles. And again, from the port of Cobija to Potosi is only two hundred and fifty miles; and from the same port to Catagayta it is two hundred and twenty miles farther. It must be recollected, however, that all the roads of the country of which I am speaking, from the seacoast as far east as the city of Jujuy, are only practicable for mules; but they are, by every one, allowed to be as good from the coast to Potosi, and the other middle valleys of the Andes, as they are thence to Jujuy at the eastern foot of them. Hence, it will appear that the natural and most convenient ports, for almost all the rich and rugged provinces lying among the mountains, are those on the coast of the Pacific.

Supposing, then, that the precious metals, and the foreign commerce of the high provinces of Peru-Alto be directed toward Arica and Cobija, and all the coast to have a trade partially open, which it must have to Chili at least, the benefits of that trade will be so much in addition or accumulation of that flowing directly from Chili alone. What may be the amount of the advantages likely thus to arise to the United States, I have been able to collect no data which would enable me to form an estimate founded on facts; but I should suppose that, on comparing it with the other branches of commerce connected with Chili, and the probable value of a trade entirely open and free to all that rich coast, it would not be deemed extravagant to estimate it as likely to yield profits amounting to somewhere about one million of dollars per annum.

Our countrymen have, for some time past, carried on a very extensive commerce over the Pacific ocean, that has been no less creditable to their bold spirit of enterprise than lucrative to themselves and beneficial to their country. I allude to that which has been fished up out of the ocean itself;

along the coast of our continent, from Cape St. Lucas, the extreme promontory of the peninsula of California, north, through the great Lynn canal, to its bottom, in the fifty-ninth degree of north latitude. The hardy adventurers in this branch of commerce have gone from their country, have almost circumnavigated the world, and have braved to the perils of the ocean in all the various latitudes of storms and of the frozen zone, and under the fierce rays of a vertical sun. They have suffered privations and encountered difficulties of every sort, and have nowhere found friendship and succor; they have never been cheered by the protecting wave of their country's flag. Skill, courage, and fortitude have been their only resources. But a more propitious time seems to have arrived.

Immediately in front of the mountain coast of Chili is the great fishery of the Pacific, which has been so profitably pursued by the vessels of the United States. There are engaged in this business, annually, fifteen or twenty American ships. All their stores and provisions, their implements and such outfits, they have hitherto been obliged to transport home, and to rely altogether on their own resources for completing their cargo, without the least protection or succor from any quarter whatever, except what they derived from a covert and hazardous trade with the Spanish provinces on the coast, with a few select articles brought from the purpose of thus procuring refreshment and necessaries as opposed to the hardships offered. But the sufferings, hardships, and losses they have sustained, such an immense distance from home, for the want of some friendly port, and a civilized nation which they could enter and procure supplies, have been exceedingly great, and by no means unfrequent. The advantages and conveniences to this branch of trade of the open free ports of such a country as Chili are obviously prodigious. These ships gather their valuable cargoes from the ocean, in cruising along the American coast, having it in their sight, between the latitudes of the island of Chiloe and that of the Isthmus of Panama; and, when it is completed, they most usually return directly by the way of Cape Horn. The aggregate value of this branch of commerce may be estimated at one million of dollars per annum.

The shores of the numerous islands of the great North and South American oceans are very frequently found to be swarming with one or other of the various species of phoca, or seals, or sea dogs, whose skins find a ready market in India; and most of those islands that lie near and within the tropics contain considerable forests of sandal-wood, which is so highly valued by the natives either for the delightful odor of the sap extracted from it, or from the oil held by them to be an acceptable burnt-offering to their gods. There are on an average, not less, in each year, than five American ships, of from one hundred to three hundred tons, that make a cruise among these various islands for the purpose of collecting a cargo of seal skins and sandal-wood.

China market. These ships require to be armed, well manned, and found; but their valuable cargoes are picked up with almost nothing, the amount which they carry to barter with the natives is so very trifling. These ships, when outward bound, always pass directly by Chili, and would find great advantage in having its ports open to them for outward freight, for supplies, and for protection. The cargoes of these vessels, I have been assured, may be safely estimated as being worth in China sixty thousand dollars each.

The coast of our continent, from the southern point of California to the bay or river St. Francisco, is claimed by the Spaniards, and they have some small parcels of civilized population strewed all along it, by which they hold possession, and exercise a kind of jurisdiction by means of some few soldiers and a priest at each presidio or station. The holy father, in proportion as he has been successful in obtaining an influence over the savages, or in converting them to the true faith, governs them, and takes into his keeping as well their temporal as spiritual concerns. There are not less than four ships from the United States that, in each year, make trading voyages along this coast, and carry on a barter with the independent tribes, or through the agency of the priest at each presidio, with whom they trade for such articles as he himself wants, or may be necessary for the soldiers of the station, if there be any, or as his flock, the natives, may fancy, in exchange for land and sea otter skins and other furs. These ships might, in many respects, be very advantageously supplied on their outward voyage from the ports of Chili, which are directly in their way. Their cargoes are estimated as worth about eighty thousand dollars each in China.

Along the coast of the continent, to the north of St. Francisco, is carried on that commerce entirely with the natives of the country, which is usually and properly called the trade of the northwest coast. To the northward of Columbia river there are numerous bays and rivers of very great extent. It is on the shores of these bays that our navigators most usually carry on their trade; and which are collectively called the inner coast, in contradistinction to that fronting on the ocean itself, and a great part of which the Russians claim as appertaining to their settlement at Sitka or Norfolk Sound. There are not less, on an average, than fourteen ships, of from two to three hundred tons, that go every year on a trading voyage to the northwest coast. Among the articles which they have for carrying on their barter on the coast, is hard bread, of which it is calculated they altogether take about four hundred tons. This article could be had in Chili for less than its freight there from the United States would amount to. These ships pass directly along the coast of Chili, and might be very materially aided in other respects, as well as protected, from its ports. The aggregate worth of the cargoes of the northwest traders, in China, is estimated at about one million of dollars.

I have given the computed value of these last three branches of trade

from the United States to the Pacific, in China, because they all go the way of Cape Horn, and make a circuit, by the way of China. A capital in China is generally allowed to be worth thirty per cent. as in the United States; consequently, the sum total of this commerce of the United States may be calculated at two million one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

I am aware that, since the United States have obtained the peaceful and unquestioned possession of Columbia river, a settlement will soon be made there, whence much of the countenance, facilities, and protection to the commerce on the Pacific may and will be derived, which could otherwise be had from independent Chili. But it is no less evident, from the nature of things, that Chili will furnish the means of cherishing and promoting the growth of that settlement; for, besides the supplies which the settlement may draw from Chili, the settlement at Columbia river will have a ready and unrivalled market on the southern Spanish coast, particularly in Chili, for what are understood to be its staple commodities. Ships' spars and lumber are scarce, and in some places not to be had at all. Guayaquil and Concepcion. The shores of Columbia river are also incumbered with the greatest abundance of them, and of the finest salmon. All accounts concur in representing the quantities of salmon and halibut in Columbia river as prodigious. The Catholic Spanish settlement at the south will be a market always open for them.

I have shown that, from the month of February, 1817 to the month of July, 1818, during the first of the second epochs of revolution and disorder in Chili, within a time when the opening of its ports could not much more have been heard of, there have been actually landed in the ports of Valparaiso by citizens of the United States, merchandise to the amount of one million three hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, and a much greater amount might have been imported with a certainty of its finding a market, and paid for in a fair course of trade, but for the inconveniences growing from the present state of things, some of which I have endeavored to point out. But if we recollect the advantages which our citizens have in the China and India trade, by being unfettered with the monopoly of an European Company, and that the silver and copper of Chili will enable them to pursue their enterprise, and push their commerce to a greater advantage than at present, I think it will not be deemed an exaggeration to set down the value of Chili itself as worth to the United States, annually, about two million dollars.

Summing up the whole of these several branches of commerce, they will form a total of six million one hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars of annual value to the United States, which will be either produced, or protected from that new and interesting country.

These are my views of the benefits, profits, and advantages, which

citizens of the United States are likely to derive from independent Chili. I may be allowed to declare that I feel, in common with my countrymen, a lively sympathy and a deep interest in the fate of a brave and generous people struggling for their liberties, yet it would be presumptuous in me to point to the measures which the Government ought to pursue; because the excellent institutions of my country have provided the means of calling together the impartial intelligence and wisdom of the nation, to determine the course of measures to be adopted upon that as upon all other similar and important subjects. But I shall esteem myself honored, and feel gratified with having done some good, if it shall be found that I have added somewhat to that stock of information which has been sought for, to enable the Government to direct its steps with a justice and a dignity worthy of itself upon so interesting an occasion, and, at the same time, in a manner best calculated to promote the cause of freedom and humanity.

Be pleased, sir, to accept [etc.].

*Report of Joel Roberts Poinsett, ex-Agent of the United States to South America,
to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States,
November 4, 1818*¹

[EXTRACT]

The kingdom of Chili is comprised within the narrow strip of land which extends east and west from the summit of the Cordilleras de los Andes to the Pacific ocean, and stretches along the coast north and south, from the river Salado and the desert of Atacama to the straits of Magellan. From the chain of frontier posts (which begin at Arauco, on the coast, and extend to the Cordilleras) to the town of Valdivia, the country is in possession of the warlike tribe of Araucanians, who still remain independent; and from Osorno, south, it is inhabited by the various tribes of Patagonia, whose territories have not been explored.

The population of Chili, by the census taken in 1791, was found to be 750,000 souls. From the strong motives of concealment, as the census is taken for the purpose of proportioning the taxes according to the population of each district, the population of Chili cannot be estimated at less than one million.

The distance from the Cordilleras to the Pacific ocean is thirty leagues,

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV. For the first part of Poinsett's report, which deals with the Río de La Plata region especially, but also in general with all Spanish America, see pt. II, doc. 243.

between the latitudes of 25 degrees and 36 degrees south; and 40 leagues between 36 degrees and 43 degrees south.

The country comprised between the 25th and 43d degrees of south latitude may be considered the length of the kingdom of Chili, it being unsettled and even unexplored, farther south.

From the Cordilleras de los Andes to the Pacific, the inclination is so gentle that all the rivers flow with the rapidity of torrents, and are therefore navigable. They serve to irrigate the valleys, and render them the most fertile in the world. The climate makes this method of cultivation absolutely necessary; for from the Salado to the Itata, that is, from 25 degrees to 36 degrees of south latitude, not a cloud is to be seen above the horizon from the month of November to the month of May. The atmosphere during this period, is perfectly clear, and the dews are scarcely perceptible, nor is the heat oppressive. The proximity of the Andes tempers the heat, and the mercury fluctuates between 70 degrees and 80 degrees of Fahrenheit, and rarely rises to 85 degrees. Thunder storms, so frequent on the eastern side of the Andes, are unknown in this part of Chili. Winter commences in the month of May; the cold is mild, and the rains gentle, and unattended by a violent wind. The rains of the winter fertilize the hills, and the plains, which cannot be irrigated, during that season afford pasture for the cattle. The spring commences in September, and the face of nature in Chili is then peculiarly beautiful. The hills are verdant, and covered with innumerable flowers and shrubs; and the plains present to the eye a carpet of flowers. The abundance of water and the peculiarity of climate enable the inhabitants to raise all the fruits of the earth in great perfection. The wheat which is cultivated in the valleys is of excellent quality, and the product seldom less than forty times the seed; sometimes ninety; and, on the best land, even one hundred. Indian corn is likewise cultivated, and produces abundantly. Barley is raised in great quantity for the use of horses and mules, which, in the winter, are fed on this grain, mixed with chopped straw, as in Arabia and Spain. Hemp and flax grow luxuriantly. Cotton is here and there cultivated for their domestic manufactures; and there is one sugar plantation. The climate and soil are well adapted to the culture of sugar; but they have been long accustomed to get that article from Lima, in exchange for their wheat, and are not disposed to change their ancient habits. Rice, likewise, would grow on their low lands, but it is brought from Lima.

South of the river Itata the climate varies. Rains are frequent in the summer, and, in the winter, are attended by storms of wind. The grapes are chiefly cultivated in these districts, and the wine is better than where vineyards are irrigated.

The olive grows luxuriantly throughout all Chili, and the oil is of the

17 minutes, there is excellent timber, and the whole country abounds with forests of a thorny mimosa, which makes good charcoal, and is in general use for fuel.

In the neighborhood of Talcahuana, within 500 yards of the sea, there is a fine vein of sea-coal, which has been used by our whaling ships.

The kingdom of Chili was governed by a president and captain-general, who was amenable only to the Council of the Indies, and was assisted by an *audiencia*, or supreme court. His powers were the same as the Viceroy of Lima and Buenos Ayres.

There were two bishoprics in Chili: that of Santiago comprehended the territory from the river Salado to the Maule; and the bishopric of Concepcion included the country from the Maule to the island of Chiloe. The presidency was divided into districts (*partidos*) governed by a subdelegate. Copiapo, the most northern, was the first conquered by the Peruvians, under the Incas, who extended themselves subsequently to the banks of the Maule.

The Spaniards followed the track marked out by the enterprise of this extraordinary people, and, passing along the edge of the Cordilleras, descended into Chili by the mountains of Copiapo. This district extends from the Cordilleras to the sea. On the south it is separated from the viceroyalty of Lima by the desert and district of Atacama, and extends north seventy leagues to the district of Guasco. The town of Copiapo is situated in 26 degrees 50 minutes south latitude, twenty leagues from the coast. It is small and inconsiderable; for the only part of this district capable of cultivation is the narrow valley which extends from the Cordilleras to the town, the river losing itself in the sands between the town and the ocean. South from the Hospederia de Yerba Buena extends a desert tract, (*travirsia*,) about thirty leagues to the borders of Guasco.

La Caldera Copiapo, the port, is situated in 26 degrees 1 minute south latitude.

The wine of Copiapo is much esteemed, and is of excellent flavor, but has not body to keep any length of time.

The district of *Guasco* extends from the Cordilleras to the sea, and from that of Copiapo to the district of Coquimbo, occupying a line of coast of thirty leagues extent. The principal town is small, and situated about sixteen leagues from the sea.

The mines of gold in this district have been abandoned, but those of copper produce annually eighteen to twenty thousand quintals. The King exercised the right of purchasing copper at seven and a half dollars per quintal, payable in Santiago. In consequence of this monopoly, the miners preferred disposing of it to the smugglers, who gave them fourteen dollars, in goods. The mines of silver discovered in this district in 1811 are the richest ever known; the veins which have been hitherto wrought are near the surface of

the earth, and have yielded the extraordinary product of forty marks, and sometimes even seventy marks, to the caxon of ore.¹

The port of *Guasco* is formed by two rocks, running out from the island of Carnero, and Point Expedition. It is situated in 28 degrees 26 minutes south latitude, and 75 degrees longitude west of Cadiz.

The district of *Coquimbo* extends from the Cordilleras to the sea; it bounds north on Guasco, and extends fifty leagues south, to the district of Cuzco. The capital, La Serana, commonly called Coquimbo, is situated in 29 degrees 54 minutes south latitude, on the south bank of the river Coquimbo, within half a league of the coast. The land slopes gradually from the town to the sea, and, being meadow, forms a lawn of never-failing verdure. The town is regular and well built, and is surrounded with gardens, which produce all the tropical fruits in great perfection. The inhabitants are remarked for their urbanity and hospitality to strangers, and the climate is equal and temperate.

The river Coquimbo waters the valley of Hualque, the most fertile part of the district; and the Liman, which is a large stream, waters the country above and below the juntas of Guamalata.

The gold mine of Talca, which is situated in this district, is very productive. The copper of Coquimbo is esteemed the best in the world, and contains a small portion of gold. The French formerly imported this copper through Spain, and extracted the gold from it. Mining is carried on by voluntary labor; the *mita*, or conscription of the unfortunate Indians to toil in the mines, was never practised in Chili.

The port of *Coquimbo* is formed by the head lands of Teatimos and Pelicanos, and is one of the best known, and the most secure of the Pacific. It is situated in 29 degrees 54 minutes south latitude.

The district of *Cuzco* extends from the Cordilleras to the sea, and from Coquimbo, south, to the district of Petorca. Rozas is the principal town.

The river Chaupo fertilizes this district; near where it falls into the sea is a large lake, abounding with fish.

The district of *Petorca* extends from the Cordilleras to the sea, and from Cuzco, its northern boundary, south, to Quillota. The capital is Petorca, sometimes called Santa Ana de Bribiesca. This district possesses gold and copper mines, and is watered by the rivers Longotama and Ligua. On the banks of the latter stands the town of San Domingo de Rozas, and near it the settlement of Placilla. There is a large Indian town in the valley, called Valle Hermoso.

¹ The method of estimating the product in Potosi, Chili, and generally in Peru, is by the caxon of ore, which contains fifty quintals of one hundred pounds each. The mark of silver is eight ounces of eight ochavas, each ochava of seventy-five grains. The caxon of ore at Guasco produces forty marks, or three hundred and twenty ounces of silver. In Potosi, fourteen marks is the average, or one hundred and twelve ounces; and in Guanaxuato, the richest mines of Mexico, the average is four ounces the quintal, or two hundred ounces the caxon.

The port of *Valparaiso* is situated in 33 degrees 1 minute 45 seconds south latitude. It is the most frequented in Chili, although open to the north and northeast, and to northwest winds, which blow with great violence in the winter, accompanied with a heavy sea.

The town extends around the bay, from the castle of St. Antonio, for nearly a mile, and is separated from the Almendral (a suburb of Valparaiso) by a low beach. The houses are irregularly scattered over the sides of steep hills, which rise abruptly from the shore, and extend along the ravines of St. Augustin, St. Francisco, and Gomez, the ground being very broken and rugged. The country near the town is very barren, and all the supplies are drawn from Quillota. That abundant district furnishes, at a very cheap rate, supplies for the vessels that frequent Valparaiso. Stock of every description, fruit, potatoes, vegetables, and excellent biscuit, may be bought at a very moderate price. The best water is brought from the Almendral, at some trouble and expense.

Until the late revolution, the only commerce from this port was with Lima; between forty and sixty cargoes were brought annually, consisting of fossil salt, sugar, rice, cotton, and a coarse cotton manufacture called toculle; and the returns made in wheat, hemp, beef and tallow, hides, &c.

The population of Valparaiso, including the Almendral, does not exceed 6,500 souls.

The district of *Quillota* is bounded north by Petorca, south by the district of Melipilla, east by that of Aconcagua, and west by the Pacific ocean. The principal town, San Martin de la Concha, commonly known by the name of Quillota, is situated on the south bank of the river Quillota, near the river of Olcancagua. The streets diverge from the principal square, and intersect each other at right angles; and the houses are commodious and well built. The town occupies a great space, each house having a garden adjoining, where the inhabitants raise vegetables and fruit for the supply of Valparaiso.

From the summit of an adjoining hill the eye embraces a highly rich and variegated prospect of the town, interspersed with groves and gardens, and surrounded by extensive artificial pastures, principally of lucerne; and of the fields intersected by canals from the river, and cultivated in wheat, corn, hemp, and flax. The cultivation in every part of Chili, as has been before observed, is conducted by irrigation; and the Aconcagua here affords a plentiful supply of water. The climate is mild and healthy, and the inhabitants lively and hospitable. There are mines of gold and copper in this district, although not wrought; and they make oil and wine. Petorca and Cuzco are included with Quillota, for all the purposes of government.

The port of *Herradura de Quintero*, in 32 degrees 47 minutes 33 seconds south latitude, and a little north of Valparaiso, is one of the best and safest harbors in these seas, being very extensive, with deep water and clean an-

chorage. At the Punta de las Ventamas is a good watering place, abundance of wood; and the country is beautiful and fertile.

The road direct to the capital is so rugged and mountainous that advantageous port has been neglected.

Any wind that permits you to approach the coast will carry you in; at the anchorage, you have only to avoid the shoal of Tortuga.

The district of *Melipilla* is bounded north by that of Quillota, south by the river Maipu, east by the district of Mapocho, and extends west to the Pacific ocean.

The chief town, San José, commonly called Melipilla, is beautifully situated near the north bank of the broad and rapid river of Maipu, which furnishes the means of irrigating an extensive and well cultivated country. The road to Valparaiso formerly passed through this town. The whole district is well settled, and highly cultivated in wheat, barley, Indian corn, and vines. It is watered by the rivers Maipu and Mapocho; on the latter is situated the small but flourishing town of San Francisco del Monte, the environs of which, for a considerable distance, are a vast garden, interspersed with orchards and vineyards. The convent of St. Francisco is endowed with extensive possessions. A little below the town the Mapocho falls into the Maipu; and near the outlet of the latter is the bay of St. Antonio, in 33 degrees 30 minutes south latitude. It is open to the north, and very insecure.

The district of *Mapocho* occupies an extensive plain at the foot of the Andes, being bounded on the north by Santa Rosa, south by the river Maipo, east by the Cordilleras, and west by Melipilla.

The city of Santiago de Chili is situated in this district, and was founded on the 12th of February, 1541, by Don Pedro de Valdivia, on the south bank of the Mapocho, in 33 degrees 31 minutes south latitude. He at first called the country overrun by his arms after his native province, Estramadura, and the capital Santiago de Estramadura; but it soon lost this title, and resumed the original name of Chili. Santiago contains 40,000 inhabitants; it was founded on the lands belonging to the Ulmen, or Cacique Guelingala, whose jurisdiction extended from the river Chuapa on the north, to the river Mapocho on the south, and east and west from the Cordilleras to the sea. The plain on which the city is situated extends along the foot of the Andes, certainly to the line, and I believe quite to the isthmus of Panama, north, and south to the straits of Magellan. This is the only uniform level in Chili; hence to the coast the descent is very rapid, and broken by irregular mountains and valleys. On the eastern extremity of the city rises the rocky hill of Santa Lucia, formerly called the mountain of Guelon. The insulated hills are frequently seen on the great plain of Chili.

Santiago is divided into four quartels. The ministers of the royal government were chiefs of quartels, and an alcalde, or magistrate in each, attended to the police, and reported to the chief.

The Cabildo, or municipal council, is composed of a royal standard-bearer, (who carries the standard of Santiago on the festival of that saint,) an alguacil, alcalde of the province, two regidores, and fiel executors, which are permanent offices, and are sold to the highest bidder; and so fond are the people of distinction, that they are purchased at a high price. These choose two ordinary alcaldes, or magistrates of the province, who have jurisdiction in ordinary cases, and whose duty it is to keep the peace.

The tribunal of commerce is composed of a prior, two consuls, an assessor or syndic, and nine counsellors. These are chosen every two years, and have jurisdiction in all commercial causes. They have a fund arising from internal taxes and from fees; and are charged nominally with every thing relating to commerce and to the superintendence of roads and harbors.

A broad road extends round the south side of the town, like the boulevards in Paris, and separates it from the suburbs, which are extensive and well built. There are several handsome churches and convents in this canada, or boulevard, and a large canal carries a stream of water along the south side of it. North from the principal square a wide street leads to the bridge over the Mapocho, which is built of stone and brick, and stands on nine lofty arches. The view from it along the banks of the Mapocho, and towards the Andes, is very picturesque; and the inhabitants resort to this bridge in the summer afternoons, to enjoy the refreshing air from the mountains. The river is broad and shallow, and in the summer flows in several channels; but in the spring of the year, when swollen by the melting of the snows, it rises to the height of the arches, and has at times overflowed, and laid half the city under water. A dike has been built along the banks of the river, to protect the city from these inundations. It is a solid wall about five feet thick, with a parapet.

For the ecclesiastical government of the city, the town is divided into four curacies, viz: the Cathedral, Santa Ana, San Isidro, and San Lazaro. The jurisdiction belongs exclusively to the bishop, who is assisted by an ecclesiastical cabildo, composed of the canons, and presided by the proviso, who is the chief of the ecclesiastical court, and the director of the convent of nuns. There are seven nunneries and seven convents of monks in Santiago.

The monks of San Juan de Dios have two large hospitals: one for men, with the church of San Juan de Dios attached to it, in the suburbs of the canada; and one for women, annexed to the chapel of San Borja. These orders have all vast estates, both in lands, which they farm themselves, and which are always well cultivated, and in mortgages, which they hold to a great amount.

The district of *Santa Rosa* is separated from Alconcagua on the north by the river of Alconcagua, on the south it borders on the district of Mapocho, east on the Cordilleras, and west on Quillota. Its capital, Santa Rosa de los Andes, is situated on the road from Santiago to Mendoza.

The district of *Rancagua* is bounded north by the Maipu, which separates it from that of Mapocho, south by the Cachapoal, which divides it from Colchagua, and it extends east and west from the Cordilleras to the sea. The capital of this district, Santa Cruz de Triana, commonly called Rancagua, is in 34 degrees south latitude, 26 leagues south of Santiago. It stands near the north bank of the Cachapoal, which, after its confluence with the Tinguiririca, takes the name of Rapel. This is a very fertile district, exporting grain, and cattle, and fruits. There are several gold mines which have been abandoned, but the silver mine of Copana is still productive.

The district of *Colchagua* extends east and west from the Cordilleras to the sea, and from the river Cachapoal on the north to the districts of Curico and Maule on the south. Colchagua is very fertile and well cultivated; the principal export is wheat; some gold and copper has been found in this district. The warm mineral springs of Canquenes are situated in the mountains of Colchagua, and are much frequented by the inhabitants of Santiago during the summer. San Fernando, the capital, is situated on the north bank of the Tinguiririca.

The district of *Curico* extends from the Cordilleras to the sea. It borders north on the district of Colchagua, and south on that of Maule. The town of San José de Buena Vista, more commonly known by the name of Curico, is the capital.

The district of *Maule* extends from the Cordilleras to the sea. It borders north on Curico, and on the south is separated from the Isla de Maule by the river Canquenes, by the broad and rapid river Maule. The banks of the river are covered with timber, and there is a ship-yard at Bilboa, near its mouth. The entrance of the river is obstructed by a bar. Talca is the principal town of this district. There are still some lavaderos for gold in Maule; the mountain of Chibats, near Talca, has been very productive.

The district of the *Isla de Maule* extends from the Cordilleras to the district of Canquenes. It is bounded on the north by the river Maule, and south by the district of Chillan. The town of Linaras is situated in this district, between the rivers Gutagan and Longavi, and the town of Puyo is on the south of Longavi.

The district of *Canquenes* extends from the Isla de Maule, its eastern boundary to the Pacific ocean. It borders north on the river Maule, and south on the district of Itata. The chief town, La Mercedes de Maule, commonly called Canquenes, is situated on the stream of Tutubin. The town of Bilboa, at the mouth of the Maule, is in this district.

The district of *Chillan* extends from the Cordilleras to the district of Itata and bounds north on the Isla de Maule. The town of San Carlos is situated

degrees 5 minutes west longitude. This town is well built, and is ornamented by several churches and convents. The monks of Chillan own almost all the lands in this district, which is very fertile and productive. There is a manufactory of woollen cloths at Chillan.

The district of *Itata* borders east on that of Chillan, west on the sea, and north on the district of Canquenes. The fine river of Itata flows through this district. The chief town of Itata is Cuelemu. Quirique is likewise situated in this district, which is famous for the excellence of its wine.

The district of *Rere* extends from the Cordilleras to the district of Puchacay. It borders north on Itata, and south on the military frontier posts. The chief town is San Luis Gonzaga, formerly known by the names of Buena Esperanza, and Estancia del Rey.

The district of the *Isla de la Laxa* is comprised in the strip of land between the rivers La Laxa and Biobio, and is surrounded by the Cordilleras of the Andes: it is very fertile and productive. Los Angeles is the chief town, and has a citadel, being one of the frontier posts. There are three passes in the Cordilleras from this district: Antuco, Villacura, and Cuinco, which are fortified against the Indians.

The district of *Puchacay* borders east on that of Rere, west on Concepcion, south on the river Biobio, and north on the Itata. The chief towns in this district are Hualqui and Florida. The country is rugged and mountainous, but produces good wheat and wine.

Concepcion de Chile. This district borders east and north on that of Puchacay, on the south it is bounded by the river Biobio, and extends on the west to the Pacific. The city of Concepcion was founded by Don Pedro de Valdivia in the year 1550, and was built in the valley of Penco; it was repeatedly destroyed by the Araucanians, and rebuilt by the Spaniards on the same spot. After the earthquake, in November, 1774, which laid the city in ruins, the present city of Concepcion was built about three leagues south of the former position, on the Mocha. This town is the see of a bishop, whose jurisdiction extended from the river Maule to the southern extremity of Chili. There is a small town erected on the ruins of the former capital, called Penco.

Talcahuana, in the bay of Concepcion, is situated in 36 degrees 41 minutes 50 seconds south latitude, and in 66 degrees 53 minutes 30 seconds west longitude from Cadiz. This is the largest and most secure port on the coast of Chili; it is protected on the north by the island of Quiriquina. The channel between the north point of Quiriquina and the point of Loberia is the best entrance to this bay, and is called Boca Grande; the other channel, or Boca Chica, has sufficient depth of water; but a shoal, which runs out in a westerly direction from the island, renders its approach more dangerous.

of the island of Quiriquina. There is a chain of military posts, extending from the Pacific to the Cordilleras. The first is Arauco, on the sea, where there is a small bay, a few leagues south of Talcahuana; San Pedro on the south side of Biobio, opposite the town of Concepcion; Talcahuano a small fort; Yumbel, a fortress, with a small, well built town; Mesquico a fort; San Carlos, a town defended by a fort; Santa Barbara, a fort situated in the passage of the Cordilleras, by which the Indians Pehuenches pass into Chili, to traffic with the Spaniards. The river Biobio was settled as the boundary of the Araucanians at the mouth of Negrete. This river falls into the sea in 36 degrees 50 minutes south latitude.

The territory occupied by the warlike tribes of Araucania is divided into four provinces, which they call *Meli Guatalmaipu*; it extends from 36 degrees 50 minutes south latitude, to the river Totten, in 39 degrees south latitude, and from the Cordilleras de los Andes to the Pacific ocean. These provinces are divided by lines running north and south. The first, *Lanquen Maipu*, or the district of sea, is Araucania proper, and is inhabited only by that warlike nation. The Spanish fortresses of Arauco, San Pedro, Concepcion, and Tucapel, formerly stood in this district: they were all abandoned at the conclusion of the peace, except San Pedro. The bay of Arauco is a good roadstead, and the port of Caruero, at the mouth of the river Cautin, affords shelter to the shipping on the coast. A chain of mountains separates the district of *Languen Maipu* from that of *Lelbun Maipu*, which occupies an extensive plain, extending from the base of the mountains, in a northerly direction, to *Yuapire Maipu*. The only town, or rather fort, in which the Spaniards now possess in this district, is Santa Juana. The Spaniards were driven from the ports of Millapoa, Santa Cruz de Coza; and even from the fortress of Purin, which was situated 15 leagues from the sea, and 10 leagues south of the Biobio. They were forced to abandon the fortress of Imperial, which they had built on the banks of the river Canten, about 10 leagues from the sea.

The district of *Yuapire Maipu* extends along the plain at the foot of the Andes. Nacimiento, Mallien, Corve, Chacayco, Quechireguas, and Pangua, were situated in this district. The Spaniards now occupy only the fortress Nacimiento, on the south side of the Biobio, between the mountains of Bergara and Tubunlen. The missionary settlements on the river Ili and those on the Tolpague and Maguehue, have been abandoned.

The district of *Pive Outalmaipu* is situated in the Cordilleras de los Andes, and is inhabited by the Pehuenches, whose territory extends from the mouth of Santa Barbara, and occupied the valleys of the Cordilleras. The district of *Outalmaipu* formerly extended from the river Maule, and the Pehuenches occupied the passes of the Maule Longari. A few still remain about the sources of the river Biobio, and the river Maule. The

reside in the valleys of Antuco, Vellacura, Cuinco, and about the sources of the river Totten.

The *Huilli Maipu* is the district of country south of the river Totten from the Andes to the sea. It includes the eastern valleys of the Cordilleras. The Huilliches divide this extensive Outalmaipu into four districts. The first is Totten, and extends from the south bank of that river to the river Valdivia, and from the eastern side of the Andes to the sea. The second district stretches along the coast from the river Valdivia to the archipelago of Chiloe. The inhabitants are called the tribe of Cuncos. The third district occupies the plains from the Cordilleras to the province of the Cuncos, and extends north and south from the river Valdivia to the river Sin Fondo, in 44 degrees south latitude. The inhabitants of this district are called Outa Huilliches. The last division extends south from the river Sin Fondo, as far as is known of the northern continent, and is inhabited by Huayguenes. The Spanish authorities represent this country as thinly inhabited by a wandering, wretched, and barbarous people.

The town of *Villarica*, on the Totten, has been abandoned by the Spaniards; and the fort of San José of Mariguina was destroyed by the Indians.

The fort of *Cruseo*, on the river of the same name, is still occupied by the Spaniards.

There are three missionary settlements: one at Totten el Baxo called San Francisco del Solano; one at Niebla; and one called San Antonio de Guanahue, on the south bank of the river Callacalla, or, as it is called by the Spaniards, the river Valdivia. There is a missionary settlement in the province of the Cuncos, and another twenty leagues to the east of the city of Valdivia, called Nuestra Señora de Pilar.

There are several lakes in these districts at the foot of the Andes. The river Valdivia takes its rise from the lake of Guanegue; Rio Bueno from the lake of Ranco. At the head of the lake which gives rise to the river Chico, there are warm sulphurous springs. Expeditions have been sent from Valdivia to explore the lakes of Puyegue and Llayguihue, and to discover the remaining inhabitants of Villarica and Osorno, who are reported to have taken refuge near these lakes after the destruction of their towns. These expeditions failed in their object. The last party ascended the volcano of Ribahanco, but gave no particular account of that mountain.

Mehuín is a roadstead, situated in 39 degrees 26 minutes south latitude, and 67 degrees 7 minutes 30 seconds longitude west of Cadiz. It is only frequented by small vessels, or by ships driven to leeward of Valdivia by the south wind. It is formed by the island of Silla and the point of Sembrados.

The island of *La Mocha* is separated from the continent by a channel six leagues wide. The centre of the island is in 38 degrees 22 minutes 25 seconds south latitude, and 67 degrees 45 minutes 30 seconds longitude west of Cadiz.

There are two anchorages on the coast of La Mocha: one near the south point, called the Anogadira, in six or seven fathoms; here there is a good anchorage; the other is near English creek, in thirteen fathoms water. This anchorage affords an abundant supply of wood and water, and is well stocked with goats and horses.

The island of *Santa Maria* is separated from the continent by a channel 4,391 toises wide. The centre of the island lies in 37 degrees 3 minutes 30 seconds south latitude, and 67 degrees 22 minutes longitude west of Callao. There is a harbor on the north side of the island, and one on the south side. The latter is the most secure, and possesses the advantage of a safe landing at the Punta de Aguada, where supplies may be obtained of water, wheat, apples, quinces, celery, and sorrel.

The archipelago of *Chiloe*, with some inconsiderable settlements on the opposite shore, constitutes the province of Chiloe, which is attached to the viceroyalty of Lima. The Chilotes, as the inhabitants of this province are called, are of diminutive stature; and, as far as my observations extend, the cold, bleak climate of the southern hemisphere has the same effect on the growth of animals and plants as that of the north. The inhabitants subsist principally by fishing; they navigate these stormy seas in piraguas, boats of ten and fifteen tons, made of plank, bound together with twisted fish-bone and the seams pitched over. The robal abounds in the bays and harbors; it is salted, and sent to Lima. They manufacture excellent camlets, cloths, woollen stuffs and ponchos, which they dye with a great variety of colors. Their principal trade is in boards and lumber, which they send to Lima. They receive fossil salt, brandy, herb of Paraguay, sugar, and dry goods.

The city of *Valdivia* is situated on the south bank of the river Valdivia, about five leagues from the sea. It was founded by Don Pedro de Valdivia in 1552, and was destroyed by the Araucanians in 1599. In the year 1600 the Dutch landed at this place, and attempted to rebuild the town; but the decided hostility of the natives forced them to abandon their purpose. The ensuing year a Spanish squadron, which had been fitted out to expel the Dutch, entered the bay of Valdivia. The town was rebuilt and fortified. It is now a frontier fortress, and is the presidio for criminals, who are transported here from Peru and Chili. It was attached to the presidency of Chili, from whence it received an annual supply of money, clothing, and provisions. An annual ship supplied the inhabitants with sugar, the herb of Paraguay, brandy, and dry goods, and carried off boards and lumber. The settlements are extended to Rio Bueno, where they pasture some cattle and raise vegetables.

The port of Valdivia is situated in 39 degrees 49 minutes 17 seconds south latitude, and 67 degrees 19 minutes 15 seconds longitude west of Callao. The entrance is well fortified. The bay of Corral is the best anchorage.

Osorno was founded by Don Garcia, while governor of Valdivia. It is situated in the Huilli Maipu, in 41 degrees south latitude, six leagues south of Rio Bueno, and on the banks of the river Canogas. This town was destroyed by the Indians; and the towns of Carel Maipu and Calbuco were founded by the fugitives. Osorno was rebuilt in 1796 by the Captain General O'Higgins, and is now a flourishing settlement. The town of San José de Alcudia was built at the same time, in the plains of Molino, on the north bank of Rio Bueno, about ten leagues from Osorno.

A road was opened from Valdivia to the archipelago of Chiloe, by the garrison of Valdivia and a party of Indians. They began at Raygue, and in a little more than three months completed the road to the fort of Maullin, the last Spanish settlement on the continent to the south, and situated opposite the north point of the island of Chiloe. The island of Caylin, in 43 degrees 34 minutes south latitude, opposite the lofty peak of the Corcobado, is inhabited by some few Spanish descendants.

The first Junta, or Executive of Chili, was composed of seven members. The struggle for power between the family of the Carreras and that of the Larrains commenced at this period, after the successful attack on the artillery barracks. The eldest brother was promoted to the colonelcy of the grenadiers, and the youngest to that of the artillery; from the barracks of these officers a remonstrance was addressed to the Congress, which induced that body to depose a Junta of seven, and to appoint an Executive of five. José Miguel Carrera entered into the Government on this occasion.

This Junta did not long endure the control of a legislative body; and the Congress was dissolved on the 2d of December, 1811. Some of the members of the Executive resigned on this occasion, and a new Junta was formed, consisting of three persons, J. M. Carrera, J. Portales, and J. N. Cerda. The members from the southern provinces protested loudly against this flagrant breach of the privileges of the people; and, upon their arrival in Concepcion, excited their constituents to oppose the Executive of Santiago, and to take up arms in defence of their rights.

Forces were collected on both sides, and were marched to the banks of the river Maule, which separates Santiago from Concepcion. Both parties, however, preferred negotiation and intrigue to blows. They retired without coming to action, and Concepcion, being destitute of resources, was shortly after forced to submit to the capital.

Some attempts having been made by the colonel of grenadiers to awe the Executive into his measures, José Miguel Carrera resigned his office in the Junta, and his father was nominated to supply his place. The brothers were soon after reconciled; a constitution was framed, and offered to the people for their acceptance, and, having been signed by the *military*, the Cabildo, and all the respectable inhabitants, was adopted by the Government. The father resigned, and J. M. Carrera was reinstated in the Junta.

A senate was elected, according to a provision of the constitution assembled in November, 1812. The first Junta established in Chile had been acknowledged by the regency; and the supply of grain was so near to the viceroyalty of Lima, that the intercourse between these countries had not been interrupted by the late changes of Government. But the dissensions which existed between the provinces of Santiago and Concepcion enabled the viceroyalty to carry into execution a plan for the conquest of the latter.

The garrisons of Valdivia and of San Carlos de Chiloe were landed at the bay of San Vicente, and thence marched to Talcahuana. That place was delivered up to them by some European officers in the service of Chile. The town of Concepcion was afterwards taken without opposition. The patriot forces were joined by several regiments of militia cavalry, and they occupied the whole of the province.

The greatest exertions were made in Santiago to repel this invasion. The three brothers Carrera put themselves at the head of the forces, and the two armies met on the banks of the Maule.

A body of five hundred men crossed the broad and rapid river Maule during the night, and surprised the camp of the royalists at Yerbos Buenas. This action deterred them from crossing the river in front of such an enemy. Being baffled in an attempt to turn the flank of the patriot army, they retired towards Concepcion. The Chilians crossed the river, and occupied the camp of the royal forces at San Carlos; an obstinate engagement ensued, in which both parties claimed the victory. The royal army crossed the river Maule at the dawn of day, and retired to Chillan. J. M. Carrera, leaving his brother at the head of the main body, moved with a detachment to Concepcion. The garrison of that place retreated to Talcahuana, and the post was immediately attacked and taken by assault. The army then moved to siege to Chillan, which the royalists had strongly fortified. After spending a month before this place, the continued rains of the winter obliged the patriots to retire.

The executive Junta established themselves shortly after at Talcahuana, and thence they issued a decree new modelling the army. They designated Don Juan Carrera of the command, and appointed Don Bernardo O'Higgins as chief. The three brothers immediately withdrew from the army; the youngest were taken prisoners by the royalists as they were returning to Santiago, and were conducted to Chillan.

The royal forces now marched towards Santiago, crossed the Maule, and occupied Talca. The Chilians followed them by rapid marches, and, occupying the Maule lower down the river, took a position to protect the capital.

This state of things called for a more energetic Government; and, on the return of the Executive to Santiago, the Junta was dissolved, and a new Director appointed.

The royal forces continued to advance, when Captain Hillyar, the commander of the British squadron in the Pacific, proffered his mediation. As it appeared that he was authorized by the Viceroy of Lima, his proposals were accepted by both parties.

It was agreed that the royal forces should evacuate the territory of Chili within two months, and that the Government of Chili should acknowledge the regency and Cortes, and send deputies to Spain to learn the decision of the mother country, to which they agreed to submit. This treaty was signed on the 5th May, 1814, and hostages exchanged by the contracting parties.

Both parties were dissatisfied with this arrangement. The Carreras, who had been excluded from the general amnesty and mutual liberation of prisoners agreed upon by the treaty, escaped from their confinement at Chillan. The youngest brother, Don Luis, upon his return to Santiago, was seized and imprisoned by the Government; and Don J. M. Carrera, after escaping the same fate, entered the capital at the head of some of his partisans. The troops received him with enthusiasm; the Supreme Director was deposed, and a Junta of three established.

General O'Higgins determined to enforce the execution of the treaty, and marched towards the capital. The armies met on the plains of Maipu, and an action was fought, which terminated in favor of the forces of the Junta. The continuation of this civil war was prevented by the unexpected news of the arrival of reinforcements from Lima, and the refusal of the viceroy to ratify the treaty. This intelligence united the armies of Chili, and they marched against the common enemy. The royalists had advanced to the river Cachapoal, which separates the province of Rancagua from San Fernando.

General O'Higgins fortified himself at Rancagua, but was surprised by the royalists, and his forces totally routed.

This decisive action obliged the patriots to evacuate the territory of Chili. They passed the Cordilleras, and took refuge in the province of Mendoza.

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*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, November 4, 1818.

SIR: At one o'clock in the morning of the 30th Ultó. Genl San Martin arrived here as noticed in the 64th No. of the Ministerial Gazette— At a very

splendid dinner in the Directorial Palace which was given to him on Inst. I had some political conversation with him on the subject of our cing Pensacola & our situation with Spain—I was of opinion that our ences with that Power would be brought to a conclusion by the percession to us of East Florida and doing us justice in our causes of com against her—which would prevent things coming to a formal declar War between us—This was to be sure not so Palatable an opinion might have given, but it appeared to me the most correct—For wh recollected that the occupation of the Falkland Islands which is so barr remote being almost the “Ultima Thule” of the American Contin sufficient to light up the torch of war—I might with a good deal of bility have inferred that our taking forcible possession of a large & (t gre) populous & fertile Province, would unequivocally produce a breach between the two Nations—But the Proclamation of Genl. J gives the reason, which disrobes the Act of Much of the General h with which, at first sight it seemed to be clad—The General appeare friendly towards us and said at another time he should be glad to hav conversation with me—To which I replied at any time he chose, with pleasure—The toasts were indicative of a lively intention to push war & emancipate lima.—As a civil officer of the United States I was with marked distinction—

There is nothing yet heard from the Patriot Squadron—A few da this government bought an other English vessel The Galvarino 18 Gun tain Spry. for \$60,000—and she went out with a fine crew on the 1st or Inst. from Valparaíso with the intention of cutting out some of the E Vessels or Transports which it is supposed has weathered Cape Horn put into some of the Ports on the Coast of Chile—It is reported th have arrived safely into Talcahuana being from 3 to 7 sail If so Talc was not destroyed and evacuated as was supposed—and the enemy lecting a respectable force, and shortly Chile itself again may beco Theatre of another campaign—

The Supreme Director himself told me but a few days ago that Os commander in Chief had actually retired from Talcahuana & that Sar an inferior officer staid behind with only a few hundred men and som canian Indians—I suspect his Excellency was decieved—

I was yesterday to pay a visit to The Supreme Director He observ he should wish before I left Chile, to make an agreement with me res our commerce & Seamen on the basis of the Project which I had her sent in—That they were at present in very critical times & untill Li free they could not act as they intended—particularly he said, in t visional constitution, I saw there was to be tollerated but one religi

him that in some remarks which I had made on the Constitution which I had presented to him, this intintion of his, as heretofore expressed to me, had been communicated—That I perfectly understood the difficulties of their situation &c and was aware that old habits tho' palpably erroneous could not be done away at once—That on the subject of slaves particularly—he had thought it necessary to make concessions & compromises in forming our Constitution—and in a country like this, matters of Religion were particularly difficult and dangerous to touch—But that I had no doubt at a proper period, men of judgement and intrepidity would be found to correct abuses as well in that as any thing else,—There were modes, but as he thought the time had not yet arrived, even if it were proper, it was inexpedient, now, to give my own opinion, what they were;—He advised me not to put myself on my return in the power of the Spaniards by going to Lima as he said they were treacherous & that I would run a great chance of being assassinated—I took my leave after some time—The fact is, I never meddle with their religious affairs, and through politeness alone pay as much respect to their forms when it is necessary, as any foreigner—

The English Frigate *Andromache* I suspect sailed yesterday with three or four english vessels under her Convoy For Lima loaded with goods from this place, to get the first of the Market there—It is said the Commodore whom you will recollect in my letter of the 22 Ulto, I said had just returned from Lima, had Licenses from the Vice King—Whether they will be recieved there or not is doubted, but I think they will and make a handsome profit—at all events the British Frigate will protect them

Mr Robinson is said to have been ordered away from Lima and as he first asked for a passport by the way of Panama, he was afterwards refused one when he wished to come in the *Two Catherines*, which tho' she cleared out for Hamburg was known to the Government as coming to Valparaiso—Judge Prevost on his return to Lima in the British Sloop of War *Blossum* on his way to Columbia River, was recieved by the Vice King very coolly indeed—

However he & Captain Biddle & Mr Robinson will be better able to explain affairs connected with Lima &c—

The Ontario has not yet returned; As I think another crisis is approaching in the affairs of these countries I shall give the earliest information in my power—

They send an Agent from Chile to the Congress of Aix la Chapelle—
With distinguished consideration [etc.].

*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *November 11, 1818.*

SIR: Agreeably to the opinion as expressed in my letter of the 22nd Ultó.—The Chili Squadron have fallen in with, and captured a part of the Spanish Expedition, as you will see more particularly in the Ministerial Gazette Extraordinary of yesterday—I am strongly inclined to think they will capture the greater part of them & if they choose it push on the war against Lima itself. The news of this Victory was recieved here in the fornoon of the 9th Inst—I waited on the Supreme Director in his Hall of Audience & congratulated him on the event, also on Genl. San Martin (who occupies what was under the old Government the Bishop's Palace)—The capture of the Maria Isabella has been recieved with great rejoicing here—On the night of the news The Supreme Director gave a Splendid Ball at which I took occasion to say to Genl. San Martin, that I supposed some of those *circumstances* had occurred which would enable him to say when they would go against Lima—

This was said in consequence of a private conversation which I had with the Genl. on the 7th Inst—who on my asking him when they would most likely go against Lima—He replied with a smile, that even he himself did not know, it would depend on circumstances—I am inclined to think, The Genl. at that time did not think so much of this Marine, as of certain operations on the east side of the Cordilleros & what might be effected under Col. Freyre whom they were just about sending to the South as military Commander & Governor Intendente, I am told, of the province of Conception—

There is considerable mistery hanging over the affairs of Artigas & his Coadjutors on the other side of the Cordilleros—It is said, the Buenos Ayrean Government have sent another expedition against him under Marcus Balcarce, the result of which may have an important influence on the party political state of these countries—

It must occur to you, that even my enquiring into many interesting parts of information relating to the designs & movements of the armies, which tho' not strictly matters of secrecy & confidence yet would subject me to much suspicion, as it is generally thought my functions partake more of a consular than a diplomatic character—I may therefore be too reserved.—

The late Naval victory having been obtained in two British East India-men, and the Nation having been so long anxiously looking for those two frigates they expected from the United States, for which they say they

have sent two hundred thousand Dollars, and their expectation so often disappointed in their coming, begins to have a sensible effect in weakening their partiality towards us—I have long since anticipated this, and more than once combatted the impression—I am aware that the Government of the United States know nothing of this matter—If they have thrown any impediments in their way it is in executing the Laws, in matters officially brought before them—That to their own Agents these people have to attribute any failure of their plans—But these minutia cannot be explained except to a few. I wish it to be understood that I have not thought proper to say any thing officially to this Government on this subject—It is a thing with which I will have nothing to say or do—I only mention it now, to account for a political feeling created against us, and trace that sensation to its origin. Yet that origin I do not say is founded in fact—for whether they have ever had Frigates building in the United States or ever sent money there, are facts which I neither advance nor vouch for—and should object to this communication being even the basis of an enquiry to ascertain those facts—Because my own Government have never thought proper to give me instructions on that head & I have never enquired respecting it of the government here—Nothing is more true than that “hope long deferred makes the Heart sick,” for they always, that is the Nation, expected so much from us, & now getting Ships, Sailors, Goods &c of the British, visited by their Ships of War two or three at a time,—feasted & treated on board of them—and a hundred et ceteras which I could mention, and our falling so far short of their anticipations, produces a recoil upon us, of a very disadvantageous Cast—

I hope this letter may be in time for the *Savage*; I dispatch it for *Coquimbo* or *Quasco* where she is loading—

With distinguished consideration [etc.].

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*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, November 18, 1818.

SIR: Last night at about eleven oclock we recieved the news that a part of the Spanish Transports under the late convoy of the Frigate *Maria Isabella* had been captured by the Patriot squadron near the Island of *Mocha*—

were of the most lively cast— Today the official report is that the transports originally carrying 600 men are the Prizes—Nothing now to ensure the emancipation of Lima, but a Rencontre of the & Limancan Fleets—I have very little doubt of the result being decisively in favor of the Patriots—The Physical forces are nearly equal but all the moral strength is on the side of Chile. The Supreme Director knows the force of the Vice King, but he will be deceived as to the forces, put to sea under that erroneous impression & his squadron of 10 to 12 armed vessels fall an easy prey to their opponents—

I make these remarks under the opinion that he will send his fleet to sea before he hears of the fate of the Maria Isabella & the Trauco, which I have many reasons for thinking he will do—

The Supreme Director told me today the Enemy had evacuated Talcahuana. I think what royalists there are in Talcahuana will if not taken by the Patriots Mutiny & desert before long—

When the disaster of the expedition reaches Peru, a revolution is probable. I think may be the consequence—It is perhaps rather too soon to say by no means improbable that I may eat my Christmas dinner with the United Bi & Tricoloured flags waving triumphantly over the capital of the Incas; for I should certainly visit Cusco.

This is expected to be in time to reach the Brig Savage—
With distinguished consideration [etc.].

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W. G. D. Worthington, *Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Buenos Aires, to Joaquín de Echeverría, Minister of State and Foreign Relations of Chile*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, January 4

SIR: In a conversation which I had the honor to hold today with the Excellency the Supreme Director; I requested to be furnished officially with the reasons which induced Captain Biddle of the United States to depart so suddenly from Valparaiso on the 31st Ultimo. It was in the power of Government to inform me. It is well known that the public feeling was considerably excited on this preceeding, and it was due to two causes,—The one that a difference had taken place between the Chile Admiral & Capt. Biddle because he did not fly the Flag of Chile on his entering the Port; the other that he had some families, and a large amount of Spanish property on board taken in

¹ MS. Dispatches from Argentina, I.

and destined for Rio de Janeiro on account of which he was apprehensive of his vessel being searched.

As to the first, the point of Etiquette I should suppose nothing serious could arise from that, as I am confident the Officers of the United States Navy would cheerfully shew every mark of respect to the Flag of Chile which may be due to that of any other friendly power.

As to the second, I believe unless under the virtue of Treaties, it is not now contended, that Enemies property is protected by a Neutral Flag on the High Seas much less within a Port, or within the Territorial jurisdiction of a Belligerent. By the laws of nations a Merchant vessel, which should be properly visited and searched and indemnified under such circumstances, could not complain. But I know of no instance where a National Vessel has been visited and searched for Enemies Property.—If the Belligerent should have good reasons to suspect, or should even know that a Neutral National Vessel was carrying Enemies property either on the High Seas—or within a Port the territorial jurisdiction of such Belligerent, I should suppose the most proper mode would be, to represent the fact to the Commander of such Neutral Vessel demanding the property and paying his just Freight and indemnity; if he denied having the property or would not give it up, on such demand. Then let him Represent the cause to the Neutral Government, demand justice and hold them answerable. But by no means make a forcible entry & or search on a Neutral Vessel any where, under any pretence or reason whatever, unless you intend to violate the sovereignty of her nation.

This is the first instance that I recollect wherein such an imputation has been made against any of our national Vessels—and the established reputation of Capt'n. Biddle would lead me to believe it is incorrect. But be it as it may, I pledge my honor my Government is pure and spotless in this affair, nor should I suppose Capt'n. Biddle is otherwise, but as some accident may happen to him—I wish to send on an account of the whole transaction to Washington, so that not a shade of animosity may arise between the two Countries. If we have been injured and insulted, you may have an opportunity to know it and redress us. If we have injured or insulted you, that speedy and ample justice shall be done you. As I am holding myself ready to leave Chile by the first opportunity, any communications with which you may honor me, be pleased to make as soon as convenient.

With profound respect [etc.].

*Joaquin de Echeverría, Minister of State and Foreign Relations of Chile
W. G. D. Worthington (Santiago, Chile), Special Agent of the
United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, January 8, 1819

SIR: In reply to your note of the 4 Inst² I have the honor to say the Government is still ignorant of the cause of the precipitate departure of U. S. Corvette, Horatio. It is true that there were some differences between her commander Captn. Biddle and the Vice Admiral of the forces of Chile—Lord Cockrane, respecting the Salute; but this ought not to cause the least mistrust on the part of Captn. Biddle to sail in the manner he did.

The Government knew very well that on board the Ontario were European Passengers, proceeding from Lima, and enemies property; but notwithstanding the prejudice which this conduct occasioned us it never was thought of to search by force or otherwise a Neutral Ship; and if this fear induced Captn. Biddle to sail precipitately from Valparaiso, he certainly justified the principles of natural equity—which this Government has promised to follow. I regret exceedingly that your immediate departure and the manner in which we are occupied in despatching various important business does not permit me to give you, a copy of the correspondence between Lord Cockrane & Captn. Biddle; but it will be published in the *Ministerial Gazette*, and if you will be pleased, to point out to me, where a copy of your papers shall be sent, I will take the greatest pleasure in doing so.

I have the honor to assure you [etc.].

P. S. In this moment I have the honor to send to you the Copy of the correspondence between Captain Biddle and Lord Cockrane.

*W. G. D. Worthington, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the
United States*¹

STATE OF CHILE, SANTA ROSA OR LA VILLA DE LOS ANDES,

January 26, 1819

SIR: I arrived here on the 15th Inst. having left Valparaiso on the morning of the 14th & Santiago on the 8th at Night, as I had anticipated in my

of that date—There was but one Vessel bound round Cape Horn, the British Ship admiral Griffith for Rio De Janeiro, on Inspecting her, I determined not to Venture; and have made this retrograde movement; As this is the last letter I shall write from this side of the cordilleros (for on the 29th I shall push on for Mendoza) I will endeavour to take a retrospective view of the late recent events—I endeavoured to keep you well advised of the Marine of this State, even as to particulars, The recent arrival of Lord Cochran in this country renders the subject more interesting. He arrived in the old British sloop of War Rose about the 28th of November at Valparaiso, on the 4th Ult. at about 9 oClock at night he rode into Santiago and put up at a house prepared for him by the Government it being night, his entry was very little known, he had a Small escort of cavalry, but whether they were private gentlemen or ordered by the director I did not enquire—On the 6th Ult. I paid Lord Cochran a Visit but as his house was pretty much thronged by the officers of the government calling to see him, I remained but a Short time with him, His first appearance is not prepossessing He is about 40 years old, very tall and not corpulent, rather of a Stripling appearance; not courtly in his address, but very plain and bold in his remarks and opinions; Yet not authoritative nor pompous; On the 8th I accidentally met his Lordship, he spoke amongst other things with great bitterness of Lord Castlereagh. on the 11th. he returned my Visit, I was not in, his card was left “Lord Cochran”—At 5 the same evening I met him at a Select dinner party given by General San Martin to him—The Supreme Director Sat on the Genl’s right & Lord C. on his left. I think his Lordship wore the Order of the Bath. The Genl. as he most always is, was dressed very plain, no embroidery and not even his Epaulets on, I noticed his furniture, as much as he could get was the plain Manufacture of Chile, particularly plain flag bottem chairs, His wines were cheifly of South America, Mendoza, Penco, Copiapo &c—He drank altogether of those wines, there were also foreign wines on the table, there were not more than 24 at dinner, The General gave the first toast, nearly as follows—“May the first action of Lord Cochrane meet the expectations of the friends of Liberty”—I forget what was the Director’s, Lord C—gave, “May all South America be as free as Chile” He was about giving it in Spanish But General San Martin requested him to give it in English, indeed politely interrupted his Lordship, I sat directly opposite the Genl. with Mr. Guido the Buenos Ayrean Minister or Deputy on my left & General Balcarce on my right, the place was allotted—and on the Genl. giving word that I was about offering a toast, I gave, “Washington was first in War, first in peace, and first in the heart of his Country, May the Washington of South America be the Same.”—It was given in awkward Spanish and I feared being interrupted, but it was received very politely—The toasts were all drank Sitting, untill at a Sign from the Genl all filled & rose up—when he gave

party and returned to the Coffee room.—I assure you that in all this entertainment I admired the spirit, ease and politeness with which Genl. Santin behaved & I could not help thinking, that really he appeared more Republican than Lord Cochrane tho' he had been the great Champion of Popular rights in the British Parliament & the Genl. was bred up a military chief— This dinner was in the Bishops Palace, which made Genl's simplicity in his furniture &c. appear so much the more striking afterwards had a good deal of conversation with Lord Cochrane.—He was always in the highest terms of the U. States, their institutions &c. And on the whole I was very much pleased with him as a man of no ordinary talents, of great frankness and an advocate of Civil Liberty—On the 10th. Ult. he went to Valparaiso to fit out the first division' as it is called, of the marine—On the 10th. Inst. I called to see him at Valpairiso [*sic*] he had been previously invited by Lady Cochrane if I ever came there; to call on and see them.—He was very friendly and being told that I had come down round the cape—He asked me if I came to go in the Ontario, I replied that the Lordship, may suppose that I had heard of the Ontario; sailing on the 10th. Ult., He said, why the winds seem to blow pretty strong off the land against your ships of War in this Port—I replied, I do not recollect whether it was a land or Sea Breeze which disabled the Essex in her attempt to leave the port, but I understood that Captain Biddle had put to sea in very Superior Stile— He did not reply but translated into french his expression, that the winds blew strong against our Ships of war; to his rear admiral Blanco who was standing Just by us—He then began to say something about the Ontario, when I told him, I should like to know what were the reasons which induced the Ontario to sail so suddenly—he replied—Nobody I believe can tell that but captain Biddle himself—I told I had all the correspondence between him and the Government on the Subject. He then reproached the transaction and said it was as bad in the English as the Americans—what was sauce for the goose, was sauce for the Gander—and I then observed, jocularly I intended if I had been authorized to have made a countryman Wooster—search the British Frigate Andromache.—He appeared to be a perfect master of the Subject and I spoke a good deal about the right of Search &c.—I do not recollect that he acknowledged that he intended searching the Ontario.—I left them on the 14 and I believe he put to sea on the same day—His flag ship the O'Higgins—his force the San Martin The Lantaro & the Chacabuco, The Galverino—was already ordered and commanded by English and Irish captains. Wooster having remained on board Blanco Cicero Dias, John Higginson &c. remaining ashore I suppose formed the second division which it is likely is & ever will be in embryo—They are blockading the Ports on the coast of Peru, perhaps on the same extent

can not be with strong probability conjectured—and yet my own opinion is, it will succeed.—I doubt if Lord Cochrane's coming to Chile will be of benefit to the United States. He seems to have taken up the idea, that our Government view the advancement of the prosperity of South America as detrimental to the growth and aggrandisement of the United States, Therefore he will infuse a Spirit of Jealousy into the Cabinet of Chile, which will make them act cautiously & jealously towards us—If his Lordship should be able to capture a good deal of money from the Limaneans—he may go on; or go off very well.—if he should fail even in this first enterprize, I suspect he will find himself in a worse situation than when he arrived—He deserved Credit in so managing matters as to let the command of the fleet & I think he will not give it up without effecting some thing important—So much for the Marine of Chile—less than 10 Months ago they had not a Single Vessel,. The Director told me he had no money to buy, I told him his country never could be free until he had a fleet Superior to the enemy in the pacific.—I expressed the same sentiments to Genl. San Martin—I took the liberty of telling the Director when he complained of want of money, to buy the Windham, the first they have had, that there was old useless plate sufficient in Chile to buy a dozen such, I enumerated Silver Candlesticks, Mattee Cups &ct.—It is a fact that a large part of the Lantaro & the San Martine & I suspect the others, were paid for in piles & chests of old plate, candlesticks mattee cups, dishes &ct. &ct.—

Their Navy is the great favourite of the Director and the Chilenos, But the people appear to doubt, the policy of confiding it to the English, Whether they will ever be a maritime power it is not now necessary to discuss.—When I took leave of the director he was very friendly, & said that my letters to him recommending any person to this country should be cordially attended to, wished to Know if he could be of any further Service to me, and on my asking him if he wished to communicate any thing to the President, he said that there were things which it might be better to mention than to write about, and wished me to mention to the President, that they should have been highly gratified if the United States had have thought proper to have recognized their independence. However they would try and do their best & by their acts he hoped to convince the world that they were an independent and regularly constituted Government.—I asked him pointedly, “Can your excellency say what kind of government these Patriot Provinces mean to settle down into. As for hereditary Monarchies, said I, they begin to get in very bad repute, even in the most despotic parts of Europe—Do you intend to have any kind of Monarchy? He unhesitatingly replied—That they intended to have a confederated Republican form of Government.—and handing me his proclamation to the people of Peru, said, you see, reading a part of it, we are for the people forming the Government—and so soon as Peru is emancipated we hope that Buenos Ayres and Chile with Peru will

form one great confederation similar to that of the United States that his ideas might be realized and shaking him respectfully by the hand he said adieu.—My parting with General San Martine was less formal than the interview was short, He commenced on the affair of the Ontario, he had an account from an European Spaniard at Lima of all that had been shipped on Board of her, also of the passengers. I told him I knew of it except what was spoken of Publicly—and I told him as I returned home I should like to know if they intended going against Lima. He replied that in a month and a half from that time Genl. Balboa would end the war in the South of Chile & drive out the Spaniards and he thought in three months he should be ready to march against Lima—He said in an open candid manner—He said that any service in his power would be rendered me—and for the first time & perhaps the last, after the Spanish Custom we took a friendly parting embrace.—I mention this of Lord Cochrane, the Supreme Director & Genl. San Martine as the most natural & faithful way to let you into the characters and manners of the persons with whom I have had to converse—I assure you it is worth more to Cacoethese Scriberdi much less from any idea, that any thing he could do can be of further benefit to me, than to shew the Government that I had been treated with respect and confidence, in honour of the Country to which he came. I had more than once told Genl. San Martin, that the emancipation of Peru his work was imperfect, that the fall of Lima in my opinion be the consummation of the Independence of South America, that would put a seal upon the liberty of Buenos Ayres & Chile, while Peru remained in the hands of the Royalists were insecure, extremely vulnerable, liable to temporary & partial relapses into the Colonial System, accessible to political machinations, intrigues &c. &c. Moreover the capture of Lima would produce an effect on the potentates of Europe, that no other act of his revolution however brilliant it might be, had been able to effect, The Vice King, was supposed to be surrounded by masses of troops which eclipsed even the exaggerated magnificence of the Sovereign, and that, so much was to be done by the conquest of Lima, that what he effected scarcely any thing worthy of him seemed to be done. The Supreme Director and the General both seemed to View the Subject in the same way—I told the General once in an easy social manner that Lima was the place to receive his crown—meaning a crown of Laurel. He smiled in that sense & replied—yes “till we get these the work is incomplete.” At a semi official dinner, where one or two of the Generals most particularly were present I gave this toast when called upon, “Buenos Ayres & Peru under a confederation Great and independent, Genl. San Martin the first Chief Magistrate.” Indeed so thoroughly have I been convinced that to escape incessant Bloodshed & interminable war with one another, that the only way is to form a Confederation, similar to that of the United States, that I have been able to convince others of the same.

time o'day to imagine) that I feared Sometimes I was taking almost too unneutral & decided a part against the Viceroy—However if I did err I was certain it was on the right side—after all this, Judge of my Surprise when I arrived here to learn that the whole of the army by a sudden and unexpected movement since I left the capitol had marched out and were establishing their quarters in this Vicinity. The first intimation which I had of it was at night on the 15th Inst. at the Convent of San Francisco on my way hither—on Sunday the 17 I saw some of the troops & fell in with Lieut. Col. Dalbe & Major Petrie, the former late of the Army of Napoleon, the latter a Swede, brevetted by Bernedotte on the plains of Leipsic, now in this service— They did not seem to understand the reason of the Maneuvers—on the 18th the brave and distinguished Col. Las Heras arrived here, and on the 19th he with his Sergeant Major Garrera called to see me at my private lodgings, He told me the reason of this movement was to refresh & discipline the army, that in the capital, if you had a regiment of 1,000 Soldiers you could never get more than 7 or 800 out to exercise at a time, that they intended remaining here about three months and said he, it is of little consequence for an officer to have the command of troops unless he tries to make them good, I wished to find out if in reality these troops were about crossing the Andes, or intended disciplining &c here and move on against Lima, with that view as I had Just passed over the whole Valley of Aconcagua from the Pacific ocean to this place—and perceived that although this was 25 leagues apparently further from Valpairiso than the capital yet you might follow the Valley of Aconcagua, by Quillota I passed over only two small spurs of mountains and reach Valpairiso nearly as soon hence, as from Santiago, Indeed it would be a handsome *ruse de Guerre*, of General San Martin to mislead the Limaneans. I said to Col, Heras, the road for troops of all kinds to embark from here at Valpairiso, I think better even than the hilly road from Santiago, He immediately asked me many particulars of the road, evidencing to me that he was under the impression that they would march that way for Lima—On the 24th Inst. Genl. San Martin arrived at Curimon—on the 25th Col. Heras shewed me an official note, that the Patriots had beaten the Royalists at Sante fe on the Bio Bio and that Sanchez had retired amongst the Araucanian Indians—There was great rejoicing here in consequence of this news, —at night all the principal people of the Village with a Band of Music came to pay my host an Alcalde, a congratulatory Visit, on the Godos, as they called the Spaniards, having been driven out of Conception—I did not go to see the General because I had taken formal leave of him at Santiago, He must have thought I had gone round Cape Horn, and by obtruding myself on him in this unexpected rencontre, I might have Subjected myself to some Suspicions—However the Situation of affairs is Simply this General Balcarad is in the South with nearly 4000 regulars, the remainder of the army is

are, at this place, a part of the Army under Las Heras, at Curim, three leagues further the Head Quarters of Genl. San Martine, and leagues further at the City of San Felipe de Aconcagua the bal Conde—in all not more than three thousand—I can hardly tell all that has passed on this Subject that they intend abandoning their position against Lima. Yet the Montoneros as they are called, have been privately informed, overrun the Pampas and got great advantage of the Buenos Ayres Army under the Command of Genl. Ramon Belcarce. I think it must be a Stratagem of General San Martin. My delay here has been to fathom these movements—It will be for me to quit here in a day or so. I may be suspected of prying too into the affairs of the camp, I have heard it surmised that there was to be an expedition to the River Plate—a large Spanish expedition. This and the Montoneros may cause this march. I must let the affair rest. If I get safe to the continent I shall be better able to inform you from Buenos Ayres, of the politics of South America. Inasmuch as the Valley through which we have lately come from the ocean to this place is in Epitome of the Valley of Chile, it may not be improper to say a few words on it—By referring to the diary, the 3rd part—you will see that the river Aconcagua bursts from the right side of the road as you descend from the Cumbre or highest ridge of the Andes. The River Mendoza I remarked took its rise similarly on the left side. This passage of the Andes is called Camina del Medio—this is the road, as the passage of Los Potrillos is to the South not far from the hot sulphured baths of Caucanes and the passage called Los Potos is to the North of the church and little Village of Putaendo.—About 5 or 6 leagues to the North of Valparaiso this river empties into the Pacific ocean. I ascend the river near the ocean where the Valparaiso road falls into the Valley of the river called Concon,—you proceed on to this place which is in length about 10 leagues, the breadth unequal, sometimes 3, 4, 5 leagues. Nothing can be finer than this whole Valley—It is so fertile in Vines, wheat, corn, &c. of all kinds & so enchantingly delicious that I think under good cultivation it could support one million of inhabitants, Don Francisco de la Cruz a Mayorazgo, owner of a large estate in it called Panchague—told me that in many places on his estate that produced 120 fanegas of wheat for one fanega of seed, he supposed it only 60, that is a great product, considering their rude cultivation, it should appear like dealing in fiction. If I gave you my opinion of the beauties of this Valley—I mean both prongs of it, that which runs down to the City of San Felipe to where I am, and the other which runs up, I mean to the City of San Felipe—on the right to Putaendo—I know that what I saw when I came down it on my return from Coquimbo—I have often thought that the Vales of Chile resembled in reality Doctor Johnsons Happy Valley of Rasselas Prince of Abasynia—If I were Supreme Director of Chile I would build a City at the entrance of this Valley of Aconcagua—between

and the ocean—It must & would in no distant period become one of the finest cities in the Universe—I had half determined at one time to write Genl. O'Higgins to that effect—The whole is so singularly pleasing and romantic. The eternal spring & Verdure below—the immense walls of bare brown mountains which appear piled up all around you. The never melted morning always in sight in the ridge of the Andes, apparently only a few miles from you—the variety of verdure &c &c &c—all conspire to make the Valley of Aconcagua from Sante Rosa and Putaendo to the ocean for climate & soil & productions the finest specimen of the Earth I have ever beholden.—I must postpone to some more leisure moment, sending you copies, of my tour to Coquimbo,—through the country of the Gold, Silver & Copper Mines as also particulars respecting the Whale fishery in the Pacific, they are transcribed amongst my, "Miscellaneous Remarks in Chile" and as they are isolated subjects, having no immediate reference to matters of policy which influence the conduct of the U States towards these people I will transmit them to the Department at a more convenient season.—Since I left Santiago, for some reason which I know not, it was reported that I had negotiated a loan for the Government of Chile, should any rumour of this Kind reach the United States, you may rest assured that it will come distorted & misrepresented. If I ever made an offer to endeavour to negotiate a loan, you may be certain, that it would have been done in my individual & private capacity, with which my own government was not interested & of which they had no knowledge, and further as a citizen of the United States friendly with Spain, I should not violate my own individual neutrality but predicate a loan upon the law of Nations, which allows a neutral to let out his money to either Belligerent, where his funds are most secure & bring in the best interest, I must confess, in more than one instance, I have with regret observed a Kind of tricking & perversion in the matters of negotiation with which I have had to do more than I expected to find even in the School of Machiavel or the Cunning followers of Ignatius Loyola— Whenever it may be necessary, I pledge myself to clear up this rumour, our Government need have nothing to say to it, let it come in whatever shape it may, but refer it to me and the Chile Government as our own private affair.—I recollect writing to you that O'Higgins the Supreme Director was a Patriot of the Roman Stile. These were the reasons which induced me to think so. The first time I saw him was in an inner apartment in the Directorial Palace at about nine oClock at night. He had Just returned from the disastrous route of Cancha Rayada, his wounded right arm was lying on a pillow on a table, he appeared in pain yet gave me a plain, unostentatious account of the attack, he spoke very modestly of himself, though he was known to have fought bravely & attempted every thing in his power in that horrid night assault. He was dressed very plain & had all the appearance of an honest soldier. I also learned that when the enemy entered Conception he was the first to rush in, his sword in his hand, his coat torn. The U.S.

of which you may approach by Knowing that the old Vice King of Peru, his father, left him in property alone on his estates in Concepcion about 16,000 head of horned cattle—all of which and his princely residence near Chillan he sacrificed by espousing the side of the Patriots. Just before the battle of Maypu—I called on him and altho' still in much pain, after having sent of his Mother and family across the Andes, to escape the Spaniards, should the day go against the Patriots, He determined wounded as he was, as the last resort, if things came to that, to head a reserved corps & rush upon his enemy. After the Victory, too, he still was plain, unostentatious and always accessible—But by degrees this Simplicity seemed to change—I watched every shade he took—He told me he should publish a Manifesto setting forth the reasons & Justification for the execution of the two Carreras—at Mendoza—I never saw it—He told me that he had arrested Manuel Rodriguez one of the favourite sons of Chile, He never told me what has become of him, the people say he was Shot by a small platoon of Soldiers a few leagues this side of Quillota—He fitted up the palace in a stile far more brilliant than when it was under the King of Spain—Assumed an escort, guards &c. &c. became politician, financier &c. &c. appeared I thought to grow Suspicious, seemed unhappy, complained to me one day, that he was so oppressed with business that he could not get even an half hour to take a little exercise—I think he has lost the Love and Confidence of the Nation—They think him a political Automaton, & that too, playing upon his own native country. Nature gave him a good heart and not a bad head—but he has changed—Mackbeath, was brave & hospitable & honest even to the third act, yet how was he in the fifth! Blanco & Malcolm murdered, Fleane's life attempted and all the inocent [*sic*] family of Macduff. assassinated—The application is obvious,—O'Higgins too will die as brave as the Scottish Thane, I suspect his fate not very remote—yet should he still continue he will do one good thing, I think him so determined, and as he has said it he will do it—He will put down the Priestcraft & have a toleration of religion. It pains me to write thus of him, for to the last I have found him the most friendly & hospitable man to me, But I am bound to Speak the truth & he has changed, in my opinion, as I have shadowed out,—I could relate a good many interesting traits and acts of him, but it would be too tedious, He is a Native of Chile, 37 years of age, completed his education in England, made a tour on the continent & Speaks Spanish, English and French with nearly equal fluency, well acquainted with Lima, having lived there &c. &c. In paying him a complimentary visit on Chrissmass morning I said I presumed this is about the fortieth return of this season which has passed over your Excellencys brows—He replied no.—It was the 37th however he had lived very fast which made him appear older than he was; I warded off his inference by saying, that men who come early in life into important public stations, were apt to make an impression on the minds of mankind of being older than they really were, and

had it not been for that influence, I don't think that I should have taken him for more than 36 or 37—The truth is he has by nature a most excellent constitution.—and I think will still continue to shed around him some acts of bravery generosity & hospitality; so long as those fine Irish feelings which he drew from his father, not yet chilled shall eddy round his heart. He may continue cheif Magistrate of Chile for some years to come, but he must have an armed power to Support him & that not even a Chilean one. For the great Paternal popularity, the splendid hereditary reputation, which enshrouded him, as he stepped forth, the champion of his countrys rights have faded away and left only a tinsel, military pageantry in their stead.—It may be possible, he thinks he is doing right all this time, and acts for the good of his country. I dont think so & I suspect Posterity will coincide with me—I am loth to quit O'Higgins yet I fear I tresspass on you—From the other side of the Andes I will say something of San Martin, and further of this Country, as it may be necessary in taking a general view of men & things and now Sir after looking at the Subject in all its bearings I can see no good likely to arise from my remaining here any longer. If it be necessary for me to go to Lima I can get home across the continent & thence to the United States & thence across the Isthmus of Panama to Lima Sufficiently early whether the Patriots succeed or not. There will be a pause of three or four months, in the affairs of this part of the world, which would render my stay here uninteresting. The Vice Roy of Peru I have been well informed, did not like, the prominent appearance, which they gave me, in the Ministerial Gazette of this place on my introducing Judge Bland to the Supreme Director—The Judge may not think it according to form to mention it—but the fact was on his arrival here, not finding Judge Prevost, he shewed me his instructions in extenso, & I agreed to cooperate with him, introduced him to the Secretary of State & the next day went with him and the Secretary to Visit the Director and as the Secretary could only speak Spanish & French and the Judge only English, seeing them embarassed before the Director, I stepped forth and presented him. Judge Prevost returning shortly after & he being the person especially intended to act with our commissioner, I was of course left to retire to my own peculiar province. It is nothing like the fear of assassination which makes me return without going to Lima, but those and other reasons which I have already mentioned Besides under my present credential letter which includes Buenos Ayres and Chile, I doubt being received in Peru. If it were my duty and I could be of sufficient Service & was properly prepared for it, I am confident that neither the Vice King nor the inquisition would prevent my going there. But I must confess that my letter of the 4th July last and my Miscellenous Remarks which speak so freely of the men and parties of this Country as also this present one, induces me not to delay my stay here much longer, For if they were to fall into the hands of the parties or

South American affairs, I am well convinced I might be placed in an agreeable dilemma as soon as they reached here. Therefore I think taking all things into consideration to move on for the Atlantic, Step will not be disapproved of by the President.—I have endeavored everything in my power to support the American Character. Even the affair of Lord Cochrane about the Salute &c.—“the unkindest cut of us which for a time seemed to lay us prostrate. I endeavoured to act; and lift our Reputation, (the causes of its decline I heretofore detailed to you) with the Director in a much better state than I anticipated, & could I have remained there, I think his Lordship would have found it not so easy a matter, as I am afraid he will attempt, to convince the South Americans believe, that we are in fact politically hostile to them. His Lordship right or wrong is the Hypothesis.

With distinguished consideration [etc.].

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John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru &c. in Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *March 2*

Shortly after leaving Callao we met the Patriot Fleet consisting of three Frigates under the command of Ld. Cochran on its way to destroy the Spanish Ships of War at anchor in the Harbor— The result is not yet known, but unless thwarted by the winds I have little doubt of his success.

There has been an agent here for some months past ostensibly from the King of Sweden and although he has been authorized to make professions of friendship in the name of his Master yet from several circumstances I am inclined to believe that his visit is one entirely of ostension for the Emperor of Russia— He is of acute and discerning mind, speaks the English address familiar with the language and possesses great enterprise. He has visited the whole extent of Chile and will leave this in a few days to return home—

With every Sentiment of consideration [etc.].

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, May 16, 1819.

SIR: Since mine of the 12th.² Ult^o. which I had the honor to address to your Department, news has been received from the Squadron at Callao by which it appears that the Vice King had obtained information of their approach in season to have the Ships of War under the Batteries of the Castle and thus to avoid the blow intended to have been given &c a rigorous Blockade has since been maintained and several prizes taken entering the Port with arms, among which is one said to be an american from Baltimore laden by the Spanish Minister— The enclosed Note marked A. was sent to the masters of the different Vessels then lying in Port, all of whom except one from New York sailed within or shortly after the term allowed—

Although the Trade to Lima and the adjacent Ports is too precarious under the present Government to render it of any consequence to the United States yet as the extent of coast embraced by the notice involved principles that cannot be recognized, I took the earliest opportunity of expressing my sense of its tendency and of the feelings of the President as to Paper Blockades— The subject was met with great frankness and all claim of forfeiture for any infraction disavowed as to any place where no actual Force was employed and the form preserved only to deter unfriendly neutrals from entering for the purpose of carrying information—

I am satisfied they are Sincere because the Director to remove any inconveniences to which its publication might subject our Whalers immediately issued orders to exempt Payta from its effects— This is the Port most resorted to by that class of Vessels during the winter Season and is perhaps the most convenient— Mr Hill has received official notice from the Secretary of State of this order for the purpose of enabling him to make it known to them—

Some secret communications from Ld Cochrane as to the state of Lima and of the Interior made it an object with the Government here to prevent if possible any intercourse with that Place directly from hence and a letter to that effect was written to Capt Downes on the eve of his sailing soliciting him to delay his visit thither for the time if compatible with his instructions. The Director mentioned the circumstance to me with some interest, indeed so much so, that I thought proper to address Capt Downes on the same subject. My note detailing the motives together with my view of the objects of the President in sending a Force hither, is herewith transmitted— Capt. Downes acquiesced and accordingly proceeded to San Blas to touch at Lima on his return— If any censure therefore be attached to the course

he has taken, the responsibility must be mine— The result has been what was anticipated as to Capt Shireff, he is still in Port and as I understand there remain—

Preparations are making with great spirit for the expedition and I am persuaded it will take effect as soon as San Martin shall arrive—and I have not yet heard of the election of a Director under the new constitution of Buenos Ayres nor of the precise day on which he who now holds the office will surrender, but I feel myself authorized in saying that it will not be delayed beyond the middle of this month—

The Government here has assumed a character and a stability that I did not anticipate twelve months ago— They have now entire possession of Chile to its ancient Boundary the Bio Bio and everything promises success and permanency—

I have the honor [etc.].

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John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Brazil, writes from Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States

[EXTRACTS]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, July 3, 1821

SIR: On the 18th. Ultio. Ld. Cochrane entered the Port of Valparaiso leaving a small sloop of war to continue the Blockade of Lima and bringing with him about 130 M dollars together with some Prizes. . . .

The return of the Fleet was not anticipated as the Government had sent a vessel laden with provisions for its supply— It appears that some time in the latter end of April Ld Cochrane left the Squadron before Callao in the Command of Blanco the Rear Admiral and proceeded with his Fleet to the Northward for the purpose of intercepting the Guayaquil Fleet. His stay having been prolonged a few days beyond the usual term of a voyage Blanco thought proper to return to this Port in search of provisions and thus missed the vessel sent to their relief— His Lordship notwithstanding the Squadron at its station on his return nor receiving any intimation of the direction during a stay of three weeks off the Harbor determined to proceed hither—

Notwithstanding public expectation has by no means been satisfied with the dismay caused by the presence of the Fleet on the Coast of Peru together with the security it offers to the Commerce of this Country has given great favor and every exertion in making for its reequipment— M

that I think it may get out in about three weeks augmented in force by the Frigate which has lately arrived from Buenos Ayres—

The Spoliations of his Lordship appear to have taken mostly upon our Countrymen but whether his captures are to be adjudged good prize is yet to be determined— He must do something more in his next cruize than gather Prize money from Neutrals or he will not sustain his situation— Jealousies are already awakened and the plunder of a few Individuals detailed in an illegal commerce will not suffice to allay them—

As the Blockade of Lima is about to be renewed a question which has been agitated here will again arise as to the rights of Ships of War to enter, I know not whether by the usages of nations it is permitted, but if it be so, I am persuaded it has been acquiesced in from want of consideration only— Although the idea of excluding supplies may have confined the exercise of this power to merchantmen, yet the principle upon which it is founded justifies its extension to national vessels— The temporary Sovereignty acquired by a Force competent to a Blockade involves equally a discretion as to all intercourse and consequently authorizes the prohibition of such as may operate injuriously— On the present occasion instructions are not necessary because Capt Downes on his return exercises the right claimed by him with the consent of this Government; hereafter it may not be so, and if the suggestion merit attention I am satisfied it will receive your Consideration—

The health of San Martin has been such latterly as to prevent his crossing the mountains or indeed from taking an efficient part in the affairs of his Country— Unfortunately at a moment so interesting he has been obliged to undergo an operation of the most dangerous Kind— It is said to have been successfully performed and every hope is entertained, that he will soon be enabled to resume his command— It is true there are others fully competent to lead the expedition, but the reputation acquired by the General has deservedly inspired equal confidence in Peru and thus it is of all importance that he should accompany the force to be sent hither—

The changes brought about in one short twelve month are almost incredible. On my arrival all was dismay and consternation the Flag of Chile was not known at its Ports, the Squadron of the Enemy was in sight and five thousand Spaniards were penetrating into the Heart of the Country; At this period all is confidence, the patriot Flag waves triumphant on the ocean and upwards of forty large vessels at Valparaiso proclaim its success, while an equal number of Troops are prepared for the invasion of Peru

I have the honor [etc.].

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and
Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, September 13, 1818

Ld Cochrane sailed yesterday well prepared and determined upon the destruction of the Spanish Fleet lying at Callao at whatever hazard—is sensible of the discontent excited by his return from a cruise distinguished by no event corresponding with the feelings of the nation, and will be persuaded on this occasion perform some act worthy of the reputation of a great Captain. Although I disapprove of many of his proceedings, yet when I take into view the materials with which he had to operate, I think he deserves infinite praise for having maintained the Sovereignty of the Ocean. He had difficulties to encounter in the organization of the marine and in the discipline of the Crews that would have appalled a man of determined character— Men of every grade and description assembled from different Parts of the Globe for the purpose as much of plunder as of promoting the cause of freedom have by his address firmness and perseverance been subdued into perfect order and now enable him to assume an attitude that awes all resistance at Sea—

It is said that two ships of the line and some Frigates are on their way to Cadiz for the relief of Lima, and that they were spoken with off the deverd Islands in June last, but as it is not likely they will reach Callao, his Lordship can get there to strike the intended Blow, most probably will add to the Triumphs of the Patriots— I say so because the haughty Spanish Sailor are such that he cannot double the Cape without incurring the sad effects of the Scurvey, a disease which so distresses the nervous system that it unfits him for the least exertion—

Advices have been received here from Lima of the first of August stating that the Interior to be in such commotion that the Army of the Frontier had been ordered to fall back to quiet them— The same Spirit of disaffection invades the Coast and will probably break out into action, as soon as we shall receive the succours promised from hence— Arms have been forwarded by the Fleet to be distributed under the discretion of the Admiral who is accompanied by Persons possessing a full knowledge of the Coast and the Government here, as well to hasten the preparations for the Invasion as to assure further Supplies, have entered into a contract with Indians of responsibility to furnish Transports cloathing and provisions for the Troops, to be in readiness and at the disposition of San Martin who shall think proper to proceed— The unremitting exertions of this

able officer have so deteriorated his health, that for some months past he has been confined to his house in Mendoza— He is now so far recovered as to justify a belief that he will shortly be here to devote himself to the Liberation of the Perus—

Indeed such is now the State of the two Countries that I have no apprehensions on their subject, I consider them as irrevocably separated from the Mother Country and in a Situation to maintain themselves as independent Powers— I know not how far our relations with Europe may or ought to interfere with the course to be adopted by the President but I am persuaded that an early recognition will produce the most happy and important results—

A Tariff of Duties has just been published of which I transmit a Copy, how far the valuation may be correct I do not determine it has at least the merit of correcting the mode of appraisement heretofore practised so destructive to the morals of all concerned—

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

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*Antonio José de Yrisarri, Minister of State and Foreign Relations of Chile,
to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LONDON, October 31, 1819.

SIR: I have the honour to address myself to your Excellency, through the channel of the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States resident at this Court, to announce my arrival in England with full powers from the Supreme Government of Chile, and the misfortune which has befallen me of a serious indisposition, which prevents me from passing to the City of Washington.

I have exhibited to His Ex^y the Minister Plenipotentiary the Diploma which authorizes me to solicit from the Government of the United States in the name of the State of Chile, the acknowledgement of her Independence, which without doubt must now be considered well secured by the decisive victories which have been obtained by Justice and the heroism of the Chileans.

The impotence of Spain to subjugate anew America constituted in the most liberal manner, and the well known detestation of the Chileans to their Ancient oppressors, appear to give the strongest guarantee to the Government of the United States of the little risk of compromise to which their acknowledgement would be subject.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Great Britain, XXIV, enclosed in Rush to Adams, November 10, 1819, which see below, pt. VIII, doc. 777.

My Government, on the other hand, has always flattered its hope that the United States would not be the last to acknowledge its independence, but the first, because the interests of the New World require it, from the similarity of the revolution, which we now witness with that which the United States have lately accomplished, and the able opinion which the Government of North America has always given of Just and philanthropic.

I do not think it opportune to dilate on the exposition of the facts which at present favour the solicitation of my Government, which would without doubt offend your Excellency's penetration, to which things must be too well known to require to be informed of the result. I will only manifest the cordial desire of all the Chileans to unite with the North Americans by the strictest bonds of friendship and harmony.

If the Government of the United States, as I hope, would do justice to acknowledge its Independence previous to such acknowledgment by any one of the European Nations, and if the said Government should thus favour us, was desirous to enter into more intimate relations with that State, I am also authorized to celebrate in the name of the Chief and Senate of Chile whatever Treaties may be necessary before this Court, at that of Washington, or wherever it may be most convenient.

God Preserve Your Excellency many Years [etc.].

[ENCLOSURE; TRANSLATION]

COMMISSION OF ANTONIO JOSÉ DE YRISARRI AS MINISTER
OF CHILE TO THE UNITED STATES

The Supreme Director of the State of Chile, to all those to whom the present may be exhibited, Greeting.

Having with the sanction of the Senate determined to send a Minister from Chile to solicit the acknowledgement of the Independence of this State from the Governments of Europe and the United States of America; and confiding in the Talents, Zeal, and fidelity of Mr. Antonio Jose de Yrisarri, Sub Officer of the Legion of Merit, I have determined to appoint him, as I do by these presents appoint, Minister from this Government towards that of the United States of America, giving unto him all the necessary powers to enter into those negotiations which he may judge necessary in order to obtain the acknowledgement of the Independence of this State; and for my part, and in the name of the Government which I govern, I promise to fulfil and faithfully execute all the stipulations which the Minister Envoy shall stipulate, promise or sign, in virtue of his powers, without ever contravening whatever may be done on

or pretext, ordering the Letters of ratification to be expedited in due form, and have them transmitted to be exchanged according to the time which may be agreed upon.

In faith of which I have signed these presents, and had them sealed with the Seal of State in the Directorial Palace of Santiago de Chile the eighteenth of November in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighteen.

(S S)

(Signed) BERNARDO O'HIGGINS.

(Signed) JOAQUIN DE ECHEVERRIA.

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*Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chile, to James Monroe, President of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *January 5, 1820.*

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Since your Excellency shows a special interest in learning exactly the state of our political affairs through enlightened envoys I can not disregard the keen impressions of gratitude that this measure has started in my heart and in that of all the Chileans over whom I have the honor to preside.

Such a step inspired by the highest wisdom gives us to understand that the great cause which is enlisting the efforts of this country also interests the First Citizen of the United States whose concurrence commands our everlasting gratefulness.

We would have solicited the recognition of the national independence of Chile (proclaimed three years ago by the universal vote of the people) if the earnest attention required elsewhere by the stubborn struggle into which we were driven by the persistence of the Spanish tyrants had not deprived us of the necessary means to maintain on a decent footing near your Excellency a legation worthy of the rank to which Chile has been raised and equal to that which our brothers of the North occupy among the powers.

Between this impossibility and the desire to assure the triumph of our rights with the support of a nation which has made hers respected on identical beginnings, I have finally resolved directly to engage your Excellency's kindness in a frank and friendly correspondence which bringing before you the true situation of this country, will bring about relations to the advantage of your country from the moment when our independence is recognized and those relations are guaranteed by treaties as reliable as will be welcome the opportunity to show to you how we realize that it is but fair that you should

¹ MS. Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Provinces.

be satisfied that we are progressing and steady so as not to take the risk of your declaration becoming a source of embarrassment.

I venture, Sir, to believe that nobody has anything to fear from Spain either in fact or in law. (Its absolute impotence is the thing which makes even more scandalous the bloody struggle between its spirit of domination and our rights.) All its attempts on Chile (with the exception of the one which ominous discord did give it a fleeting victory) have been frustrated and that misfortune itself was a fortunate lesson which eliminating foreign internal discord and its stubborn promoters have strengthened us in an unalterable union which has built up our physical and moral power. I can flatter myself that I may show to your Excellency the forthcoming effects in Chile of liberty, quiet, public contentment and Constitution. In the Pampas from Viôvio to Copiapo not a single foreign enemy treads our soil. Everywhere are beheld scenes animated by the hand of the toiler well rewarded by the fertility of the soil. Commerce is moving along both freely and speedily. Our ports open to importation and a market to all the Powers are on the other hand sheltered by a squadron that protects their interests and the safety of Chile at the only spot where it could be attacked. Finally the time seems to be at hand when the importance of its locality is to be admitted and that this very conviction for that very reason will make it inaccessible to any invasion.

How delighted we would be if the longed for time should also come when our independence, recognized by the United States, would attest the particular esteem in which we have always held them on account of the Common Cause and that unbroken certainty that they would be the first to honor us with that mark of deference and as a result participate in our anticipations of friendship and gratitude!

Your Excellency knows full well that the ardent and unanimous wish of South America for her liberty is now irrepressible. Your Excellency is very close to the very fortunate progress with which the triumphant liberation of Venezuela has extended its standard of victory over New Grenada and surely go over to Quito, and through a natural combination which does not need any preliminary planning, will, with Chile, bring the same fate to Peru and will that then be a time when Spain, in her nonentity, can stand on a disregarded right and make a demand on the sovereign judgment of the United Nation, which would recognize us with as great propriety as she recognizes the independence of North America?

Such a supposition would be a sanction that would grant everlasting peace to any tyranny and would hurl your people and others from their position won through justice and bravery and again enslave nations who had wrested the rights of nature from oppressors who based their rights on conquest. What? If to Spain be conceded a right to continue in her present possible endeavor to bring these countries under her former depredations?

does that confer upon her the supreme power to have subservient to her will the will of all Powers, even of those whose political interest in the recognition of our emancipation would be conducive to their own national prosperity?

Your Excellency well realizes that it is not right to mistake abuses for principles and I venture to feel assured that satisfied with the character of stability which is now distinguishing Chile among all the revolutionary countries, the wish of their peoples which I now have the honor to make known to Your Excellency, and also that of offering to you the best sentiments of my profound respect and consideration, shall not be in vain.

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*Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chile, to John B. Prevost (Buenos Aires), Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *April 21, 1820.*

DEAR SIR: My surprise was great when I read in the papers printed at Buenos Ayres that the Chile Government had any share in the Establishment of a Monarchy in the South American Continent; and never until I see it, can I believe that Mr. Irisari has forfeited his character and contravened my instructions by lending his ear to such a proposal— You are convinced I hope of my republican sentiments and I can assure you that I would rather die, than to stain my name with such a dereliction of my Duty and of my principles— I must however wait until the arrival of Mr. Gutierrez Moreno (who is mentioned as the Bearer of the despatches alluded to) before I contradict in a public and dignified way the assertion made there, or before I disavow whatever may have been done against my orders—

I beg to assure you my dear Friend that I am [etc.].

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost, enclosed in Prevost to Adams, Buenos Aires, June 8, 1820, which see above, pt. II, doc. 258.

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *January 6, 1821.*

SIR: Upon the receipt of the Despatch of the 10th. of July last² accompanying Mr. Forbes I availed myself of the choice of residence reposed in me by the President and embarked forthwith on board of a merchantman bound to Valparaiso, when [where?] I arrived on the 23d. Ulto. after a passage of 54 days— The motives for my presence on this Theatre were too interesting to allow personal considerations to delay me until the return of the Constellation from Rio—

The enclosed marked No. 1. is the copy of a note received from the Director shortly after I reached this City, it is unimportant except as connected with the sincerity of his communication made to me while on the other side, copies of which were transmitted to the Department under cover of mine of the 8 of June and 28 of September—³

I shall not fatigue you Sir, with a detail of the operations of the invading Army, as I herewith forward a file of papers in which the Events of each Day are exhibited. The whole coast from Guayaquil included to the Desert of Atacama excepting the Capital has been liberated and proclaimed to be open to the Commerce of the world at a Duty of 20 pr Cent upon the invoice prices— No. 2. contains the regulation of the General on this head and deserves your perusal as indicating both liberality and Wisdom—

Lima is now so surrounded on all sides by the revolutionists that the Vice King can only extricate himself by giving battle, and unless he do so and that with success, he must ultimately surrender. Every day adds to the Calamities of the Capital, in which he has concentrated his Forces amounting to nearly 10,000 men— The intention of San Martin is to avoid an engagement unless on the ground he has chosen, His main Body is at Huacha and the advance at Chancay, from whence he directs his operations while Genl. Arenales is occupied in gathering volunteers and revolutionizing the whole Interior as far as Cusco— On the Ocean the same fortune attends them, Ld. Cochrane has exhibited a gallantry almost unparalleled— Upon anchoring the O. Higgins in the Bay of Callao, he took out his Boats, boarded the Esmeralda Frigate of 44 guns and carried her against a Superior Force after a contest in which one hundred and fifty men were killed on the Deck, sustaining during the whole time the fire of several hundred pieces of Cannon— Although wounded he has since sailed, accompanied with his Prize,

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 90.

³ See above, pt. II, docs. 258 and 259.

in search of the Venganza and Prueba of whose destination, it is supposed he has obtained information by this Capture—

Should Lima fall as is confidently anticipated here it will decide the contest throughout the Perus and thus relieve this portion of South America from the galling Yoke under which it has groaned for the last three centuries— I have followed with some attention the revolution, I have endeavored to discover sympathies with the Mother Country both anterior to and during its present struggle for Liberty, and the result is a conviction that not a Spanish feeling exists among the Americans, and that the modification of the Government in Spain under whatever shape will not produce the least change of sentiment as to their Separation and entire Independence—

The only doubt I entertain is as to the form of Government that may be adopted in a country where there are so many conflicting interests— On this point however I have been much gratified during my stay at the Baths with the Director— He told me that the subject had been agitated between San Martin and himself and that they concur in the propriety of a federative System analogous to that of the U. States— If such be the case as I have every reason to believe there can be little question but that the influence of the General directed to this object will determine the preponderancy of the republican Party— It is for this reason that the Director feels more Solicitude for an early recognition on our part— He is persuaded that it would set the matter at rest, and that our political institutions would become the model from which those of South America would be formed— He is truly a republican Patriot and in heart opposed to every thing in the shape of Monarchy and will resist its adoption although assurances have been made through his agents in Europe of an acknowledgment of Chile when he shall consent to establish that form of Government— Intimations of this kind have lately been made by one of the British Commanders on this Station of which I hope shortly to obtain a sight— I understand they arose out of the resolution of Mr Clay and were accompanied with a demand of the advantages secured to the U States as an inducement to the measure— . . .

Upon the Election of Rodrigues as Governor at Bs. Ayrs. my stay there became a Subject of great jealousy as they were aware of my feelings towards those connected with the Surrender of their country to France, of whom this Chief was one— The publication of my letter of the 21st. [20th?] March¹ reached that place just before the arrival of Mr. Forbes and determined them to order me out of the Province— He accordingly sent his Aid to request I would call upon him which I did on the succeeding day when he informed me of an order of the Junta (the electoral Body) for my departure within a limited term— I entered into no explanations, but treated the communication with silent contempt, intending however to compel upon the arrival

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of Mr. Forbes who was then reported to be in the River— This Event happened within the term and I embarked on board of an American ship lying in the roads where I remained twenty four hours in order to complete my arrangements for the voyage round the cape— As I had never made an official communication to any member of the Government and had always disclaimed any relations with them except as an Individual I did not feel disposed to enter into any contest and I requested Mr. Forbes not to notice the circumstance, so as to avoid collisions that might shut the avenues of information and thus prevent him from being useful at Home— The truth is, to me was attributed the publication of the Secret minutes and thus the destruction of their schemes of Monarchy— I do not arrogate to myself the sole merit, but I really had a great agency in determining the measure, from a belief that the disclosure would defeat the Intrigue and give an ascendancy to the politics of the Interior where they are entirely republican as soon as San Martin shall have obtained possession of Lima I shall proceed to the Northward and remain there a sufficient time to enable me to give correct views of the Politics growing out of the revolution—

When the President shall think proper to acknowledge Chile I would suggest the propriety of appointing a Consul to be resident at this Place in addition to those at the Ports— It would facilitate wonderfully the exchange of communications on subjects that are daily arising at the Ports some of which are so distant as to give rise to great delays, besides the effect would be beneficial by the influence a respectable man necessarily acquires from a constant intercourse with the officers of Government.

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *March 10, 1821.*

SIR: Although the news from Lima continues so favorable as to leave little doubt of the result, yet some months may elapse before the Patriots can obtain its possession, as the Vice King notwithstanding the Union of the Army of Upper Peru with that of the Capital appears determined to remain on the defensive— The course he has adopted whether it arise from personal considerations or from a want of confidence in the Inhabitants is equally destructive in its consequences— Desertion increases and dismay augments, while his resources are daily and rapidly diminishing—

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

Several American vessels are now trading between this and Canton and fully realize the anticipations I had indulged at an early day— I allude to it with the more pleasure, because I view in it results the most beneficial and important to my country— This commerce combined with the exchange of European Commodities obtained in return for our raw materials not only offers new sources of Individual wealth, but also presents the means of avoiding the drain of specie which takes place from the U States— Canton already consumes annually ten millions of dollars, the greater portion of which may now be advantageously obtained here for the commodities of Europe particularly of France and the Mediterranean and from hence carried thither to be invested in goods for the Home Market. As soon as Lima shall fall, it is the intention of this Government to open the different Ports of the Pacific, in which case I do not think I am extravagant in saying that the whole may be thus supplied— Acapulco alone from its contiguity to Mexico might receive supplies for a greater amount— I know not, Sir, your sentiments as to the trade with China as at present sustained, but I am persuaded that by preserving the circulating medium in Specie we can only destroy the destructive influence of Bank Issues—

Two french ships of War the one of the Line, the other a Frigate part of the Squadron which lay for some time in the River Plate arrived in this ocean early in January last— It is difficult to assign with certainty the motive of their visit but my impressions are, that they were hostile and that the State of things at Lima has alone determined them to remain passive—

Their conduct was extremely equivocal upon entering the Port of Valparaiso, the Frigate alone appeared and after anchoring sent a boat on shore, apparently without object, no courtesies were exhibited towards the Government, neither an offer to Salute nor any reason assigned for not doing so, the officer accompanying the Boat simply stated that she was on her way to Lima in company with an Eighty gun Ship having an Admiral on Board, which was lying off waiting her return to proceed— The Governor alarmed at the manner and sensible of the importance of detaining them until advices of their approach could be sent to San Martin, immediately despatched a message to the Admiral inviting him to enter and to partake of an Entertainment which he proposed to give in honor of his arrival— At the same moment he sent a Courier hither advising the Director of the circumstances, who in answer instructed him to despatch a vessel secretly to San Martin and to continue to use all his address in detaining them for a few days— The Admiral imagining that nothing less than a french Prince was the object of so much Courtesy entered and suffered himself to be amused by the insinuations of Cruz for a week together, when he discovered the true motive and left the Port with irritation— The correspondence is not unworthy of french Diplomacy and will be found in the papers which I have enclosed to the Department to be forwarded by the Macedonian—

Whatever may be the assurances of France on the subject of the Treaty, however imperfect the aspect the act itself presents yet rely it, Sir, that a definitive arrangement was made and transmitted by Frigate to which I referred in mine of March the 9th.¹— I hold such the fact, in confidence, from a member of that Body, a sincere Patriot serving entire Credit, and his intelligence in my Judgment is fully confirmed by subsequent Events— These vessels sailed from different Ports in Europe to rendezvous at Rio, and it was on their arrival thither, that the admiral first learned the fall of Puerreydon and his Satellites— A corvette instantly ordered to France, he remained thereafter several weeks and leaving that Port consumed the time necessary for a European voyage getting to Maldonado, and actually continued there, seeing no one of Puerreydon, until the arrival of a Brig of War in November, which had returned to France a short time after the explanation had taken place between Castlereigh and the Duke de la Caze—

The British Minister notwithstanding the assurances then made appeared to have entertained considerable jealousy on the subject of this Fleet— much so, that Sir Thomas Hardy gave orders to the Commandant of the Station to send an Express from hence, should these vessels make appearance on this coast— This was done and he is hourly expected to bring an additional Force—

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John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, May 2, 1820.

Since my last which I had the honor to address to the Department of War, the Vice King of Peru has been deposed by the officers of the Army and the Second in Command, Las Cernas [*sic*], placed at the head of the Government— It was altogether an Intrigue of the latter and effected without any participation of the Inhabitants; what are his views I know not, but he exercises his authority with so much severity, that I am inclined to think the event will hasten the fall of the Capital— Besides it has indisposed a great portion of the Old Spaniards, without either adding to the confidence of the Troops or affording relief to their wants. In other respects they are much as they were, the operations of both armies having been paralysed by the ague the common disease of the Fall months— That of the Pa-

¹ Of 1820, doubtless. See above, pt. II, doc. 252. ² MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

however is recovering more rapidly because of its position in a fine Valley abounding with the necessities of life—

It is generally supposed that San Martin might some time since have entered the Capital with little risque, had he been disposed so to do; this impression, as on a former occasion prior to the battle of Maypu has given rise to much criticism and some censure as well here, as among his Troops, but he pertinaciously adheres to his system of not putting any thing to Hazard and I suspect the result will again evince his superior Judgment— The circumstance of which they most complain is the time given after the desertion of the Numantia regiment for the Union of the Army of Upper with that of lower Peru, but may we not suppose that the General favored the measure as one assuring the revolution without further struggle upon the fall of the Capital— Had he availed himself of the consternation produced by that defection and have entered the Capital would not the Vice King have retired into the Interior and after forming his junction with Ramirez, have been enabled to prolong the war to an indefinite period? This now cannot take place, the very concentration deprecated, has exhausted the Capital and reduced the army to such a State, that it can only escape by Victory, of which little apprehension is entertained on the ground chosen for the contest—

By the last advices to the 9th. ulto. Ld. Cochrane had landed 600 men at some distance to the Southward of the Capital, in order to cut off the supplies in the only direction from whence they have latterly been obtained— It is believed that this diversion to a point so important must produce an immediate result— The revolutionizing system throughout the Interior has been pursued with success and four temporary governments embracing a great district of Country have been established for the purpose of maintaining order and of preserving inviolate private property—

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John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to Joaquin de Echeverría, Secretary of State of Chile¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, June 18, 1821.

SIR: I understand that there is a letter in town from Sir Thomas Hardy, addressed to the British merchants of this place, in which it is stated that this Government considers the whole coast of Peru south of the capital as under blockade, although there is no force stationed before any one port

except that of Callao. This information is so much at variance with the impressions I have uniformly received during my residence here, that I must believe some mistake has arisen either with my informant or with the British admiral.

Will you therefore allow me, sir, to ask from you the fact on this subject? It is a question of great moment, one of peculiar interest in the United States since our last contest with Great Britain, and one upon which I am anxious that there should exist no difference of opinion. The principle upon which the right of exclusion from any specific port is founded, is the temporary sovereignty acquired by the presence of the force of one belligerent, competent, as to the other, to control the mouth of such port or harbor. Hence, it is obvious that to the legal exercise of the rights growing out of the blockade the force must be permanent in its station.

There will offer a conveyance to the United States in a few days, of which I could wish to avail myself, as well to satisfy the President of the strict adherence to principles maintained by his excellency the Supreme Director, as to defeat the effect of rumors that must have a pernicious tendency at home.

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*Bernardo O'Higgins, Supreme Director of Chile, to John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires*¹

June 23, 1821.

MY DEAR SIR: I am very much obliged to you for the indication which favors me with your note of this day. You might be sure of my resolution about the necessity of an actual force to be stationed at the sight of the ports that are to constitute the blockade. This very moment I am answering Sir Thomas Hardy about this point, declaring that must be considered as such to the ports from Pisco to Ancon, and orders will be despatched to the vice admiral, Lord Cochrane, and General San Martin, by the first safe conduct.

By next Tuesday's post to Valparaiso will be sent to you, by the Minister of State, all which has occurred about the matter; meanwhile, I remain [etc.].

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 827.

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *June 30, 1821.*

In my last I mentioned the departure of Lord Cochrane from Huacho, with six hundred troops, for the purpose of landing them somewhere to the southward of the capital, so as to intercept the supplies from that quarter. It is now ascertained that his lordship has directed this force to a different point, with objects distinct from those contemplated by the general. After proceeding to Pisco, and pillaging that place, he went to Arica, where there was a considerable quantity of merchandise in deposit for the market of Lima, took possession of the town at the point of the bayonet, and as much of the moveable property as he could grasp. It is the third or fourth time different sections of the coast have been thus distressed by a mode of warfare injurious to the cause, always at variance with that strictly enjoined and as rigidly adhered to by the general. In addition to which, he has lately committed outrages upon the British flag, by impressing seamen, and by detaining the vessels from which they were taken, in order to use them as transports. These acts, of course, are disavowed by the Government; but they have given rise to a correspondence which threatened a serious result. Among other subjects, that of the blockade was introduced: the one insisting upon its nullity *in toto*, if contemplated to embrace any portion of the coast not covered by an actual force; the other denying the consequence, and maintaining the sufficiency of the force. Although this Government might have sustained the position assumed, by recurring to British practice, yet, in their situation, it was neither prudent nor justifiable to assume any equivocal grounds, particularly on such a subject; and I thought it proper, therefore, to present a note to the Secretary of State, asking the truth of the case, and stating specifically the principle to be recognised. No. 1 is a copy of mine, and No. 2 of that of the Director, written in our language and in his own handwriting. I had hoped [to have procured] the correspondence, but the delays are such here in all the public offices that I cannot avail myself of it for this opportunity; it is not now, however, important, except for the greater satisfaction of the President, inasmuch as an order has been issued in conformity with his note, and conveyed to Sir Thomas Hardy, who acquiesced in its propriety. There have been upwards of a dozen English merchantmen under capture, some of which have already been condemned.

Nothing has reached us from the army later than the 4th of May, when San Martin had resumed his former station at Ancon, within a few leagues

of the capital. It is feared here that the absence of Lord Cochrane on expedition I have already referred to may retard the views of the general if not wholly defeat the object of his approach. Bolivar has sent a considerable force to Guayaquil, seven hundred of which have already landed at that place, from whence they are to march for the Congress of Quito.

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, July 6, 1821

Yesterday Despatches were received by the British Admiral from Montevideo, in which were enclosed by Capt. Hale commanding the convoy Sloops of War then at that Place, copies of an armistice entered into between the Belligerents— Reports also of the defeat of Ruafon [?] accompany this Document as the motive and are credited here from his advanced position at that time— Whatever may have been the motive, it must have been powerful on the one hand, to induce La Serna to assume a new Character in order to obtain a cessation of hostilities and equally so, on the other to induce Simon Martin to assent to it— All flatter themselves here with the immediate surrender of Lima and the communication of these Tidings is hourly anticipated— Time will Judge, Sir, how far these expectations may be indulged in from the information now detailed—

The extravagant conduct of Lord Cochrane was the subject of the advice given to Sir Thomas Hardy— It appears that under color of duties his Lordship has been selling licenses to trade on the Coast and in one instance to proceed to the Capital. The Brig Robert Forge of Liverpool paid upwards of \$19000. and the Rebecca nearly as much for the like privilege— The copies and extracts enclosed may be relied upon and I am persuaded when made known to this Government, will determine the Director to his removal as soon as it can be safely done—

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, August 15, 1821.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose two Gazettes for your perusal, the one containing the details of the Entry of San Martin into Lima, the other the events succeeding his Triumph. I hope this communication may reach the Government by the direction to which I am obliged to confide it, as I have no prospect of a conveyance by Sea—

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

*Michael Hogan, Commercial Agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, August 18, 1821.

I have now the honor to inform you that, on the 13th instant, a despatch vessel arrived here from Callao, which place she left on the 23d ultimo, with advices to this Government of the surrender of Lima to General San Martin, and of the inhabitants having sworn to the independence of the place. On the 12th July the Spanish troops proceeded to the mountains with their general, who first placed a garrison of two thousand men in Callao, which place had not surrendered when the despatch came away, but could not be expected to hold out, as there was not more than a week's provision in the fortress, which was to be attacked by land and by sea from the squadron. The sufferings of the people in Lima for want of bread-stuffs and other food had been great; but there is no public gazette issued explanatory of the proceedings, and private letters are short and unsatisfactory. It is impossible to say to what extent they had carried their attachment to royalty, or rather their opposition to being conquered by the forces of Chili, whom they had even treated and considered as an inferior people, not entitled to the enjoyment of equal rights with themselves. To expect them to submit tamely to the dictation of this slip of country is, I believe, more than will be realized, although there can never be any doubt of the country of South America facing the Pacific ocean being forever free from the Government of Old Spain.

An additional export duty of fifteen per cent. is laid by this Government upon all articles shipped from this port for Lima; many vessels are in port

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

² *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 827.

ready to depart as soon as permitted. The Constellation was at Callao and may (by report only) be expected here soon.

Mr. Prevost is expected from Santiago, to embark by the first vessel for Lima. I send this letter in duplicate by two ships bound this day to London in the hope that either may be put on board of some vessel bound to the United States. I have also written to Mr. Rush by them, requesting him to may communicate the information by the earliest opportunity.

Soon after my arrival here, I wrote to Captain Ridgely, requesting him to would use his endeavors to inform you, by way of Panama, of the fall of Lima, an important section of South America, which I doubt not will be the first communication you will receive.

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*Michael Hogan, Commercial Agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, October 9, 1820

SIR: On the 18th of August I had the Honor of informing you in Duplicate by two Ships bound to England of the fall of Lima, Since then the British Frigate Creole bearing Sir Thomas Hardys broad pendant arrived here bringing the latest accounts up to the 13th of Septr. from that capital;

The Royal army in great force said to be 4000 strong including 1200 mounted regular cavalry had returned and Succeeded in throwing large supplies of provisions of all descriptions and a reinforcement of 2000 men on the Garrison of Callao—previous to their abandonment of Lima their pack of Artillery was deposited in that Fortress, it is said to be of the best kind, heavy ordnance and in excellent order—by last accounts the Spanish army had free intercourse with the Fort being in possession of the Road thence to Lima with the advantage of their whole pack of artillery—advanced posts within $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the City, the two armies in front of each other and a Battle hourly expected which was to decide the present fate of Perue—the Royalists well appointed, fed and regularly paid, said to be enthusiastically attached to their cause, led by obstinate Generals particularly Valdes to whom the soldiers are much attached—General St. Martin said to have 6000 men, one third of whom are excellent soldiers and well appointed, the rest a mottly crew but expected to fight well, his officers are said to be very superior to those of the Royalists many of them having proved on the Peninsula. It is said that St. Martin expected the return of the Royal army and conducted accordingly, he never suffered more provisions to be sent into the City than enough to keep them fed from day to day, nor did he

a cent of contribution, conciliation seems to have been his course, he is weak in artillery having only some field four pounders and about 400 Cavalry—he has made the Blacks free and contrived to produce the most determined hatred to the Royalists and to all persons born in old Spain, the whole of the native population of both sexes and all ages have armed themselves with such weapons of distruction as could be found or invented and were on the ramparts and streets vowing vengeance against their former oppressors, the City was in the utmost confusion much in want of arms for men who professed their lives devoted to freedom and St. Martin—on the 10th by beat of drum by which means all orders are issued, all the old native Spaniards were ordered to assemble, regardless of rank, age, fortune or profession, in two Hours the whole of them were imprisoned to the number of 12 to 1500, the Violence of the multitude of all kinds were ungovernable, amongst the former were all the merchants and men of property with few exceptions—the women and children sent into convents for safety. No old Spaniard could exist for a moment if found in the streets or out of confinement; La Serna the vice King was on his way towards Lima by the road of Amon in order to cut off communication between St. Martins army and the chilian navy, La Serna has about 3,500 men— General Ramirez's headquarters are at Ariquepa, he commands the army of upper perue which may be computed at 7000 men, the majority of the people are in favor of independance— The Squadron under Lord Cochrane are in a miserable state, unpaid, ill fed, frequently in a state of mutiny, and always in a state of insubordination—on the entrance of Gen^l. St. Martin into Lima—the large Ship St. Martin bearing the Flag, more of a Store Ship or magazine for merchandise than a man of war, was taken so near the shore in a Bay south of Callao in order to be nearer the City to have the first run of the market for the wheat and merchandise he had purloined from different vessels, that she struck on a sunken rock and was lost with everything on board except the specie and the crew—the acct. of the disaster was rec'd here with the joyfull news of the conquest of Perue which was believed to be perfect, the loss of the ship equal to near a million of Dollars to this Government was sunk in the moments of rejoicing which lasted for a fortnight at Santiago—that admiral has not a friend in his own Fleet nor one in Chile—he has restored to Sir Thomas Hardy the English Seamen that were by force kept on board his Squadron, it was by the order of this Gov^t. which would not be obeyed were it not for the presence of the Superb and Creole, no doubt Captain Ridgely will receive a simular order for the restoration of our men his act levying a contribution of 18pc^t. which was generally 25 that he called a Duty upon the Cargoes of Foreign Vessels found going along the Coast, has been disavowed by this Government, and his plunder of the Towns on the Coast of Perue South of Callao disapproved, one of those articles 3000 Fennagos or 4500 Bushels of Wheat taken from a store at Mollendo was in the St.

as would yield him at Lima at that time from 3 to 400,000 Dollars, his avarice produced acts of the greatest meanness, at one place after treated with the greatest kindness, more from fear than love, he took the Piano Forte from the Lady of the House after playing to him on it, and sold it for one hundred Dollars to the Capt of a vessel—in this manner has secured to himself the execration of all classes did the feelings of his Heart accord with his undaunted courage he would be an acquisition to any country struggling for freedom, but in him they are at variance, and the Governments that have from necessity employed him are ashamed of his acts, and are now taking measures preparatory to parting with him, by sending Mr. Echeagüe, a former called Admiral to be his Second in command, this gentleman a Buenos Aires man, about 32 years of age is a landsman, held that office before, was made a Second in command on Shore, two months ago tried by a court martial and censured for disaffection to the existing Government, restored to favor by his sword on the great news of the fate of Lima, now for want of better prospects to his former station in the expectation of being a Chuk or Cochrane of the future, they are afraid, also in the Hope of Blanco getting the chief command and of him as they can dispense with the services of the other— In a conversation with the Director I took occasion to say that Foreign Nations could never acknowledge the Independance of Chile while such a character held the third highest Station in its Government, it seemed to make a strong impression; I ought to have said that my reception from this Government was of the most flattering kind not a cent of duty or any expense charged on my Household Furniture, an order sent by the Director to the Governor of this place to shew me every attention, and an exequator sent me in great form as consul general for the Ports of Chile, I hope you will be pleased to send me that commission when the independance of the Country is acknowledged by the President. With perfect respect [etc.].

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*Michael Hogan, Commercial Agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, October 9, 1818

Mr. Prevost sailed for Lima on the 18th ultimo in the ship Mercury of Providence Rhode Island, little expecting the Chance of a Change in what he conceived a firmly established free Government—the first arrival from there will determine the question—but even should the Vice Roy La Serna be confirmed in his office, the Government of Chile will be in a state of anarchy, and the only chance of a free Government will be in the hands of the people.

old Spain, and very soon—the minds of men are alive to what they call independence and will have it, altho it be a shadow, merely changing from national steady oppression to that of individual Despotism, the material for Republicanism like ours is not in South America. -

On the 7th instant the whale ship Persia, Cross, master of New Bedford anchored here from Juan Fernandez where she sent on shore two Boats with 11 men & 15 casks for water, these Boats and men were kept as Hostages for compelling the ship to anchor in the Bay and a letter sent to the Capt on board telling him the Inhabitants wanted to charter the ship to carry them to the Main Land of Chile, that on the 3^d. instant they had overcome the authority of the Governor who was their Prisoner—he took the alarm lest they might board him in the night by his own Boats get possession of the ship and take her to some Island or distant country—I have sent the particulars to Capt Ridgely, there is no Chilian Vessel of war here and it is likely the Constellation will be sent or go to relieve our men—The Government of the above Isle was established in June last for the expressed and avowed purpose of banishing to it disaffected persons of the Carrera party and others deserving of such punishm^t., there are about 70 such upon it, the officer commanding the Troops produced the revolt and I doubt not as many will leave it as will have courage to attempt the voyage in the two whale Boats—one whale Boat they possess, had already gone with a party of whom a Priest was the leader, it may fairly be presumed they are disposed to join Benavida, landing on this coast would be certain death to many of them even tho Carrera is dead and his party no longer existing,

With the greatest respect [etc.].

*Michael Hogan, Commercial Agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, November 4, 1821.

SIR: I have now the Honor of forwarding duplicates of my letters of the 9th ult^o by the Owen Glendore which sailed from this Port on the 10th. Since then official accounts have been rec'd of the fall of the Callao and final fate of Lima and Perue which is separated forever from the authority of the Spanish Monarchy.

Various changes have taken place in affairs in those seas since I had the Honor to address you as above; they are all so particularly detailed by Capt Ridgely in his Dispatch by this ship to the Secretary of the Navy, partic-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso, I.

ulary the movements of Lord Cochrane and the differences between him and San Martin, that I respectfully refer you to his account of every occurrence.—I have been so incessantly engaged in procuring on the most advantageous terms possible all the provisions and stores necessary for the Constellation on her intended Ten months route to the Northward where she can get nothing, that I have relied on Capt Ridgelys giving the fullest elucidation of everything interesting to our country which I am persuaded he has done, and I trust you will forgive me in referring you to his Dispatch—Mr. Prevost sent me the Lima Gazette which I gave Capt Ridgely to be forwarded, in his letter to me of the 28th of Sept. He expressed great satisfaction at being so early on the spot and I feel confident it will have a very beneficial tendency, some excitement being inadvertently caused by previous movements that his presence and influence will do away and give free scope to our Commerce. The reappearance of the Constellation to sail to day will also be of advantage. She is to touch at Juan Fernandez Coquimbo and Moliendo the sea port of Arugupa [Arequipa] and upper Perue.

It is necessary that our Fishing Trade should avoid for some time the Islands of the Marguipes, an English whale ship touched lately at that named by Comdr. Porter Maddison's Isle, she had two Boats taken by the natives and Ten men murdered in Massachusetts Bay—the Isle of Juan Fernandez should also be avoided till farther notice, it is at present in possession of the Prisoners sent from hence who rose upon the Governor now a Prisoner with them—the power of Benevidas ceases to exist he is a fugitive amongst the Aruaciano and his late residence Avooca demolished in possession of this Government who have made it a military post. It would however be well that our ships did not go towards the Island of St. Marys till I can more clearly communicate safety at that anchorage

With the greatest respect [etc.].

P.S. I go by desire of Capt Ridgely to Santiago to obtain from the Director officially an account of the present standing of Lord Cochrane, whether his Acts that he may commit or that he is now committing are to be recognized by this Government as the Acts of the Admiral of Chile—the reply is to be sent by Express to Capt R at Coquimbo who is determined to resist any impediment to our Flag under any circumstances—in publick estimation L. Cochrane borders upon a Pirate belonging to no nation—it is possible this Gov^t. may Countenance him till they can get the Fleet out of his hands—he is too much for them all—there no longer exists any cause for Blockade.

*Michael Hogan, Commercial Agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, *January 15, 1822.*

I have the Honor to inclose the Governm^t. Gazette of Lima declaring that part of the Coast of Perue laying between the Lat. of 15° and 22'.30" South in a State of Blockade, three vessels of War bought by that Government and Equiped at Callao are now Employed on that Service. Mr. Prevost sent me this communication, I have also the Honor to send a Proclamation communicated to me officially by this Government announcing the Coasts of the Islands of Chiloe in a State of Blockade, two vessels of War are enforcing the same, and it is believed that a force will be dispatched to compell their adhesion failing the negociation now pending with the Governor of those Islands at the Port of St. Carlos, whose attachment to Royalty and influence over the uninformed inhabitants gives full scope to his Dictatorship— I have communicated these Blockades to the agents of the U. States at Rio & La Plata, and will notify them to all vessels under our Flag touching on this Coast.

The answer rec'd from this Government in November last respecting the Seventy Thousand Dollars taken from Capt. Smith of the Macedonian on the Road between Molienda and Arequipa has not been acted upon, the Director then Promised he would have the Case tried here by the Prize Court in order to give me an opp^t. of showing the illegality of the Capture—the numerous holy days and other causes which I deem advantageous to my claim has enduced my not pressing the hearing untill the Franklin Anchors in this Bay, her appearance is more powerfull than the Arguments of all the National Law-writers that ever existed, force is, and ever will be the rule of order on this Coast, there is no case however bad or base that Spanish Law Records will not find a palliative for, the Royal ordinances are resorted to here as formerly when it is convenient to do so in order to defeat just claims, but the Law or rule of expediency Governs, National Law is spoken of but only to be acted on when this country is acknowledged independant, and only with that country that does so acknowledge it. this is the language of the Gov^t. of Valparaiso whose authority is almost independant of the Supreme Director, little at present is to be expected from the force of National Law, while in the present State of Real independance of the mother country, but doubtfull as to the sanction of other nations this Government will act as may appear most for its interest. It is at present almost free of debt, its paper at a discount of only 5 pc^t. between individuals, recd

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso, I.

at the Custom House at par for Duties, which have become very great in spite of the smuggling system which deprives the revenue of full one third of its real amount,—the country is free of any prominent domestic enemy and they fear not a Foreign Foe, it is in a thriving Condition, its resources and would become a strong happy nation was there less and more Virtue in the few who must ever rule it—the Federal System must prevail, ages alone aided by the wisdom of men (Such as exist here) Virtuous enough to prefer publick good to individual enrichment would make Chile a useful country, it never can be a great one because not of Navigation nor of great export, it is a Grenary for the north of it and will continue to be so till Callifornia is peopled, its mines inexhaustible, its Climate fine beyond the power of Language to describe, possessing some very fine Ports to the South with a back country superior to any yet occupied by Europeans in South America; ease at home and full Treasury which with their present management. they will soon have enabled the Governm^t. to extend to the South and fully to occupy the Province of Concepcion, the finest and most productive in South America, by degrees to approach farther upon the Arucaneans who occupy the region in South Latitude and have from some cause, perhaps from want of Acquaintance with Civilized man, lost that energy of character which in former times supported them against the power of the Spanish Monarch.

The superabundance of rain during last winter has caused blight in such a quantity of smutt in the wheat all over Chile that not more than half a crop is expected, an Embargo or prohibition on the exportation of Bread stuffs was laid on a fortnight ago, and will continue till the season the crops now collecting is ascertained—it is said the best understanding does not exist between this and the Government of Lima, acts and advances do not warrant that belief—the Protector is the greatest Despot ever ruled, and by no means certain of preserving independance in his own altho all agree on the Country being forever clear of Spain.

*Michael Hogan, Commercial Agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, May 6, 1819.

The course this Government has pursued for some months past and calculated to annihilate commerce, they expect to obtain an acknowledgment

DOCUMENT 49: JOHN B. PREVOST
ment of their Independence by coercion, commercial restitutions & seizures of property in all directions, their enmity to our Flag is obvious & were there no Naval force in this port I strongly suspect I would very soon be ordered to depart & leave our ships & property in eminent danger. I have not flattered, but I have constantly tho respectfully by personal applications to this Governor, & by letter checked their many designs at extortion & insult to our Commercial Citizens & Ships & have generally gained the points I aimed at, difficulties in commercial intercourse with them are multiplying daily & their subordinate Officers knowing the temper of their Government emulate their superiors in Office—they are the most Vain-glorious people on earth certainly the most ignorant.

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, June 12, 1822.

SIR: Remaining two months in Lima after the arrival of the Franklin without receiving any Intimation of the views of our Commodore, I embarked on the 25th of April still hoping to find him at Valparaiso— In this I was disappointed and had the mortification to reach within sight of the Port, just as he was going out of the Harbor—

Perhaps in the exercise of the discretion given me I have erred, but the event of a meeting of Deputies in this Capital for the purpose of organizing a Government did not allow me to hesitate as to the propriety of a change of residence at least for some months— I have been too long a Spectator of this animating Struggle to be indifferent to the conclusion, to be indifferent to the Establishment of a System to be founded upon the basis of equal rights— A Fortnight's residence has enabled me to take a general view of the progress and State of Society and all appears propitious to the cause of freedom— Provincial jealousies have been allayed by the liberality of the Capital in the mode of representation, party spirit is absorbed in the general prosperity and the glory acquired by Chile both by Sea and by Land has engendered a Self Esteem that forbids dependence and favors Self government—

I mentioned in my last² the Dispersion of a large Body under Tristan a Peruvian General at or near Ica, without offering to speculate upon consequences, other than as it might retard the campaign— It is possible the accession of 2 or 3000 stand of Arms by enabling the Spaniard to augment

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

² See below, pt. XI, doc. 949, under the date April 16, 1822.

his Force, may induce Canterac to advance a second time upon the Ca particularly if the Patriot army should be weakened by the March of the Division contemplated for Pasco and the valley of Xauja— In such a case I do not undertake to say what will be the course of San Martin whether he will engage or to retire, but I do undertake to say, that the latter whether he proceeds from compulsion or from choice, will have no unfavorable effect upon the cause— If produced by defeat the possession of Callao and the entire Control of the ocean will prevent any occupation of Lima by a reverse Force and must afterwards subject them to a disastrous retreat— If Policy induce the abandonment of the Capital its possession by Canterac would be accompanied with still greater dangers as in such case San Martin would necessarily assume positions so as to delay the means of subsistence as well as of regress—

I have now the honor to enclose the note of the Minister of State in answer to mine on the subject of the Macedonian together with a copy of the report of the Fiscal therein referred to— You will discover Sir, by this last document the nature of the transactions which have caused more excitement in the U States, than the truth of the case can justify— I regret to say that the protection of this Interest has been and continues to be a apology for violating the Blockade of the Intermediate Ports, when I venture to affirm that more Specie has been exported from thence in his name than our Ships of War than the whole capital expended by Messrs. Ellory & Co. including the most extravagant profits—

Ld. Cochrane some days since returned to the Port of Valparaiso and has given the greater part of the Squadron much to the Satisfaction of this Government— His reception has been flattering and he is making full use of the feelings towards him in order to obtain a command to the intermediate Ports distinct from and independent of that of San Martin— Egoism and vanity both unite to stimulate his efforts, the former to take from himself general his laurels, the latter to fulfil a prophecy of one of the Incas recorded by Garcilaso that the country was first to be subjugated by a long bearded race, who ultimately were to be driven out and the empire restored to its pristine splendor by a white or red haired People— There is no doubt but that this prophecy has been handed down by Tradition and that the Indian greets an Englishman with more complacency as answering the description; yet I doubt much whether public opinion here will justify the necessary expences to an Equipment and I doubt still more the inclination of the Director to give his Ld Ship the reins a second time.

A French Frigate after consuming some months at the different Ports of the Southward anchored a few weeks since at the Port— The conduct of Baron Mackan the commander is wholly different from that of his Predecessor Count Jusien, all is courtesy and deference to the existing Power— I enclose for your perusal the letter addressed by him to this Government

prior to his visit hither, it was necessary to allay the jealousies excited by the former visit in order to gain him the access he had in view and which he has since obtained— As far as I have been able to discover his objects they were first directed to the possession of one of the Ports at the Southward if such could be effected with the concurrence of this Government— The jealousies however are too great to cherish any hope of acquiescence and the progress of the expedition to Chiloe is such that his mission I think will terminate in a treaty of commerce, if advantages can be obtained— My efforts will be used to counteract him as far as relates to priviledges in exclusion of others, by every appeal that can be made to the Judgment or feelings of those People—

You will find Sir, upon perusing the note of the Minister covering the report in the case of Smith the anxiety of that Government to have some authorized agent resident there— My answer to this note is also submitted: I thought it most discreet to acknowledge the communication with equal courtesy, without touching upon the subject of powers which I no longer possessed and of which if he had been inclined to admit their former existence upon my responsibility, doubts might have arisen as to their application under the change— It is my Intention (unless otherwise instructed in the meantime) to return to Peru in October or earlier if my health permit, not however with an intention of remaining there longer than is absolutely necessary, because of the extravagance of the Place, the expenses largely exceeding those of any of the great Capitals of Europe—

My approach to Bs. Ays. present to view the same Intrigues that I detected when there, varying only in Shape, the secret influence still operating and from the same source— An alliance offensive and defensive with Brazil as an Independent Power under a Prince who cannot sustain himself, has been proposed and efforts made to inveigle this Government into the measure— The consequence is obvious, the Interior hemmed in on all Sides was thus to be subjected to the Politics of the Capital and such Government imposed upon them as best comported with the Interests of a few corrupt Dependents upon foreign Courts— Hence their reluctance to consolidate an Union upon terms of Equality, and none will be formed while the present Rulers are suffered to remain— They will not however succeed as the most important Provinces, those adjoining Chile, are now in the practice of receiving their supplies from hence and thus daily becoming Independent of their former Capital.

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, August 22, 1822.

In one of my former I touched upon the event of the Liberation of Quito as necessarily to influence the Politics of Guayaquil— It now appears that Bolivar after having dissolved the whole Spanish authority in that Kingdom advanced to Guayaquil and entered that Town amidst the acclamations of the great Body of the People— The Columbian Flag was immediately hoisted and the Province united with those of the great Confederation he has so nobly struggled to effect and maintain— This measure is in direct hostility with the views of Lima and cannot be grateful to a Government which has for some time past been using every artifice and every Intrigue in order to induce that People to place themselves under its rule— All great with Bolivar; without noticing the divisions which had thus been attempted he announces the event as a Subject of gratulation and accompanies it with an offer of any portion of his army for the emancipation of Upper Peru— By the vessel bringing these Tidings, we are also informed that the Troops sent by San Martin while at Truxillo to assist Genl Sucre were all embarked on board Transports despatched from Lima for that purpose and were to sail on the Day following either for Callao or the intermediate Ports. Whichever may be the place of Destination, it is an augmentation of Two thousand men who were actively employed in the Campaign against Cuenca and Quito and now inured to Service—

My last advices from Peru State that the Franklin had not yet reached Callao and that her Stay at the Intermediate Ports had excited much Irritation towards our Government— It is a fact that infinite mischief to the Patriot cause has grown out of this Intercourse and I regret that our Commanders should have thought proper to disregard a Blockade which Sir Thomas Hardy felt himself bound to respect—

It is really grateful to witness the progress of feeling produced here by the prospect of recognition, every communication giving it confirmation is followed with the ringing of Bells and discharge of Guns and I have reason to believe that when it shall be officially announced the Duties upon Importations in American Bottoms will be reduced 10 or 15 per cent below those of the Nations of Europe—

The meeting of a Congress in Lima was proposed for the 28th Ultio. but whether it took place I know not— I do not now consider it of any consequence, in as much as the feeble aristocracy of that corrupt Capital will never dare to encounter the Enmities of Bolivar on one Side and of O'Higgins on the other—

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and
Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *August 22*

In one of my former I touched upon the event of the Liberation as necessarily to influence the Politics of Guayaquil— It now appears Bolivar after having dissolved the whole Spanish authority in that advanced to Guayaquil and entered that Town amidst the acclamations of the great Body of the People— The Columbian Flag was immediately hoisted and the Province united with those of the great Confederation who has so nobly struggled to effect and maintain— This measure is in direct hostility with the views of Lima and cannot be grateful to a Government which has for some time past been using every artifice and every expedient in order to induce that People to place themselves under its rule— Bolivar great with Bolivar; without noticing the divisions which had threatened the attempted he announces the event as a Subject of gratulation and accompanies it with an offer of any portion of his army for the emancipation of the Upper Peru— By the vessel bringing these Tidings, we are also informed that the Troops sent by San Martin while at Truxillo to assist General Bolivar were all embarked on board Transports despatched from Lima for that purpose and were to sail on the Day following either for Callao or other Intermediate Ports. Whichever may be the place of Destination, the augmentation of Two thousand men who were actively employed in the Campaign against Cuenca and Quito and now inured to Service—

My last advices from Peru State that the Franklin had not yet returned to Callao and that her Stay at the Intermediate Ports had excited much opposition towards our Government— It is a fact that infinite mischief to the patriot cause has grown out of this Intercourse and I regret that our Commissioners should have thought proper to disregard a Blockade which Sir Thomas Hardy felt himself bound to respect—

It is really grateful to witness the progress of feeling produced here by the prospect of recognition, every communication giving it confirmation and followed with the ringing of Bells and discharge of Guns and I have no doubt to believe that when it shall be officially announced the Duties upon Imports and Exports in American Bottoms will be reduced 10 or 15 per cent below the Rates of the Nations of Europe—

The meeting of a Congress in Lima was proposed for the 28th of August whether it took place I know not— I do not now consider it of any consequence, in as much as the feeble aristocracy of that corrupt Capital will

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *September 11, 1822.*

SIR: No event could have occurred at this moment more interesting to the revolution of Peru, than the fall of Monteagudo— This is the same Person to whom I alluded in one of my former from Lima when touching upon the establishment of the order of the Sun— His Politics were as mischievous as those of his Prototype Puerreydon and would have proved equally disastrous could he have continued his ascendancy— He had a repugnance to every thing like principle and used authority only to its destruction— I never had a moment's apprehension as to the revival of Spanish Dominion in Peru, but I have had many as to the form of Government to be adopted— This happy Incident entirely relieves me and I now believe that the Congress contemplated as the Instrument of his corrupt views, will either follow the Impulse of public opinion by some liberal System or dissolve itself as not forming the National representation.

All the letters from Peru concur in the March of the Army upon the return of San Martin which was hourly expected at the last dates of the 9th Ulto.— It probably took place a few days afterwards, so that we may anticipate the news of the commencement of this long protracted measure by the next arrival from thence. The March will consume at least 20 days to reach within the precincts of Arequipa, but when there I renew my confidence in the early close of the War.

The Expedition fitted out for Chiloe will sail from Valdivia during the present month— Some Follies of Wooster who is really not fit for a separate command may compel this Government to resort to Ld Cochrane should such however be the case his authority will be limited to that specific object and terminate with his success—

A Minister has been named for the U States to be in readiness to leave this as soon as the official advices of recognition shall arrive.

With every Sentiment of Consideration [etc.].

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

*John B. Prentiss, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and
Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *October 9, 1821*

The sudden departure of San Martin from Lima without indicating Destination gave rise to much Speculation and to many idle reports, some of which may have reached the U States— The truth is that upon the arrival of Bolivar at Guayaquil he sent a messenger to the Protector soliciting an Interview at any place he might appoint and that the latter in order to attend a conference so important to the operations of the Campaign immediately embarked for that City— The consequences of the meeting have been happy in producing an efficient cooperation of 5000. Troops on the one hand and an abandonment of idle pretensions on the other—

The Infirmities of Torre Tagle had given rise to so many Intrigues, and much excitement had been produced by the conduct of Monteagudo in the absence of the General, that the latter found it necessary upon his return to resume the exercise of all the authority vested in him by the provisions of the regulation heretofore transmitted to the Department— My Son has just writes me it was confidently rumored that he intends to retire upon the expiration of the Congress.

A Minister lately arrived from Columbia has been distinguished by the attentions of the Director and from his language both in public and in private there is every reason to believe in an entire consonance of views between the two Governments— A Toast is a small incident, but one given by Mr. O. Higgins on a late occasion in the presence of the Peruvian and Bs. American Deputation I think may be noticed, It was as follows, “after so many labors and so many efforts, rather let the Sun cease to shine, than that there should not be established in America a Monarchy”—

The Intrigue from the other Side to which I referred in mine of the 1st of June last² has been confirmed by an application to the same effect from Mr. LeCor in the name of his Master King John of whom he states himself to be the representative— It has been equally unavailing: the power of the one is here considered of short duration and the Politics of the other are altogether different while connected with that Interest—

The Constitution intended for Chile will soon be proclaimed the liberal features promise much except as to toleration, and from the Harmony prevailing I have every reason to hope a System that may advance and secure the Enjoyment of Civil rights—

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, October 17, 1822.

SIR: By the enclosed publication you will find that San Martin on the 20. of the last month surrendered to the Congress then assembled in Lima all the authority vested in him as Protector by the provisional regulation heretofore transmitted to the Department— He has pledged himself to this measure as soon as the national representation should be formed and he has redeemed that Pledge— At this distance from the Scene of action I cannot determine the motive for Separating himself from the Army, it is probable that finding himself unfit for an active Campaign he thought the eclat of the surrender would protect him from censure and thus chose that moment as the most propitious to his reputation. How far he has judged right will be decided as usual by Events—

Upon his arrival at the Port he proceeded directly to the Baths of Cauquenes about 25 leagues from hence where he now is trying the efficacy of those waters to the reestablishment of his health— In a private letter written to the Director while at the Port he speaks in a flattering manner of the prospects of the Campaign and States their readiness to commence the operations with an accession of 3000 men from Bolivar—

No letters accompanied the vessel in which he came and I regret that I cannot offer the Impressions produced by his Departure— My conviction is the same as to the result, I have always relied upon public opinion to effect the revolution and happily that opinion becomes daily more American.

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, November 2, 1822.

SIR: The arrival of the General at Valparaiso gave rise to so many Stories, not merely to his disparagement, but to that of the cause that I resolved upon an excursion to the Baths in order to Satisfy myself of the State of things. He soon relieved me from the apprehensions necessarily engendered by a measure to us so abrupt, by entering into a full detail of the operations directed by him & of the forces employed to give them effect— He

¹ MS. Letters. I. B. Prevost.

also expressed himself with entire confidence of an early result and the State of his health as the motive of his retirement. With the perfectly satisfied & might have been equally so with the other, but afterwards in the course of the day discovered that he still retained the Command of the Army & was Secretly anticipating some exhibition of public feeling in Lima, requiring his return to preside at the head of the government— The measure therefore is explained and has no influence to the situation of things than as he may have conceived the measure of the moment Sufficiently flattering to justify the experiment. It is not injuring his reputation if the retirement under Such circumstances Should be realised and 2dly by exalting it if his return to power should proceed solely from a deference to public opinion— He is certainly a brave man and has hitherto so fitted his measures to produce his ends that I almost doubt my own judgment when speaking on his subject, yet on this occasion I must think he will be disappointed— He does not appear to be sufficiently aware of the loss of Popularity he has Suffered by the conduct of Monteagudo and although I may absolve him from participation in the Intrigues of his profligate minister, yet I am persuaded the Public do not—

The actual force to have marched on 26th September in different divisions as indicated in mine of the 4th of March last¹ consists of 11,000. Among them are 2,000 who have distinguished themselves in Chile and who have served & fought under Bolivar— The rest are recruits of 3 months and tolerably disciplined— That of the Enemy with the loss of a division of army has been augmented & now amounts to 8,500 in the field. Two thirds of these are raw and doubtful as to the cause in which they are engaged— The rest are good with an efficient cavalry exceeding in number that of the Patriots—

We have yet nothing indicating the Intentions of the President to acknowledge the Independence of these Countries, the delay is certainly unfortunate as events are daily occurring to diminish its Importance. Some of these I detailed in my last of the 17th Ultio. and I have now a fact communicated to the Director by his Agent abroad, that a French frigate from France was on his way for the like purpose—

I was extremely gratified Sir, by the perusal of your Note in answer to the Russian Minister on the Subject of their Northwest Claims and I hope that pretensions so extravagant will induce the President to the establishment of a military Post at the mouth of the Columbia— They will not, Sir, developed all & perhaps will not until they shall have obtained their possession of California when it may perhaps be too late and the Pacific Sea will be claimed from 37°:56' the latitude of St Francisco or the latitude of Monterey to 55' and more North— I am assured

¹ See below, pt. XI, doc. 947.

Director that the Sovereignty was transferred to Russia by Spain at the time heretofore designated by report, that is, about four years since in exchange for some ships of War—

The Convention have dissolved after completing a Constitution of which I forbear to offer an opinion until I can obtain a Copy— It is said to be preparing for the Press and if so will accompany my next with such observations as its perusal may suggest—

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, November 15, 1822.

SIR: This Government in answer to the note of Baron LeCor referred to in mine of the 9th. Ult^o.² without touching upon the subject of the proposal, simply declined any negotiation unless through the medium of a public Agent to be sent hither by his most faithful Majesty clothed with powers to treat with Chile as an Independent Sovereignty— I doubt whether the Baron will retain his Government of Montevideo long enough to learn the answer of his Master, but if such should be the case and Portugal assent to the mode prescribed I am persuaded that the Director will never lend himself to its insidious and corrupt views— The Disposition to resist European Influence under any shape daily acquires strength and I am sincerely gratified to find that such also is the decided policy of Columbia— The agent appointed by that Government to conclude Treaties of Alliance offensive and defensive with Peru and Chile, has added a Pledge from each of the contracting Parties to send Deputies to the Isthmus within a limited time for the double purpose of effecting an Union in support of a representative System throughout and of preventing partial associations with any one of the Powers of Europe— An Agent has gone to Mexico with the same object and it is in contemplation as soon as the several Treaties shall be ratified by Columbia to invite a representation from the U. States to preside at a meeting intended to assimilate the Politics of the South with those of the North— I know not Sir what may be the feelings of the President upon such an application, but if it can be realized and the effect produced which I anticipate from the measure I shall regard it as one of the most interesting events of the present age— America will then exhibit to the world the proud Spectacle of an association for the exaltation of man, while in Europe they are forming compacts solely for his Degradation—

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

² See above, pt. v, doc. 492.

San Martin arrived in Town two days since and explains the delay in communications from Peru, by an order which he gave at his Departure an Embargo to be continued a fortnight after the embarkation of the troops destined for the South— He supposes them to have sailed early in October so that in allowing the additional term we can now only look out for their arrival from thence—

In adverting to the transaction of Smith in mine of 9th of October mentioned that he sailed from hence for Arica in the Franklin— It was so, he went in the Dolphin, the mistake arose from his having procured passage from thence in the Franklin to Lima, from whence I derived my information— It does not vary the case, but I should regret an Error however unimportant in any communication I make to the Department— I know it is a subject of pain to me when I have to refer to the conduct of our Commanders and so much so, that if any reproach can attach to me may from having been too delicate on their Subject—

My stay here has been continued from a belief that my presence might be useful upon the arrival of the Minister reported to have been named— My Impressions are to remain until I can learn something specific as to the views of the President—

I know not whether Mr. Edward McCall Son of Archibald McCall of Philadelphia be among the applicants for a Consulate, but, if so, I leave to State that he is one in whom the Government may place confidence—

The absence of the Director has suspended the printing of the Correspondence, so that I cannot yet procure a Copy, and thus some further delay is necessarily take place—

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

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John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States

SANTIAGO, CHILE, November 28, 1821

SIR: A very few Days after the date of my last ² of which I have the honor to enclose a duplicate, a vessel arrived from Callao with the news as to the Sailing of the Transports conveying the Troops destined for the South as of the March of the Division of the Army intended to obtain possession of the Valley of Xauja— I have entire confidence in the Command

believe their approach towards the Enemy will produce an early and happy result—

The letters from Lima are so contradictory on the subject of the General that it is not easy to form a judgment how far the feeling toward him may operate to invite his return— My opinion however is not changed, it does not appear to me probable that a dereliction at that moment should obtain for him favor, nor is it probable that those who have succeeded him would incline to abandon their authority— It is true there is no one in Peru sufficiently distinguished to unite public confidence and the present Executive Committee although individually of excellent Reputation are wholly without political experience and I fear incompetent to give stability to any System of Government— Their first act was one of oppression towards the English Merchant, not justified in principle, feebly sustained and as feebly relinquished—

The Deputy from Columbia leaves this in a few Days for Bs. Ays. in order to conclude a like treaty of Alliance with those in rule there— He must succeed, however secretly indisposed they may be to the federative System contemplated and I think the general Union when known in Europe will tend to deter any one Power from further Intrigues in that quarter—

Valparaiso which had grown in two years from 6000 to a population of 15000 Souls, was on the 19th. instant entirely destroyed by an Earthquake— Its direction was from North to South and fears are entertained that it has caused greater destruction in Peru—

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, December 14, 1822.

SIR: I have just received a line from Mr. Hogan advising me of a conveyance Home by a whaler to sail tomorrow— It would have gratified me to be enabled to add something further of the operations in Peru, but until we can learn the debarcation of the Patriots I can offer little of Consequence— Quilca the nearest Port to Arequipa is their place of destination and as the Coast in that neighborhood is a bed of Sand and wholly unproductive, they must immediately advance towards the Spanish Lines distant only a few leagues in order to obtain Bread and Water— The Force of the Enemy in

and if confided in, an attempt may be made to check this approach. Something therefore decisive of the Campaign may be anticipated with news of the landing of which we are in hourly expectation—

I have been favored with a Sight of the original of the Treaty referred to by my last¹ and can now say that it embraces in the most express terms several objects to which I then alluded, together with a stipulation to enter into partial arrangements with Spain and not to listen to overtures on her part unaccompanied with an acknowledgment of the Independence of all— The Deputy leaves this tomorrow for Bs. Ays. and will take with him a letter to Mr. Forbes to whom I have requested him to communicate the success for your information—

The Districts North and South of this Place have not been affected by the late Earthquake so that the mischief sustained by Chile is partial and confined to the Port Solely—

Shortly after the arrival of San Martin in this Place he had a return of his former complaint and has since been at the Point of Death— He is now better but the quantity of blood taken from him has so reduced the System, that recovery is distant and still precarious.

The failure of the Crops last year has caused infinite distress throughout the Province of Concepcion and I regret to say we have just received accounts of some serious commotions in that quarter— I am however inclined to believe that with the relief to be afforded by an abundant crop during the next month, all may be quieted, particularly if this Government should discover a disposition to relieve the Calamities to which a Spanish and an American War has subjected the Patriots in that Section— Policy may thus prevent consequences of which the alternative will otherwise be either a separation or a change of the present Rulers—

The Constitution is at length published and has given rise to considerable discontent, the causes of which I will unfold in my next—

With every Sentiment of Consideration [etc.].

Established by this Government with other Documents to which I respectfully ask your attention; I have endeavored to get the Reglamento translated and only succeeded partially, the address of the Secretary of the Acienda corresponding with that of Finance or Treasury or Minister of the interior, which is translated will shew you his Views, they are one Century too early for this country and taken altogether from one of the early Decrees of the French Revolution so acknowledged by the Director, over whose mind Mr. Rodrius a man of cunning well versed in Law detesting intercourse with Foreigners and of narrow selfish views of National Policy, has gained so great an ascendancy, that to the destruction of the real interest of the country he is ruling its Destinies—the consequence must be civil commotion and an increased disaffection to the cause misnamed freedom in Chile— . . .

General Freyre the most popular man in Chile commanding the Province of Concepcion has for a long time been disgusted and at length has armed against this Government and marched, he is the great personal friend of O'Higgins whom he wishes to preserve as Director but will insist on a change of Ministers and of measures, nothing short of it will save the country from anarchy and confusion the Director is gone to Talca 80 Leagues South of Santiago with an escort of 20 Dragoons to meet him for an amicable conference which is hoped will prevent Bloodshed—that Province has suffered under the most poignant privation, while the publick Treasure has been squandered on the soldiers and attendants of the Palace and enriching those that have the management of it of which the Director is entirely exhonored. Mr. Prevosts Dispatch which I have the Honor to forward will of course inform you more particularly (he being on the spot) than I can—I can however say from what the Director told me, that they feel very sore at their Independance not being officially announced to them by the President.

*Michael Hogan, Commercial Agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, December 31, 1822.

SIR: On the 16th instant I had the Honor to advise you of the Defection of the Province of conception and of Gen^l. Freyre having armed against this Government which I confirm— Since then a perfect understanding between Concepcion and the Province of Coquimbo has manifested itself by the latter having declared Independant of the existing Government of Santiago, refusing to furnish Troops in compliance with orders sent for repelling the forces

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso, I

from the South & both ends of this country are now engaged in against the Center, either of them too strong for it—but they are cash resources which the Center possess having the whole revenue of the Port, which by their own mismanagement they have lessened to one half of what it might be, they also are drawing against the Loan negotiated in London, selling it at 4^s. 2^d Ster¹ per Dollar—I apprehend there will be no buyers at any price while the Government is in such an Unsettled state. A whaler to sail in Ten days will enable me to give farther particulars of the movements of parties, the popularity of General Freyre is so great that without money he can move to the Center and overturn those in power. His forces will abandon them on his approach.

The Franklin arrived on the 29th instant from Kilka, her Tender also arrived leaving it Ten days after Commodore Stewart sailed— instant, reports the first Division of the Expedition from Lima. The Ship landed at Arica—but that there was not an animal nor any provision left within 100 miles of the Barron Sea Coast the whole country was Hostile to those called Patriots who must fall a sacrifice to their progress interior, it is not expected that any of them will ever return to Lima.

With perfect respect [etc.].

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and
Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *January 20*

The news from the intermediate Ports extends to the 20th. Ultonio time Albarado a Youth of great promise who commands the Expedition not only effected his landing, but was making every effort to bring his party to an Engagement— They write with great confidence and have fewer apprehensions than those that may grow out of a deficiency of supplies such is the patriotism of the neighboring Country that I think they will be enabled to surmount them— The following Incident is not a manifestation of this feeling; as soon as the landing was known in the Interior they found their way to the Patriot Camp in spite of the most rigid precautions the part of the Spaniard—

The principle established by the last constitution is that of an a republic under one general representation— It was adopted as the best form and I believe in good faith, as the one best adapted to the

State of Society— There are however many exceptionable points, some of which relating to the continuance in office of those in Power cannot be justified, these together with the destruction of provincial Limits have awakened so many jealousies that its duration has become very precarious—

A meeting of Deputies has been proposed for an adjustment of the differences to which it has given rise and those named by the Director are already on their way to Talca the place of Rendezvous.

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*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, January 24, 1823.

SIR: As the mail has been detained by the Government, perhaps it may not be uninteresting to learn the Sailing of Ld Cochrane some Days since for Rio, to take command of the Navy of Pedro Emperor of the Brazils— How far this service is compatible with the principles he has heretofore avowed, does not appear to have entered into the consideration of his LdShip— In fact, take him out of a profession in which he is without Rival and all is Inconsistency. He left this without taking leave of the Government, having secretly distributed a few copies of an insidious and ill digested address to the Inhabitants of Chile, an inflammatory one to the Officers of the Squadron and one highly ridiculous to the Merchants whom he had oppressed—

I yesterday received a few lines from Lima of 27th. of Novembr. and although of an ancient date, yet still later than any here— My son enclosed me among other papers the recall of the Ministers sent to Europe under the corrupt administration of Monteagudo— I intimated at the time to one of those now in rule my suspicions, he would not then credit them, but it appears that he has since discovered the real object of the mission, and I rejoice to find by the decree to which they have given publicity, the disapprobation of the Congress, together with their determination to defeat the Intrigue— It has injured the General much in public estimation there and deservedly so, if he were accessory to the Instructions— I still however separate him from the acts of his Minister—

Another french Frigate together with a Sloop of War arrived at the Port a few Days since under the Command of Admiral Roupin one of the most distinguished Officers of France—

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *January 31, 182*

SIR: As the Mail has been detained until this Day I have time by the conveyance carrying my two last to advise you of the termination of causes of difference to which they refer— From the activity of preparation the distrust became so general that two days since a call of the Citizens suggested and as soon carried into effect— It was not the meeting of a rabble but of the most respectable and patriotic portion of the Community and I am pleased to be enabled to say that their proceedings were conducted with decorum and firmness rarely exhibited— After an animated discussion was resolved as the Sense of the meeting, that the resignation of those in authority under the Constitution could alone restore general harmony— a committee was there upon named to communicate to the Director the result and in the most respectful manner to Solicit acquiescence— His first impression was that of an Indignity and without reflection he dismounted his Horse and formed his Guards— Fortunately his anger subsided and patriotism gaining the ascendancy he repaired to the meeting in company with the Delegates and there after a short conference dismissed his Guards and placed upon the Table the Insignia of his office— A universal applause succeeded together with a general embrace, when two of those present were named in conjunction with the General to select two Persons uniting public confidence for the discharge of the executive powers until an understanding can be had with the other Provinces for the adoption of some general System— The choice has been made from among those distinguished by their patriotism throughout the revolution and promises the most happy results—

*Michael Hogan, Commercial Agent of the United States at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, *January 31, 182*

SIR: My letters of the 16 & 31st Ult^o and that in charge of Lieut^t. Mayne of Panama advised an approaching revolution or change in this Co-

ment, it is now perfected, a new sett of men are Elected by the people of Santiago to act for six months untill a regular congress (the free choice of the people) shall determine on a new Chief or other form than that heretofore in use—

The present are a Juanta of three Gentlemen said to be capable, namely, Fernando Erasuris, Eizaguirre & Hose Miguel Infantas.—for Sec^r. of State & Marine Don Mariano Egana, for Sec^r. of Acienda or Treasury & War Don Augustin Vial

I have the Honor to inclose a Copy of Gen^l. Freres Proclamation which has been for weeks here in possession of high official authority from whom I obtained it in confidence before the final Issue of the movements made in consequence, also his address to the then Government, and the orders of the new Government to the Governor of this Place & his reply—these papers are well worthy of Translations which it is not in my power to have made here.

Gen^l. Frere disavows ambitious views, his influence will however be overwhelming while he possesses as he now does the Universal Voice of the people—he has been always understood to be unfriendly to us, but on finding himself in Authority may act with a policy suited to the interest of the State, he is considered a good Gen^l. and a very brave man but no farther doe his Talents extend except that he is Honest and generous

Gen^l. O. Higgins was misled by Rodrigus who through an instrument engrossed to himself all the benefits arising from the commerce of this port for many months—the person & property of this man Antonio Arcus is now pursued by the present Authority who entered on their Duties on the 28th instant; so little was the Ex Director aware of his situation that the Troops of Coquimbo were within sixty miles of the Capital before he knew it, in fact he knew not the feelings of the numerous band loaded with Lace about his Palace, so much blind folded by flattery even of some that ought to act otherwise— He squandered much of the Publick money in raising & pressing all the men & Horses that could be found for defence which only added to the number opposed, his ignorance of publick sentiment is the most unpardonable part of this Character— He is now respected as their Gen^l. in Chief, and he says he will go to Perue to attack again the old Spaniards—on the final Issue at the Head of a few Troops in the square in front of his Palace where he said he would fall or successfully resist, he was left to the support of a few Foreign officers, after which the Town insisted on his Resignation to the Cabilda to whom he tore off his Epaulets Stars and Honors all which were imm^t. replaced by them who Embraced him as their Brave Field Marshal—his Honesty & bravery will always preserve respect and the good will of the people to him. Mr. Prevost by letter of the 23^d informed me that all was quiet to the North and would not believe any communication I made to him of movements either North or South all which were well known to me from parties interested

John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States

SANTIAGO, CHILE, February 15, 1821

SIR: Letters from the intermediate Ports have reached us to the 7th. by which it appears that Albarado has been successful in several skirmishes that the Spaniard retired as he advanced and that many of their Cavalry passed over to join the Patriot Standard— Provisions are the only difficulty and if these can be obtained in sufficient abundance they will I think render Arequipa.

The dates from my Son at Lima are to the 15th.—Nothing had occurred to claim notice except the reembarkation of the Division of Bolivar's Troops with whom differences had arisen on account of some exorbitant demands for pay &c.—all otherwise was quiet— The difficulty of acquiring such Information of the Events in Peru as may enable me to write with more confidence to the Department has determined me to leave this tomorrow for Lima from whence my next will be dated—

The determination to resist the Constitution had so generally extended itself that all were in Arms and Marching towards this Capital about the effects of the late change— Those from the North, large bodies of whom shortly thereafter reached this, have since returned without doing the least damage and those from the South on their way from the Port enter the City to be under Genl Frere hitherto maintaining the same order—

The establishment of provincial Governments under a confederation analogous to that of the U States obtains general favor and fortunately the system of dominion so destructive to a like system elsewhere, is here too limited to apprehend any resistance— I know Frere personally and have confidence in his cooperation with the general Sentiment without views of personal grandizement.

With every Sentiment of respect [etc.].

*Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

VALPARAISO, April 7, 1821

SIR: I had the Honor of addressing you on the 31 Jan^r. announcing the change that had taken place in this Government to that period you of course

were informed of all the particulars by Mr. Prevost residing at Santiago till his departure from thence, his opportunities by Buenos-ayres were frequent and such as I could not avail of.

On the 3^d. of feb^r. Gen^l. Freyre arrived here from Concepcion in the Corvette *Independencia* with four other Vessels bringing about 2000 men, the Governm^t. being changed and he becoming apparently the Supreme Authority possessing the military power as well as the will of the people. I conceived it my duty to call on him which I did on the 5th—he appointed the 6th for a conference which I desired to have at which he explained for the information of my Government the motives that influenced his movements &c.

He first desired I would assure you of his most perfect respect and Veneration for the Gov^t. and the excellent institutions of the United States, which it was the wish of his Heart to see copied and in practice in this country, on my remarking the difference of material which I did with a decorous freedom, he agreed perfectly, but expressed a hope for the better and an improvement by the intercourse that was likely to increase— He disavowed ambitious views, entered at large into the misrule that aroused the feelings of the Valuable Province of Concepcion so much neglected and abused by those in Authority at Santiago, who lavished the revenues of the country on the least deserving, in fact to preserve power had forfeited all they had promised and deceived the people by spacious pretences—that Gen^l. O'Higgins made Director by St. Martin on the field of Battle possessed no Authority from the Peoples, who had become tired of the misconduct of his Favorite Minister Rodrigus that engrossed to himself all the benefit arriving from commerce.—that personally he was a friend of O'Higgins but publickly the enemy of his measures, that he had sustained (which is very true) the Province of Concepcion for three years by his own means and example living with his soldiers on the cold ground, to endure which any longer was unbearable that at the solicitation of that Province as well as of Coquimbo, North, and many of the principal Families in this Santiago, he advanced determined to put an end to the deception so long practiced on a patient and suffering people, that his object was to see Established a system of Government as much like that of the U. States as circumstances would warrant, representatives &c. elected in the same manner. On the 9th He marched for Santiago Joined on the route by his cavalry from Concepcion making together about 6000 men, no Troops ever behaved more orderly, not an error or complaint from any quarter, immediately on his encamping before Santiago Mr. Prevost came away and Embarked for Lima for which he sailed on the 16th which I regret because it produced remarks unpleasant.

The Junta appointed at Santiago after two months servitude abdicated on the 28th ult^o. and Gen^l. Freyre after repeated refusals has at length been in compliance with the Gen^l. wish of the people been compelled to accept of the Dictatorship and to assume the title of Dictator of the Republic.

appointed on the 5th, new com^l. arrangements expected, The Loan contracted for in London which a few days ago was tottering is confirmed and the Debts incurred by the late Government are assumed by the present, the Navy and Army to be regularly paid without sectional preference, such the outlines of the new Government—

On the first instant I rec'd from Aruquipa in upper Perue their Gazette Extraordinary shewing their Battle with the expedition sent from Lima resulting in the annihilation of the Patriot Forces of which only fourteen hundred by the most favorable reports returned to Lower Perue, I have the Honor to inclose the Gazette and a translation I had made of it. The bearer of it informs that the Royal Troops from upper Perue to the number of Eight Thousand had marched in small parties to regain Lima and its dependencies where no resistance can be expected—the latest dates about a month ago represent the Government there in a most deplorable condition without order, without power, everything in a state of insubordination and confusion.

I have also the Honor to inclose the first Gazette issued at Santiago of Chile on the installation of General Freyre which is very interesting to our commercial and adventurous to this coast.

The Franklin sailed on the 23^d ultima for the Northern coast—by every opportunity I shall keep you advised of the proceedings here and of the information received from the North.

I have the Honor [etc.].

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Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, July 8, 1821

SIR: Since my last of the 7th of April nothing of sufficient importance or communication has occurred in Chile.

General Freyre has produced no improvement nor energy in the measures of Government, a general feeling of dissatisfaction prevails and it is thought he will soon give place to some other person who in all probability will be better versed in the Science of Government than himself.

A co'operation promised Lima of 3000 more Horses and provisions which were three months preparing has failed. A merchant who contracted for Provisions and Ships performed his part having all on board and ready. On the 4th Ult^o. they resolved to abandon the project, after having gone to great expense, on the 7th a gale came from the North brought the Ships on shore and the equipment is lost.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso, I.

This day their only serviceable vessel of war the Independencia of 24 guns sails for Lima to bring back the skeletons of Three Chile Reg^{ts}. remaining of those sent with St. Martin whom that Government have not paid for 20 months.

It appears the best understanding does not exist between the two Governments, or this is fearfull of sending Troops out of the country while the French Sq^f. is so strong, of whose measures in case of war in Europe they are very suspicious, their Flag has not been saluted by any of the French Ships of war anchoring here, as has been the custom by those of other nations, nor anything done by which they were considered other than a Colony of Spain. on the arrival from Buenosayres of accounts of almost a certainty of French Troops entering Spain, the Captain of a French Sloop of war then here was written to by this Government desiring to know what course his Admiral would take in this country, the avowed object of France being to restore the Ancient System of the Spanish Monarchy. After six days correspondence she sailed for Lima, a vessel being sent at the same time for the Admirals answer to this enquiry. They are uneasy as to their safety but make no preparation for defence in case of need; procrastination is food to a Spainard, and those people have not changed an iota in principle or action by their seperation from the Monarchy.

Lima is largely in their debt in consequence of the first outfit of St. Martins Army and other sums since; besides they lent them lately, One Million of the English Loan, twenty six thousand dollars of which was lost at cards in one night by the Deputy that rec'd it at Santiago, Integrity, Honor, truth, or Justice, is as little understood as the word Patriotism which is hacknied only to cover acts of Despotism and injustice.

In a former letter I had the Honor to inform you of the oppressive measures of the Minister Rodrigus of Sept^r. which became inoperative in January, and the old system resorted to. Since then another Reglamento more liberal and beneficial to the country has been matured and now in operation, copy of which I have the Honor to transmit herewith.

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*Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, July 23, 1823.

SIR: Without any prospect of communicating in the first instance the fall of Lima, I think it my duty to have the Honor of stating to you what I have

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso, I.

made out on that subject. Various letters confirm the entry of Gen^l. Canterac at the head of 7 to 9000 men on the 18th June without opposition—the Patriots with 6000 Troops having retired into the Fortress of Callao so to have 7 months Provisions except in Bread, very scarce,—they left Lima two days without a Government or any controal of a population that committed plunder and many outrages.

The Gen^l. as usual was hailed by vive Le Rey which he ordered to be altered to Vive La Perue, he appointed a Governor and 400 Cavalry to maintain order and issued a Banda punishing with Death the Theft of one Real worth of property. Several rec'd that punishment, and in a few days a band of Robbers were rendered safe people to have property amongst. A Contribution of \$300,000 Cash, and \$200,000 Dollars worth of Linen and Cloth were demanded and collected in 24 hours, but that for Arms could not be complied with because not there. a large q^t. of valuable Tents were found that answers well for his Encampment across the great road three miles from Callao. 600 cavalry with some infantry were sent towards Truxilo to the North is said to have cut up a Party of the Patriots and sent the survivors into Lima Prisoners. He has all the Roads and the three Bays from which supplies are rec'd at Lima and all his arrangements indicate permanency at his abode—the Patriots on the contrary believe it a flying Visit and that he will soon take leave—they have nothing but the name to give them consequences or to alarm him, they have neither Talent, force, nor courage, and resources are exhausted, their misapplication of power and excesses have made them enemies of the moderate men that were most attached to the cause of liberty; power has been substituted for Reason and expediency for Justice, as is exemplified in their condemnation of the ship Esther of Boston the proceedings in which is in possession of Capt Lowe now going home.

A letter from Capt. Prescott the Sen^r. B. Naval Officer which has been shown me is the most circumstantial, he has a House in Lima, another in Callao protecting the B. Merchants that acted neutral, did not aid the Government in Acts against the other party—but afford none to those who had contracts and became a party.

He states having different interviews with General Canterac who disavows any connexion with the Government of Spain from whom they have had no succours for three years, that their great object is to see a rational Government established calculated to give peace to the country and prosperity and Union to the Provinces, that those persons who came from Buenos ayres & Chile at the Head of Forces which they did not know how to command, and gained power which they abused must no longer exist their usurped authority, that a Government would be established, the seat of which would be at Cusco, as most central for the two Perues and the

no longer have greater influence than other cities of equal population. that all the Ports of the two Perues should be open to the commerce of the world and full protection and encouragment given to Foreigners &c.; so far as he has gone, the regularity good order and protection to property in Lima has made him many friends in those that were terrified at his approach. The sentiments he has expressed if realized in the organization or practice of the Government he promises, encourages a hope that much commercial benefit may be derived from it. He drew up in line in front of Callao on the 27th offered Battle which was very prudently declined—Commodore Stewarts letter does not go into detail, he intends to be here in a month, Mr. Prevosts only four lines.

I have the Honor to be [etc.].

Gen^l. Canteract has not hoisted any colours nor shewn any except a white Flag with a Sun in the Center at his camp. The whole of the French squadron sailed from Callao, full of Provisions supposed to be for India.

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Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

VALPARAISO, August 20, 1823.

SIR: On the 23^d. Ult^o.² I had the Honor of informing you by the Brig Weatherhead of Boston of the entry of the Royalist army into Lima &c. and now have the Honor of advising their Departure on the 16th of July, taking with them the Families of officers and others attached to the Royal army who had formerly remained at Lima, and many other Families the most respectable of the remaining, who were always favorable to the former Govern^t. and on the late occasion avowed it, to the number together of 5000 persons.

When Gen^l. St. Martin entered that Capital he promised the many Pensioned old officers and widows, to pay them regularly their pensions, he never performed any part of those promises leaving that class of people to starve, procuring to him and the cause, the curse of the infirm, widow, and Fatherless. On the Entry of Gen^l. Canterac, he mustered all this class and paid them their back arrearages of pensions, took with him as many as were in a state to travel with the army, and conducted in so moderate a manner while at Lima as to be secure in the good wishes of those he left behind.

He took away all the machinery belonging to the mint, and destroyed a Printing Press that was in one wing of the Palace—there is no means of

Coining left— He also took with him all the dry goods that were in the Custom House, leaving only some hardware—the whole am^t. of his contributions including the value of the goods in the Custom House are estimated at 7 to 800,000 Dollars this is the Acc^t. I have by letter of the 28th. from a very respectable disinterested American gentleman at Lima.

Previous to the departure of Gen^l. Canterac he addressed a circular letter to the Sen^r. officers of Foreign Nations commanding afloat—informing them to return in three months and that he would then take possession of and confiscate all the Foreign Property he found—it being contrary to the Laws of Spain to have such in their country— I hope to procure a copy of this document to enclose, Commodore Stewart whose letter is of the 21st. ult^o. does not mention it—but I know it is correct.

The Expedition to upper Perue could not advance on Arequipa for want of Horses which were calculated on from this Government who disappointed them in the co'operation long promised,—that army lay encamped on the plains of Moquagua where the former expedition were defeated and destroyed—and there is very great reason to apprehend that the present will not be more fortunate, there were 2000 mounted men in Arequipa and 5000 more were daily reported and falling in by parties.— the provisions of the Lima Army were exhausting and the men very inferior to those they meant to attack.

The Patriot Gov^t. of Lower Perue are at Truxillo 100 Leag^s. North of Lima have appointed Gen^l. Sucre as Dictator who is gone to the intermediate to direct the army at Moquagua—the impression is that all will fail—in consequence, the two Perues will be under the Control of the Vice King LaSerre rather under the power of Canterac who dictates to him.

The Congress of Chile met a few days ago, when Gen^l. Freyre submitted the State of finances &c. and resigned his office—he was requested to continue but he persisted in refusal, at length yielded to their entreaties to serve as Dictator for Eight days. He went to his Palace, reconsidered, wrote Congress a letter retendering his resignation, mounted his Horse and with an Escort of Ten Dragoons proceeded for Concepcion, leaving the Country without a head—the confusion in the House was great, the Language of invective and abuse against each other of the coarsest kind, without order and devoid of decorum—a while the officer command^g. the Troops was nominated protem, and a detachment of Military officers sent after Gen^l. Freyre to recal him to Santiago—the responsibility he owed to the Nation. I am informed he has returned and is reelected for three years, was he ambitious or did he possess the talent or disposition, he might Cromwell the Congress and do what he pleased in Chile.

In a very few days I expect the Franklin from Callao. Mr. Prevost

Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, August 28, 1823.

SIR: An arrival this day from the intermediates brought me advices of Gen^l. Santacruz with the Patriot army being on the advance for Lapaz, leaving Arequipa to the left, this cuts off the communication between the latter and Potosi, but their great object is to get into a country of supply their own being exhausted, in want of Horses and weakened by disease and deaths—it is well known he dare not attack Arequipa, because of the mounted well supplied force to resist, who yet are not strong enough to pursue the Invaders, but the repaid members of Canteras's Army of Cavalry from Lower Perue will soon reinforce and enable Valdes a distinguished officer 2^d. in command to Canterac to act offensively,—the Troops of the Vice King are chiefly indians under great discipline, well officered, equal to any fatigue, and being as mounted in their own country act under great advantages, those of the Patriots all the reverse—the integrity of Santacruz much doubted, being a Lieutenant Colonel in the Royal Service two years ago, changed for some cause unknown.

It is my firm opinion that the Patriot cause in the two Perues will terminate in total ruin, and that in less than two months I shall have the painful task of informing you, that both will be under the Authority of whatever sort of Government the Vice King LaSerna and Gen^l. Canterac chose to adopt. At the same time I do not hesitate to say that they are fitter to rule than any of those characters who so unqualifiedly assumed the name of Patriots and by their acts annihilated the enthusiasm for liberty that prevailed amongst the people.

John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States²

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, October 28, 1823.

SIR: As nothing of Importance could probably occur until Bolivar should reach Xauja and as the preparations for his March could not be effected for some Weeks, I availed myself of the moment to embark for Valparaiso where I arrived on the 15th. instc.— There was no subject before me requiring im-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso, I.

² MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

mediate Agency and the extreme ill health of Mr Hogan together with the meeting of a New Congress in this City determined me to enclose more this irksome voyage—

An Expedition from hence for the Intermedios well equipped and supplied sailed on the Day of my arrival— It consisted of 2500. good men must have reached Arica some Days since and about fifteen after the day fixed by Bolivar for passing the mountains— A more timely reinforcement could not have occurred, as this augmentation of Force at that time would enable the Liberator to order Sucre from thence with his Army of Columbians and thus to form one preponderating Body for the immediate direction for offensive operations—

I had the happiness to meet this extraordinary man on several occasions during the Fortnight of my Stay in Lima after the date of my last departure— I have seen enough of him to predict with some confidence that whatever the disposition of his Forces, his march will be one of Triumph— his perseverance and his exploits I shall not attempt to depict, but will pass in Silence a purity of feeling that places him above all the heroes of modern Days— His whole Soul is wrapt up in the emancipation of his Country and America is that Country, all his aspirations are for the happiness under liberal and free Institutions and to obtain that happiness regardless of Toils of privations and of Dangers, his exertions are unceasing— . . .

It is my Intention Sir to return to Lima in about two months unless I should in the meantime receive orders to the contrary—

With great Consideration [etc.].

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John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru &c. in Buenos Aires, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States

SANTIAGO, CHILE, November

SIR: I did not in mine of the 31st. of August advert to the consequences which might result from the choice of a Second President, although the effect of Proclamations had then Commenced— I omitted so to do from the conviction that Bolivar would assume some controlling Ground as to quiet a dissention destructive of the cause— I am now gratified to be enabled to say that such has been the case and that an accommodation has been confidently said to have taken place under his auspices, by which the Army collected at Truxillo is placed at his Disposition and Riva Aguiar, retaining his Rank as Marescal or Major General is named Envoy

Britain— From the tenor however of a letter which I have just received from the latter, I shall be anxious to learn his departure—

The project of a Consitution as reported by the Committee and referred to in my last has been for some Days before the Public— A more crude, complicated and indefinite Instrument could not be engendered and I cannot imagine how five men of the best Intentions, with more than an ordinary share of acquirements for Chile, could thus deviate from the Path of Common Sense— The discussion has commenced in the House and produces so much Excitement, that I doubt whether it will obtain a Majority—

The Armistice entered into by Bs. Ays. is disapproved of, both here and in Peru, as wholly unnecessary to the quiet of that Province, as at Variance with the Stipulations referred to in mine of the 15th. of November of the last year¹ and as injurious to the Cause elsewhere— My Impressions are that it is part of an Insidious Policy growing out of Intrigues that since the Visit of the french Squadron have become active even on this Side of the Andes— To Intrigues proceeding from the holy alliance and directed immediately against the Politics of the U. States: The Silence maintained on the Subject of the Recognition, is ascribed to indifference on the part of the President to give it effect and the old Tale' of Commercial Jealousies is revived and used to increase the unfriendly feelings caused by our Naval Commanders— That there are Sufficient Motives to induce the Course adopted at Home I have no Doubt, but believe me Sir, the effect has been unhappy and that unless our relations assume a different aspect, we shall have to regret an ascendancy to me of all Importance to the future quiet of the U States—

Santa Cruz with every advantage of Position at the Desaguadero and with a Cavalry competent to have prevented the Passage of Valdez, instead of resisting, upon the approach of the Enemy ordered a retreat and by so doing caused a panic among his Troops which has cost him in desertion more than one half of his Force— Whether he remain at Moquegua with the residue we have not yet learned, but it is probable that the Motive to a retreat in the first instance; has equally operated to a change of Position in the Second— Sucre with his Division of 3000. Columbians left that part of the Coast about the Same time for Pisco, where he has since arrived in order to cooperate with the Force contemplated to march on the 12th instant from Lima for the Valley of Xauja— The Troops from hence have united themselves with those of Sucre as it is said, but whether intended to act in the same direction I know not, although I think they will be sent to their first Destination Arica—

I shall leave this for Peru in a few Days, so as to be within reach of the Events of the Campaign, that I may communicate with precision the progress of the man, in whom all hopes are now concentrated—

With every Sentiment of Respect [etc.].

¹ See above, pt. v, doc. 495.

*John B. Prevost, Special Agent of the United States to Chile, Peru and Buenos Aires, to Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaíso*¹

VALPARAISO, December 13, 1823.

SIR: The Situation of Affairs in Peru demanding my presence there, I have to request you will officially communicate to the Commander of any Ship of War arriving from the U. States the Blockade of the Intermediate Ports of this Coast of Peru, by several vessels of War of that republic— You will oblige me, also Sir, by expressing to him my readiness to afford every Information he may require on any Subject relating to the two Countries, together with my ardent desire to Cooperate in all that may tend to restore that Confidence and respect which the liberal Policy of our Government entitle us to claim.

*Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaíso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

VALPARAISO, January 19, 1824.

SIR: The whaleship Alliance for New Bedford affords me the opp^t. of communicating the last intelligence from Lima, by inclosing a letter recd on the 11th instant from Capt Connor of the Dolphin which is more than Coroborated by many who write at large on the state of that country and its fluctuating Governments.

The Army of LaSerna under the command of Canteract and Valdez are not likely to meet much opposition, but it is believed that as soon as they are informed of the Kings restoration to his Ancient Authority, they will Establish a Government independant of Spain embracing the interests of the whole, in this arrangment which I had the Honor to mention to you on a former occasion, the moderation and councils of Bolivar may be employed to more advantage than in the fields—

An account of the overthrow of the Constitutional Government of Spain was rec'd here on the 8th instant, I forwarded it immediately by Lieutenant Henry of the Franklin (then here in the peruvian) Commodore Stewart then at Quilea upper Perue, by this time at Lima—it is probable he will be the first to make a communication which may prevent the efusion of blood and produce peace & commerce to that very unhappy country.

On the 16th of Dec^r. I had the Honor to forward you a new constitution established at Lima under the Dictation of Bolivar inclosing it in the first instance for the Perusal of Mr. Rodney at Buenosayres who would transmit it.

¹ MS. Letters, J. B. Prevost.

² MS. Consular Letters, Valparaíso, I.

Another constitution is this day proclaimed by this Government with great shew and pomp to which they are now swearing being Sunday very little of which will be attended to, as soon as a copy can be procured I shall have the Honor of forwarding it, at present it cannot be found altho hundreds are swearing to maintain what they absolutely know nothing about, for it has not been read to the multitude, it is sufficient for the few to know there is such a thing without entering into the merits of its provisions—were there one hundred such, the will of the Governor is the Law of the Land and is implicitly obeyed.

Another opp^r. will soon offer when I shall have the Honor of communicating whatever may be of interest. With perfect respect [etc.].

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *April 29, 1824.*

. . . My address, at the time of my audience, was intended to be adapted, to the state of the country. I found the government in a tottering state. The Supreme Director was absent, commanding an expedition against the Island of Chiloe, which has failed in all its parts. A total want of confidence, was every where manifest, and a counter revolution, was pretty generally spoken of. Whether I have succeeded, in any degree, in averting so great an evil, or in diverting the attention of the government, to objects of future usefulness, I am at present, unable to determine. It is evident however, that the address was well received, as the Supreme Director Delegate, before my retireing from the audience Hall, requested a copy for the press, remarking, that its publication, would be highly beneficial to his country. I have complied with his request, and take leave to transmit you herewith, another like copy marked A. for the inspection of the President; and, in all which, I hope to experience his approbation. . . . A report has been in circulation for some days, that the Province of Coquimbo, has declared itself independent, but, this also, is denied by the government. At all events, it is clear, that great dissatisfaction prevails in every department. . . . In reference therefore to this subject, I have considered it to be irregular in any event, for this government, to receive a Minister, either from the Pope, or any foreign government, untill the Pope or such foreign government, shall have formally acknowledged its independence. Under such circumstances,

and as the employment of the *Nuncio*, is acknowledged to appertain solely to spiritual affairs, without any connexion, with that which is temporal, I had determined to hold no correspondence or intercourse with this *Nuncio* in his quality of Minister Plenipotentiary, untill the benefit of the advice of the government, shall have been obtained. I am aware, of the respect, which is paid to Nuncios of the Pope, amongst the Ministers of Catholic States; it seems, that Protestant States, do not yield in this particular. M^r. Egerton, the Minister of State, has taken his departure, on a Mission to England. With the particular object of which, I am as yet unacquainted. I understand however, that it is not expected, that he will remain there long. Before his departure, I considered it my duty to call his attention, more particularly, to the existing relations betwixt his government and ours. Viewing this view, in an interview which I had with him at his Office, for that purpose, I represented to the Minister of State, that from the first dawn of the Revolution in Chili, the government of the United States of America, had espoused her cause in all parts of the world, and particularly, at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, where it was believed, that our remonstrances, had prevented the Allied Sovereigns, from attempting to exercise the right of intervention, in the affairs of South America—that we had been in the constant exercise of friendly relations with his country—that the act of recognition of its independence, the consequent appointment of a Minister, and more especially, the Message of the President upon that subject, were all subjects which were before him, and that I had no doubt, that their value to Chili, would be duly appreciated. At this interview, it was further represented, to the Minister of State, that anterior to the late Message of the President, it was understood by letters received from M^r. Rush, our Minister in London, that the affairs of *these* countries, were again to be discussed by the Allied Sovereigns, in a Congress, about to be assembled for that purpose, and that fears were entertained, for the result of its deliberations—that in August last, M^r. Canning had proposed to M^r. Rush, with a view, as he declared, to avert the impending storm, that the two governments, should publish a joint and simultaneous representation to the world, that they would never consent, to the interference of any foreign power, in respect to the independence of the countries—that M^r. Rush, although not instructed by his government upon that point, had offered in reply, that if the British government, would make unconditional recognition of *their* independence, he would then assume the responsibility, and immediately comply with the proposition of M^r. Canning—that here, M^r. Canning grew indifferent to the subject, and the correspondence closed, without effecting the object, and that since that, the President's Message had appeared, which contained the expression of the feelings of the American government, upon that point, in a separate and distinct form. That since my arrival, I had discussed the subject, with the British Minister,

I had been induced to make this representation, in order that this government, might be rightly informed, and that in this particular, England should obtain no unmerited applause. I then remarked upon the subject of English Consuls, about to arrive here, in order to caution this government, against considering that, as any act of recognition. To all which, the Minister of State, replied with great frankness, that, the government of Chili, had uniformly regarded the United States, as its best and most powerful friend, and that with its conduct, throughout her Revolutionary struggle, she had experienced nothing, but the most entire satisfaction—that the act of recognition, and the subsequent acts of our government, and lastly, the Presidents Message, had cheered all hearts, and that great benefits were anticipated by the intercourse, which was about to be opened betwixt the two Nations. That they had hitherto, not been aware, of the nature of the correspondence, betwixt M^r. Rush and M^r. Canning, to which I had alluded, but that their Minister in London, had written them under date of October last, that England had requested Spain, to acknowledge the independence of this country, and that he did not regard, the appointment of the English Consuls, as any recognition of their independence, but was in hope, that it would be succeeded by such an act. I then stated to the Minister of State, that after my reception, I had lost no time, in unfolding to him, as the proper organ of his government, the only motives which had influenced the conduct of my government, in reference to the South American States; which were, that the people of these countries, might like ourselves, be permitted, to enjoy the blessings of civil and religious liberty—that our act of recognition, was what was due from one independent nation to another, that all which we desired, & all which we could accept in return was, to be placed in all respects, upon an equality with the most favoured nation; and that while we disclaimed for ourselves, a desire for any exclusive priviledges whatever, yet, we could never consent, that they should in any manner, be extended to others. To these representations of mine, the Minister of State, again replied, that I might rest assured, that Chili would never take any step, or enter into any stipulations with other powers, without consulting us, and that she had always intended, if she granted advantages to any nation, it should be to us; at any rate, that nothing would be granted to others, which was not yielded to us. He further remarked, that a Minister, of corresponding grade to myself, had been appointed to the United States, that he would embark in about a month, and that either through him or me, this government intended to propose an alliance with us, to oppose any attempt upon the rights of either, by foreign powers. I waved the discussion of that point, by saying to him, that I presumed, he did not then wish to consider it, and to which, he very readily assented. On this occasion, I moreover, did not fail to impress upon the mind of the Minister of State, an expectation on our part, that Chili, under no possible circumstances, would ever consent, that any foreign root or branch

of royalty, should ever be permitted to lord it over her; but, that as soon as circumstances will permit, she will be gradually advancing to the representative system, and to the permanent establishment of such a form of government, as shall ensure to its citizens, the full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. The Minister of State, in reply said, that these were the great objects which they had in view, that they were determined upon self government, but, that the people, were not at present sufficiently enlightened to admit of so great a change; and that I might confidently rely, upon there being no disposition, to receive any foreign Prince or Potentate as a ruler. Here the conversation ended, the Minister of State expressing the great satisfaction which he had derived from it, and with assurances, that he should endeavour to fail, to impress it sufficiently upon his Successor in Office.

That the operation of all these assurances, may be fully realized, is greatly to be desired; and that the government and institutions of Chili, presenting a wide range for improvement, is a point, which I believe, the most superficial observer, will not undertake to controvert.

[ENCLOSURE]

A

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: The United States of America, being deeply impressed, with the importance of the events, which have released this country from foreign domination, and enabled it to assume a rank, amongst nations of the earth: have, throughout this momentuous struggle, so far as comported with its neutral character, been in constant exercise of friendly relations; and, at a time, best calculated to give effect to the act, in the most solemn and unconditional manner, recognised the independence of Chili, and commissioned me as its Representative, to reside near its Court, for the purpose of cultivating the relations of peace and friendship, and for the interchange of mutually kind Offices, on terms of the most perfect reciprocity between the two nations.

In the progress of this great work, assuming as is hoped, for its only basis, *the sovereignty of the people, and the equal and unalienable rights of man* all the sympathies of my country, are most deeply engaged. Difficult and arduous may yet be the course, which remains for Chili to pursue. But, a free people, will never despair. True to herself, and just towards others, she will bid defiance to any *coalition*, which may threaten her repose.

In the mild system of her laws, in the free and enlightened institution of her country, and in the just and liberal exercise of friendly relations with other nations, Chili it is believed, is destined to enjoy, not only happiness at home, but to occupy a distinguished rank, amongst the nations of the world.

Guard well then, an inheritance of such high value. Else, vain and idle

else, might posterity weep, for your imbecility, if you suffered these inestimable blessings to pass from you, but with the last ray of your existence.

A new era has arrived. Ignorance and superstition, the very bane of civil liberty, are every where giving place to virtue and intelligence; and the progress of the human mind, before which, tyrants tremble, bids fair to demolish in its course, these self created potentates, and to restore man, to the rank and dignity, which his creator allotted him. Shall we then, by our exertions, assist in the completion of this fair fabric, or supinely suffer the superstructure to be destroyed? Chili, it is beleived, like the United States of America, would not fail to embrace the former.

From the representative of a free people, whose soil, like that of Chili, is unpolluted by the hand of tyrants, these sentiments have been elicited. May they be received, in that spirit of friendship, with which they have submitted; and, under the divine protection, may the tree of liberty which has been reared in this highly favoured land, and consecrated by the blood of heroes, continue to be watered by the dews of Heaven, expand, and bear rich fruit to the remotest time; and, never, Oh! never may it be said, of this rising Republic, she *once* was free, she *once* was happy, she *once* was independent.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *May 26, 1824.*

. . . I take leave to subjoin a few remarks, 'though it is not in my power at this time, to add much to the information which they contain. Every days' experience however, serves more fully to confirm the justness of the remarks which are therein expressed, and to induce the most gloomy apprehensions, for the ulterior destiny of these countries. It is astonishing to perceive, the general apathy which prevails, even with those who compose the present Administration; and such is the extent, to which this indifference is carried, that doubts might very justly be entertained, whether they themselves, even at this late period, considered that the country was legitimately theirs. With the constitution, a copy of which, accompanies this and former despatches, all persons of intelligence save the Clergy, seem displeased. In my intercourse with some of the Officers of Government, and with the principal people, their expressions of hostility are loud and undisguised, as well against the system of the Government, as those who administer it; overt acts

of treason, seem to excite no particular interest, and even treason passed unnoticed. Ever since the adoption of this Constitution, the preme Director Freyre, has been engaged in the expedition against Valparaiso and has not yet returned to the Capital. It is said, that he is liable to this instrument, and will on his return, either resign or demand other provisions. He is a favourite of the Army, and in that consists his influence. The unfortunate failure of the Chiloe expedition, which is attributed to the cowardice of some of the land and Naval Officers, a subject, which Chili and other nations, will long have to deplore. The Governor of *this Piratical Assylum*, was completely surprised, and not that the proper course of conduct was wanting, to have ensured its surrender at the favourable moment has elapsed, and Quintinilla, the Governor, with a force of 4000 strong, is left in the undisturbed possession of a place, one of the strongest defences, and which, the elements alone, at most once in the year, render inaccessible. In this state of alarm, many disaffected citizens have said to me, that as the Representative of their great Country, the United States of America, I must give them advice. In accordance with the views of the President upon such a subject, as in conformity with the sense of propriety, I have invariably replied to these suggestions that in any case, touching the interest of Chili, in which that of my own country is not involved, I should be considered capable of rendering any service. Formerly, it would be my pleasing duty to do so; but that, I should not think of obtruding myself upon the attention of the government, by tendering any unsolicited advice. In some of these conversations however, particularly with Mr. Campino, the appointed Minister to the United States, I could not restrain the expression of my surprise, at that feature of the Constitution, which forms an established religion. This gentleman appeared to me the most intelligent of any one of the leaders which I have met with; in his denunciations of all their acts and doings, and in reply to me, when upon that subject observed, that the Clergy were very hostile to the cause of the Patriot cause, and that their influence was unbounded. When I said to him, did you place in the hands of your greatest enemies such an engine? Because he replied, that not a single member of the Government who adopted that instrument, dared to avow any contrary sentiment, through fear of assassination; and that the Clergy, would sooner die as Martyrs, than surrender such a principle. I then endeavoured to draw his attention to the utter impossibility of ever establishing a Republic in a Government, with so odious a feature attached to it, in which he appeared to acquiesce, but seemed to consider the obstacle as insurmountable. The great difficulty is, that all very justly complain of evils, but none possess the firmness and capacity to attempt reform. What then, the end which naturally arises, has Chili acquired, in the convulsion which she has experienced? What great advantage has she secured to herself, w

very moment of victory, and almost in possession of her anticipated freedom, by her own act, she is actually thrown into the hands of an *internal enemy*, whose great consequence, nay, whose very existence, almost depends, upon the destruction of these principles, so necessary to her prosperity and happiness, and for which she has bled and conquered? for it is as clear to my mind, as cause and effect, that unless she can in some way, either by gradation or otherwise, shake off this *incubus*, which stifles her growth, it will be impossible for her to proceed in the march, which she has undertaken, and in the progress of which, our anxieties are so much awakened. *This* being a great objectionable feature, in the formation of this government, and the only one, which as yet I have undertaken to discuss, I have taken leave to furnish some of the particulars; not because I considered, that I had discovered any new principles, but merely to show, how *that* subject is treated here. Since my last, the English Consuls have arrived, and Mr. Nugent, the Consul General for Chili, has been received, 'though his powers recognise this country merely as a *Province*. I understand that he says, that the conduct of England, in relation to these countries, will not at present undergo any change. The object of Mr. Egafía's mission to England, is to induce the government of that country, to acknowledge the independence of this. I do not discover, either in the government or people of this country, any great partiality for any European government, except the attachment of the old Spanish party to the mother country; but they seem to consider, that the United States and England, will either jointly or severally, sustain them in any event, against any foreign invasion. In respect to the former, I have endeavoured to direct their attention to the Presidents Message, as the criterion of our conduct; and in respect to the latter to satisfy them, that she was merely reserving herself, to act as her own policy and interest might hereafter require.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *July 15, 1824.*

SIR: My despatches by the Franklin, will have informed the government, of the uncertain state of the affairs of this country, and of some of the difficulties, which seem to impede her growth as a nation. Since that period, the Supreme Director Freire, has returned to the capital, and whose presence, has seemed to dissipate, all those threatening appearances of disorder

and convulsion, which were but too plainly indicated before. W
Director, I am well pleased. He carries with him to be sure, the cha
isticks of the Soldier, rather than the Statesman; but, without pre
he possesses many virtues, and whilst devoted to the interest of
country, he entertains the highest regard for that of ours. I ha
several conversations with him, in respect to the political state of h
try, in connection with ours, and with the European nations. He
places us in the front rank; and once, whilst speaking of the "great
tion of his country, for the early recognition of its independence,
government of the United States, as requiring some equivalent"; I ob
that "my government, having been convinced of the existence of t
had undertaken to declare, in the presence of the civilized world, th
was a free and independent State; that all which we could ask, and a
we could consent to receive in return was, to be placed in all respect
terms of equality, with the most favoured nation; and that Chili
would afford sufficient confirmation, that we had not *thus* proclaimed
which was untrue". Here, the Director smiled, observing "we will
for it with our lives". But, the President of the Senate, has this
informed me, that the Director has already tendered his resignation
body, and insists upon its acceptance. I think, that the adoption
measure, at this particular time, is greatly to be lamented; for, it is
that no other individual in the country, combines in equal degree, t
fidence of the people. I understand however, that he will remain at
at the Capital, in command of the Army; which I think will be s
to restrain any excesses, which might otherwise be committed, by the
which is about to ensue; and in other respects, enable him still to
important services to the State. It is beleived, that his dissatis
with many of the provisions of the constitution, which he has been u
destroy by violence, is the cause of his retiring from the governm
is truly gratifying to an American. to perceive the high standing, w
occupy as a nation, not only with the government, but with all cl
its citizens. On all great occasions, our country receives the first h
and the Diplomack Corps of other nations, have hitherto yielded
tarily the precedence.

*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, July 19, 1824.

SIR: I have now the pleasure to inform you, that the Peacock has arrived, and that I have received sundry documents, appertaining to the claims of American Citizens, which will receive my early attention. The Senate of Chile I understand, have very unceremoniously refused to accept the Director's resignation, and in reply have said, "that they should hold him responsible for any consequences which might ensue": but, he is unmoved by threats, and persists in his course. I have recently conversed with *him* upon this subject; he says, "that under the present constitution, he finds it impossible to administer the government, either with honour to himself or interest to the State; and that under such circumstances, he prefers returning to his sword, and permitting those who beleive in its infallibility, to try the experiment themselves". If this proceeding should eventuate in the destruction of the present constitution, and the substitution of a better one, much, I apprehend, will have been gained by the present movements. Having proceeded thus far with this dispatch, I am informed, that within the last three hours, even without any manisfestation of ill blood, a revolution in the government is said to have been effected. It appears, that in the morning, General Freire declared that he was no longer Supreme Director of Chile, dismissed his guards, directed his Aid-de-Camp's to wait upon the President of the Senate, as *ex officio* Supreme Director, and was about to leave the Capital. Hereupon, the President of the Senate resigned his Office, as did also the Governor *intendente*: when, a new Governor was appointed, who immediately summoned a meeting of the citizens; who proceeded to reelect Freire as Supreme Director, and resolved, that the existing government was at an end; that a new congress should be convened in the span of three months, for the purpose of forming a new constitution, and that in the meantime, the State should be governed by the laws of the year eighteen hundred and eighteen. Under these circumstances, Freire has consented to act again as Supreme Director, and tranquility is apparently restored. Upon the adoption of the new constitution, I intend if possible, to draw the attention of its framers, to that of the United States, as being tested by experience, to present the best model for the existence of a free government. Presuming that it will become necessary, for me to be accredited by the new government; I am waiting the annunciation of the incumbent in the Department of State, for the purpose of again requesting an audience of his Sovereign. I forbear to dwell longer upon such farcical scenes; and have the honour to be, [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile. I.

*Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, 12 o'clock, January 9, 1825.

SIR: I have the Honor and great Happiness to inform you that the French Corvette *Le Deligence* anchored one hour ago leaving Callao on the 18 Dec^r. with most important information which will put an end to the war in Perue—

General Bolivar had left the command of his Army to General Sucre, who on the 9th of last month engaged the Royal Army at whose head was LaSerna the Vice King, Gen^l. Canterac Valdes and all the Generals employed by the Vice King, every soul of them taken, together with all the material of their Army, which were all either killed or taken Prisoners, the Vice King badly wounded thus finishing the work which that great Chief Bolivar so nobly persevered in—LaSerna after being captured gave orders for the surrender of the castles of Callao, by General Rodile whose despotic conduct invites the hatred of all men.

Commodore Hull has referred me to our Minister for particulars from the Dispatches that I now forward him, but as the British Consul Gen^l. puts this in his Express for B^g.—Mr. Forbes may find an opp^r. of forwarding it before Mr. Allens gets on by the course of post—this express does not stop, I therefore cannot procure the benefit of it to Mr. Allen but hope I may be the fortunate instrument in communicating so much good information to the President and my country—

I take leave to inclose a letter of the 7th from Comd^r. Hull in which he does not mention the Battle—perhaps he had not time; on the 24th ult^o. I sent him more provisions, but his crew require refreshment and a change after a long and arduous service, the most disagreeable that could be I believe Bolivar was investing the Castles by land but have not time to enquire as the express is closing—

A report is just come from Santiago that the *Asia* has captured Valdivia landing there the Troops the Squadron had on board, this is not improbable—but she and her squadron must fall—the Columbian and Chile Sq^{ns}. have formed a Junction at Guayaquil are now doubtless before Callao, and will ultimately pursue the Royal Squadron till captured—

With perfect respect [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso, I.

*Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, January 27, 1825.

SIR: On the 9th instant I had the Honor to inform you of the total Annihilation of the Spanish Power in Perue, that communication was forwarded by express to Buenos Ayres under cover to Mr. Forbes with a request that he would send it by the first opportunity for the United States. I have now the Honor to confirm that report by sending you a copy of a letter rec'd by me this morn^g. from Captain Foster Second in Command of the Chile Squadron off the Coast of Upper Perue—the whale ship Connecticut getting under weigh for New London affords this opportunity.

There has been no arrivals from Lima since the French Sloop of War Le Diligence that brought the first acc^t., it is not correct that Bolivar met a defeat from Ridel as mentioned in the letter from Capt Foster, at least not before the sailing of the Diligence— The Fortresses of Callao were by capitulation to be given up on the 29th, the report of the Asia having gone to Manilla is very doubtfull, she left Quila several days before the action with much specie on board and it is not likely her Captain would avow his real destination at a time when ships of his enemy sailed better than him, I believe him to be at Chiloe, refreshing & fitting for Spain.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso, I. The letter which he mentions as having received from Captain Robert Foster follows:

OFF QUILCA, January 5.

MY DEAR MR. HOGAN: Your surprise will be great and would have been greater, had I time to relate all that has happened in Peru within the last month.— The Chacabuco proceeds immediately to Valp^a and I am only allowed ten minutes, in that, The Royal Army are annihilated. The Vice King has been a prisoner but embarked on board a French ship with Gen^l. Valdez, and about seventy others, on Sunday last, under a Capitulation to proceed to Spain. The Asia, Achilles, and Iyca gone to Manilla— Admiral Blanco sends to Government a Copy of the Capitulation signed on the field of Battle on the 9th December the same day the action was fought— It would appear that the Vice King attacked Generals Sucre, La Mar, and Miller on the evening of the 5th near to Huantao, and nine leagues from Huamanga— The latter were defeated, and would have been destroyed, had night not put an end to the Battle; Sucre during that night retired five leagues nearer to Huamanga, he there took up a strong position. The Royal Army had suffered severely from desertion; in one week losing 2000 men. The Vice King was compelled in consequence to attack, and did so at 11 O'clock on the morn^g of the 9th Decr; in two short hours all was over. The Vice King, six wounds in the head, and prisoner, poor old man;—I believe he was betrayed by Cantarac, and Valdez did not behave with his accustomed courage—

The Independence of Peru was sworn at Arequipa on the 24th december— Bolivar we are told is in Lima, and some say, has suffered a defeat between that place and Callao, by Rodial— Callao is to surrender within twenty days from the 9th—we are now on our way to that place, but I hope to be in Valp^a the latter end of February.

The united loss in killed 2500, many, many wounded— Sucre had 8000. The Spaniards 7000 men in action.—

Cantarac has not yet come down to the coast to embark— The Dolphin arrived this day; Cotera has walked off and report says left many in the lurch—both your Countryman and mine— I send you a copy of Gen^l. Isertan late a Spanish General, now a Patriot these are the boys for getting forward in this service—

Mrs. F has a proclamation for Stewart in Coquimbo, will you get it sent for him.—

The Islands of the Archipelago of Chiloe have ever been the property of Peru under her Bishopric, it will of course continue so, which will excite the Jealousy entertained by the leaders of affairs in this country towards Bolivar. I am credibly informed that a Document with the signature of six thousand persons to it, has been sent to that Chief requesting his return to this country. Something is wanted, a Talent to govern does not exist, the absence of integrity will continually keep it in difficulty and its Trade without a cent.

With perfect respect [etc.].

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, *February 9, 1821*

. . . The country, is evidently in very great distress:—the government is without money, credit or capacity, and the constitutional arrangement so peculiar to all classes of people, seems rather to incline them to indolence and sleep, than to any exertion, either of body or mind, particularly in the latter. Time and experience, it is however hoped, will conduct them to a better knowledge of their interests, and the means of preserving them. By the apparent termination of the war in Peru, the Southern Hemisphere seems to be released from further bondage, and its once miserable territories can now be said, to be the guardians of their own liberties. They pretend to admire the institutions of the United States, but none I apprehend are capable of comprehending at present, either those or any other regular systems of government. They are generally unaccustomed, to the obligations of honour or contract, or to any constitutional, moral, or legal restraint, but, roaming unmolested, in the commission of capital as well as petty offences, they have become skilled, in all the little arts of deception. They are literally the avengers of their own wrongs. Very much opinion is expressed, that it is difficult to administer them, any salutary advice:—and nothing but the progress of civilization, aided by the light of experience, can ever bring them, to a just estimation, of the principles of civil, religious or political liberty. There are some honourable exceptions however, to this rule, those, who, 'though by education, a little attached to Aristocracy, yet true friends to the liberties of their country, and in private life, are capable of exercise of all those virtues, that adorn the human character.

Rodil's refusal, to surrender the castles of Callao, conformably to the terms of the capitulation, agreed upon by Sucre and Canterac, Bolivar had declared the former an outlaw, and was proceeding to invest the place. Since the arrival of the news, of the discomfiture of the Spanish army, her squadron has disappeared, and is said to have gone to Manilla. Had the Chile Squadron, promptly co-operated with that of Peru, every Spanish sail, might with perfect ease, been swept from the Pacific. As it is however, it does seem, that Spain can no longer maintain the unequal conflict:—and, that *even* she, as well as the other European Powers, will *now* be compelled, to follow our example.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, *September 1, 1825.*

SIR: It was not until within a few days past, that an American newspaper discovered to me, the name of the distinguished individual, whom, as the Head of our Foreign relations, I have now the honour to address. My satisfaction on this occasion, has been very great; inasmuch, as I beheld at once in that station, the accomplished statesman, the able and constant defender of his country's rights, and the great champion of South American freedom.

Should either curiosity, or a sense of publick duty, lead you to an examination of my correspondence, with your illustrious predecessor, you will doubtless perceive, that the prosperity of Chile is not yet consummated, and that I have occasionally indulged, in rather gloomy apprehensions, for her future destiny. To such reflections, I have been reluctantly drawn, as well by the state of things presented to my view, as by the consideration, that more than seven years have elapsed, since a single foreign foe has been permitted to interpose; and yet, instead of those gradual improvements, that might have been rationally expected, in her advance towards civilization, she is thought by many, to have actually retrograded in her march; certainly since my arrival, such has manifestly been the case.

Still, I do not think, the friends of freedom should despair. The difficulties incident to the country, appear to exist, rather in her former imperfect education and habits, and the consequent absence of all those talents, so necessary to inspire general confidence, and to guide her fortunes in the proper course, than in any determined obstinacy to free government.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile, I.

But, in the affairs of nations I believe, the requisite talents are usually ited; and reasoning from the past, why may we not hope, that such may be the case with Chile?

The grand point, has however been gained; her emancipation, and of all Spanish America has been effected, and there is no doubt, that the whole of this vast country, after various changes and convulsions, will be broken down into separate independent governments, with such resemblances to our own, as perhaps their situation and capacity will permit. For this purpose time and experience must be their best teachers, and any attempt to hurry their progress I believe, would rather impede, than accelerate their progress.

A most wicked and abandoned clergy, still directs the destiny of the country, which nothing but the hand of time, and the progress of knowledge can remove. The next generation is advancing with more liberal and enlightened views; and to that source only must we look, for the downfall of that ignorance and superstition, that has so long blighted the prospects of this fair country, and still holds her sons in bondage. Then, and not before in my opinion, will Chile awake from her lethargy, and rise to the elevation of a civilized people.

What joyful sensations however, does not the reflection produce, that the South, the sun of colonial oppression has forever set, and that the domination of Spain no longer exists. Already, have her arms been driven from every foothold on this vast continent, save the fortresses of Callao and Chiloe, which must soon surrender; and her entire squadron, led on by the "Asia", has been either surrendered or destroyed. Thus then, in a few more months, the shores of the Pacifick like those of the Atlantick, will no longer bewail the cruel sufferings, inflicted on their defenceless tenants by their former inhuman masters.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, September 16,

Many of the difficulties incident to our present situation, will be found to exist in the effect of the late popular disturbances, which have driven from the government all her best men, and substituted those, who are without honour and without character. In fact, I do not think these attributes very characteristic of a Spaniard, in whatever part of the world he may be found.

listed on this side the continent, it cannot be denied, that as a people, their injustice to us, renders them unworthy our confidence and esteem, any farther, than as the friends of humanity, and of the extension of free and liberal institutions, we may wish to aid them in their career. With such a people, it is very natural to suppose, that a strong desire to obtain the recognition of their independence by England and France, would predominate over all obligations of justice to us, from whom they think, they have already obtained all their desires. Such are no doubt the feelings of the present Ministers of Chile, and such are probably the feelings of many others, whom chance and revolution have cast up from the kennel.

The consequence is, that these governments, particularly the former, are very much favoured, and the British merchants seldom complain; because their profits are so immense, that substituting bribery for principle, and looking to these profits as the fund of remuneration, they can very easily supply any occasional loss, that any arbitrary measure may seem to create. Not so with the American merchant; he is constantly experiencing difficulties and losses, which neither his profits, nor his disposition it is hoped, will permit him to supply by any such means. The rights therefore, of the United States and of her citizens, being thus based on principle, and coming in contact with those, that are any thing and every thing else, we find ourselves in frequent contest to maintain them, whilst the British government and merchants, for the reasons stated, appear to glide on very smoothly.

I have hitherto refrained from the indulgence of any feeling, in my intercourse with this people; it has been my unceasing endeavour, to conciliate and convince, rather than to irritate and compel. The present occasion I hope, forms no great exception to this rule, though I am aware, it is somewhat different. It was not competent as I conceived, for any Minister in reply to a plain proposition, to exhibit in an illnated manner, such a train of allusions and insinuations, against a nation, to whose magnanimity and justice, she now owes her political existence, and to the sin of ingratitude, at the same time to add that of injustice. To repel such allusions, and to maintain with firmness the principles I had stated, was an imperious duty, from which, I felt no disposition to depart. And whatever may be its result, that of the necessity of my leaving Chili, will be to me of little importance, if I shall have been so fortunate, as to have rendered any eventual service, and to have secured the approbation of my country in the attempt. At the shrine of that tribunal, whose impartial sentence, all her servants must obey, I cheerfully submit:—and with my most ardent wishes for your personal welfare, I pray you to accept [etc.].

*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

VALPARAISO, *September 27,*

. . . I am now enabled to transmit to you, by that conveyance, bill brought yesterday by an arrival from Arica; by which you will perceive that under the auspices of Bolivar, that portion of territory called Peru, has been converted into an independent Republick, bearing his name.

This information, will no doubt, have been already communicated from the opposite side of the continent, but lest any failure may have intervened, I have considered it adviseable, to make it the principal subject of another despatch. Various speculations are afloat, in regard to the procedure, and the general impression is, that it will not be acceptable, either to Lower Peru, or to Buenos Ayres. . . .

The last dates from Lima, are to the 26. ultimo;—when, the castle of Callao had not surrendered. The blockade of that place is so feeble & maintained, that it is difficult to determine, when that event may be expected to arrive;—as by such imbecility, its Governour, Rodil, is enabled to procure necessary supplies for the Garrison;—and in this manner, the period of capitulation may long be postponed.

I have the honour [etc.].

*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, *November 5,*

The English interest in Chile, created by mining companies, commercial relations, & intermarrying with the natives, constituting in all a powerful numerous body, and supported by the influence of a strong naval force, already very great, and seems destined to direct her future course. Under these circumstances, may be superadded another, that the English Consul is empowered to expend the publick money, in entertainments and other pleasures, as he may think, will be most conducive to the interest of his country. A phalanx, thus strongly organized, is thought by many to be in favor of the return of O.Higgins, who is no doubt very friendly to that interest, and who is now in Chile, and who is thought to be the only person capable of

to say, that the late disturbances originated in that quarter, with the view of placing *Zenteno*, at the head of affairs, who has been entirely devoted to their wishes, and to whom they still pay great court.

I enclose you herewith, a copy of a reclamation, I have lately made, in the case of the American Brig, *Warrior*;—and as I have received no definitive reply in the case of the owners of the Macedonian, and as the government has no disposeable [*sic*] means for the payment of any claim, it is not probable that either, will obtain a very early or satisfactory decision. When however the new Minister, gets a little domesticated in his Office, I intend to call his attention pretty seriously, at least to their liquidation. I have just been informed, that the department of Finance, has at length been filled by a person of considerable talents, and of liberal and correct principles:—I hope therefore, to hear no more of import duties, on the supplies for our Squadron, though no answer has been given to my last note on that subject.

My last accounts from Peru, are to the 10. ultimo;—when, it appears, that Bolivar was attending to the organization of the new Republick bearing his name, and that in consequence of the imperfect blockade of Callao, its Governour, Rodil, had succeeded in getting supplies for the garrison, that would enable it to hold out, much longer than had been anticipated. These letters, make mention also, of the final condemnation of the American ship, *General Brown*, and her entire cargo, under circumstances of peculiar hardship and injustice to the owners.

Several American vessels, have lately been detained in the different parts of Chile, but are now liberated. Whenever the authorities in any of these places, seize a foreign vessel, the first step is to impres on the master and crew, and apply torture to some, either as a punishment for their insolence, as they are pleased to term it, or for the purpose of extorting confessions, favourable to their views. In such cases, a guard of worthless soldiers is put on board, and in the absence of such master and crew, or of any other responsible person, they proceed to search the vessel, by breaking bulk and examining every part of her cargo, and plunder her of many articles at the time;—and if either vessel or cargo are libelled, a resort is then had to suborning witnesses, and lastly to bribing the prize courts. Such was no doubt the case in part, with the *General Brown*, and in many other instances that might be cited;—and should the war continue between Spain and these countries, an increase of our naval force, would seem to be indispensible to the protection of our commerce.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, January 24, 18

The result of the expedition against Chiloe, is not yet known at this p and the castles of Callao had not capitulated or been taken, on the 7. ul As soon as the oppressive heat has a little subsided, I intend to take a ney to Santiago, for the purpose of making further exertions, to obtain liquidation and payment of such claims of our citizens, as have been con ted to my charge;—but the deranged state of its finances, and the distr state of the country, almost forbid the expectation of a successful atte

If Chiloe shall fall, and this government shall hereafter assume the ap ance of greater stability, I think it will be best by all means, to concl commercial treaty with her. The present administration, is very favou disposed towards us;—and besides the removal of many controverted p now at issue between us, I think that such a treaty, would assist this co very much, in securing her independence;—as there is little doubt, that an act, would be immediately followed on the part of England.

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*Michael Hogan, United States Consul at Valparaiso, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, February 4, 18

The views of England so far as relates to [the commerce of] these C tries, are I believe in perfect unisen with that of the President, and in belief, I have conformed myself so far as depends on my very Humbli uation as your Consul.

The Consul General of England residing here has shewn me the or Mr. Canning in relation to that Decree, he being also, and steadily in belief, and instructed so to be, that as respects South America we are ing in the same vineyard.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile, I.² MS. Consular Letters, Valparaiso,

Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States¹

VALPARAISO, February 4, 1826.

SIR: I have now the honour to transmit you herewith, a printed copy of the official account, of the operations of the army and navy of Chile against Chiloe, which terminated in the capitulation of the Spanish forces at that place, and in its annexation to this Republick. This gratifying intelligence, was brought a few days since by the Achilles, commanded by Cap^t. Wooster, a citizen of the United States, who with his ship bore a conspicuous part in the dangers of that enterprise, and by his gallantry and good conduct, contributed very eminently to its success.

By this event, the Spanish arms have been driven from their last refuge on the soil of Chile;—where, with the exception of a small banditti, consisting of old Spaniards and Indians, that have been making occasional incursions into the Province of Concepcion, but who will now disappear, she has no longer a foreign foe to contend with. Thus left entirely to herself, it must be her own fault, if she fails in a judicious use of the means, that the Almighty has at last placed at her disposal.

Since the accession of M^r. Campino to the Ministry, he has been endeavouring to put in operation various means, of improving the condition of his country;—but I lament to say, that his plan of subdividing its territory into seven Provinces instead of three, and of placing them on the federal principle, has been overruled in the cabinet. This and some other disappointments, in the views of M^r. Campino, had so disgusted him, that he had at one time determined to retire;—he has however, very fortunately been induced to remain, and since the success at Chiloe, I think he will be able still to accomplish his objects, though his exertions must be very difficult and arduous.

In a country like this, where, bigotry, superstition and ignorance with their concomitant evils, have so long usurped the empire of reason and correct principles;—where, the publick morals have become so abased, that few if any, can be safely trusted with the collection and disposal of its revenue;—where, its financial concerns are so embarrassed, as to render her almost as destitute of credit as she is of money;—and where a strong opposition, consisting of the old aristocracy, and composed of the principle land owners and monied men, are endeavouring by all possible means, to sap the foundation of all liberal and correct principles, and to destroy their supporters, in which, the dagger of assassination, is not unfrequently brought in aid;—the Herculean task, of directing the destiny of such a State, of founding her institutions in the true principles of civil, religious and political liberty, and

of conducting her in safety, through such a valley of darkness, to the morn of complete regeneration, can neither be sought after nor effected, though the individual who shall accomplish it, can never be too highly glorified. Whether or not, M^r. Campino will succeed in this undertaking is at present beyond the means of human foresight to discover;—I say, that the hopes of the friends of freedom, in this part of the hemisphere, are mainly fixed upon him;—and if he fails;—with the redeeming spirit of Chile, must slumber for a season.

But hoping, that no such disaster may arrive, and that her perfect freedom and independence may not be impeded, I pray you to [etc.].

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *February 23*

SIR: I have now the honour to inform you, that on the 19. ult. the castles of Callao capitulated to the existing government of Peru, after a long and obstinate resistance by General Rodil, in which, by exposure to disease and famine, the number of his troops had become reduced about eighteen hundred to two hundred men. I have not seen the official account of this interesting event, but an arrival from Chorrillos, with various letters and respectable passengers, fully confirms the fact.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, *March 20*

SIR: Finding there was no expectation of the immediate return of the Director, and being anxious to see Commodore Hull, who had arrived on my absence, I left Santiago and returned to this place on the 27. ult. without attempting any negotiation with the provisional government.

Ships of war, in which, the Frigate United States took an active part. The Chile Squadron and the land batteries joined in the salute, and his reception, as he informed me, was very gratifying to his feelings. The next morning, the Director and his suite, attended by the Governour of Valparaiso, took breakfast with me at an early hour, and soon after proceeded to the capital. His tarry was so short, that I had no great opportunity of conversing much with him. He however remarked, that as Chiloe had been reduced, and Pincharei's party had been broken up and dispersed, it was now his intention, to convene a Congress, and to tender his resignation to that body. After some apology on the subject, the Director observed further, that he intended *now* to send a Minister to the United States, which the want of means, had heretofore prevented;—and I understand, that M^r. Campino, has *again* been named for that purpose. On this occasion, the Director renewed the assurance, of the high respect and friendship, that he, in common with his people, entertained for the government and people of the United States, which I assured him, was very fully reciprocated by us.

The official account, of the capitulation of Callao, will probably have reached you via Panama, much sooner, than any intelligence of that event, can now be communicated from this place. Lest however, any failure by that route, may have happened, I have now the honour to transmit you herewith, a Spanish copy, of the articles of that convention.

From authentick sources, it now appears, that at the commencement of the siege, the garrison consisted of about two thousand men, and that it contained besides, about four thousand non-combatants;—that during this term, General Rodil would suffer no one to depart, and that at the time of the surrender, there were only about nine hundred persons, of all discriptions to be found alive;—about four hundred of whom, belonged to the garrison. Only a few days before the surrender, *this inhuman monster*, caused fifty two of the garrison to be shot at one time;—and the whole appears to have been the most cruel, lawless transaction, that ever disgraced the annals of any country, save those of Spain.

I have been informed, that the authorities of Peru, have recently transmitted to this government a note, inviting the oppointment of a Minister to the celebrated *Panama Congress*;—and stating, that England either was or would be invited to join. I have had some expectation, of being furnished with an official copy of this note;—but the late change in the Ministry, seems rather to forbid the hope, of its being realized at present.

I am not aware, of any order, that Chile intends to adopt, in relation to this subject. I believe that she, as well as Buenos-Ayres, has heretofore declined sending members to such a body, and I can see no good motive, that either can now have in departing from that system;—inasmuch, as they

have uniformly contended, that such an *assemblage* was premature, and would be productive of no good;—that the arms of Spain, could no longer put in jeopardy, the independence of the new States;—that there was no danger of the intervention of any Foreign power in their affairs, and that under such circumstances, they had much better direct all their energies to the improvement of their internal concerns, than to waste any part of them, in useless, and perhaps injurious alliances.

*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, April 4, 1826.

SIR: In reference to the Peruvian note, that has lately been transmitted to this government, requesting the appointment of ministers to the Assembly of the Isthmus of Panama, as mentioned in my last despatch, I have now the honour to transmit you a Spanish copy of that document, (marked A) and to inform you, that the subject of it, has been referred to the next Congress, to be convened in the ensuing month of June.

As the government of the United States has already acted on this subject, I do not know, that this communication will disclose anything new or important in respect to it; the invitation however, to England to become an ally in an *American* confederation, appeared to me so strange, and so dangerous, that I considered it my duty, to lose no time, in placing the documents before you.

The preponderating influence of England, in the affairs of these countries is already seen and felt in almost every department; to the monopoly of their commerce and riches, she is already looking with a most steadfast eye, and if she is now permitted to become a member of this proposed alliance it does appear to me, that the destiny of the new states, is at once placed in her hands, and that with all their boasted independence, they are *de facto* her colonies.

I do not know, but these remarks may be regarded as visionary, and perhaps absurd; but, depend upon it, these people are still like children in their leading strings;—and although by a train of portentous events, they have released themselves from the dominion of Spain, yet it cannot be denied that there is a total want of character amongst them;—that even their *nominal* liberties, are still held by a very feeble tenure, and that they would very easily fall a prey, to the suavity of some artful foreign power.

And with these views, founded on my own observation and experience, I pray you to accept [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile, II.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, August 7, 1826.

SIR: I have now the honour to transmit to you herewith, a printed copy of the Constitution of Bolivia, which it is understood, is to be imposed if possible on Peru, Colombia and Chile; and there is a general impression on this side of the continent, that the author of this instrument, is endeavoring to get himself proclaimed Emperor of these countries. O'Higgins is taking part in this great drama and is supposed to be about to embark for Chile. In consequence of this expectation, the Congress of Chile has declared O'Higgins an outlaw, and authorized the Executive to place the country in a state of defense. These events, in connexion with the alledged apostacy of Rivadavia, presents an unpromising aspect of the affairs of South America. I enclose to you a few Peru and Chile papers, that may throw some light on these subjects; and pray you to accept [etc.].

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, August 26, 1826.

SIR: I have already had the honour of informing you, of the capitulation of Chiloe to the army of Chile, of the subsequent revolution, and of the departure of an expedition, for the purpose of restoring order in that province; which I am now happy to say, has been attended with complete success. The revolted garrison, surrendered without opposition or terms, and the legitimate authority is again instituted.

This event, in connexion with the proceedings of the Congress, and the prevailing opposition to the plans of O'Higgins, will doubtless postpone his visionary schemes; for, without the aid of a strong foreign force, I think, he can never expect the consummation of his wishes.

It could scarcely be expected, that an aristocratick Executive, and a republican Congress, would harmonize very well. The unfortunate selection of the President having produced this state of affairs in Chile, there are frequent collisions, contests for power, and even indecencies between the two branches, which I think will eventuate in scenes of violence. Should the Congress be dissolved prior to the adoption of a constitution, the President

elect, though appointed *ad interim* would hold his office until the coronation of another; the period of which would *thus* depend on his own motion.

On the late invitation, from the government of Peru, to send ministers to the Assembly of the Isthmus of Panama, and to subscribe to the *propositions* accompanying the same (copies whereof, I had the honour to transmit to you some time since) I do not learn, that this government has taken any final order.

The unfavourable accounts of the political tergiversation of Bolívar continue to gain ground; all classes of people here join in reprobation of his late conduct, and it is represented, that he is equally odious in Spain, where, he sustains himself entirely by intrigue and force.

Accounts from Buenos Ayres, are equally unfavourable; it appears that she is about to change her federal to a consolidated form of government, that Rivadavia has joined the aristocratick party, and that there, as in all the other civil commotions are very frequent.

Although the dominion of Spain appears to be extinct, and the cause of independence has completely triumphed in these countries; yet, composed of such discordant materials and as little acquainted with the influence of moral principle, as they are with the science of civil government, they are, in my opinion, doomed still to undergo many changes, which the friends of humanity cannot regard with indifference.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, November 15, 1820

The Congress has rescinded the Estando contract with the individuals, and continued the system, on the government account, until the expropriation of the stocks, amounting to about a million and a half of dollars, are exhausted, and has made provision for the return of the *exiles*, with an act of oblivion for the past, except so far as any of them may be implicated in the late disturbances at Chiloe, which will probably render the whole provision nugatory, as they were doubtless all, more or less concerned in these transactions. This body, has also made considerable progress, in the adoption of a federal constitution, and it is to be hoped, that neither the aristocracy of the country, nor the obstinacy or instability of its members, will be able to impede

no doubt a favorite project of Bolivar, to get that instrument or its similitude, adopted in all the new States of the South. It will probably succeed in Peru, and perhaps in Colombia, but I think it will fail here.

It is a fact, perhaps not generally known, that after the battle of Ayacucho, all the Peruvian troops were by the orders of Bolivar marched to Colombia, and those of the latter, amounting to five thousand, were retained in Peru. By this force, the poor Peruvians have been dragooned into any misery, suited to the purposes of its *leader*, who is now on an excursion to Colombia, leaving their *safekeeping* to his faithful Colombians. It is said, that Bolivar no longer wishes the meeting of the Congress of Panama, and that he has expressed himself to that effect; in fact, it is difficult, if not impossible to reconcile his past conduct, with the professed intention of the deliberations of that Assembly. No members to that body have yet been appointed on the part of Chile; but I believe the omission has arisen, more from the want of means to defray their expenses, than from any objection to the principles of the measure.

Agents for Chile and Peru, have lately arrived from France, denominating themselves "Inspectors General of navigation and commerce;" the one for the former, has been received in that capacity, and informed me, that his nation would soon acknowledge the independence of these, and that he then expected a diplomatick appointment. This gentleman has brought with him his family and furniture, which indicates a permanent residence.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

VALPARAISO, November 27, 1826.

SIR: I hasten to inform you, that it is stated, on the authority of a letter from the Secretary of the Legation of Chile in England, to a gentleman in Santiago, which came by the last British packet, that the Colombian Minister in England, acting under the instructions of Bolivar, and without the knowledge of any of the Ministers of the other Spanish American States in London, had proposed to Spain, a cessation of hostilities for twenty years; and that the French Minister Villete, had proposed to the British Government, to form *three empires* in America, (formerly Spanish), the first to consist of Mexico and Guatemala, under a Bourbon Prince, the second, of Colombia, Peru, Bolivia and Chile, as is supposed under Bolivar, and the other of Brazil and the United Provinces of Buenos Ayres, under *Pedro the first*.

I have the honour [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile, II.

*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

VALPARAISO, *March 12, 1827.*

SIR: I have the honour of informing you, that an arrival from Peru has just brought intelligence, of a recent change in the political affairs of that country, for the avowed purpose of abrogating the new constitution, under which, Bolivar had been elected President of that nation for life.

My information of the details of these events, is not so perfect as I could desire; but it is stated, that in the absence of General Santa Cruz, the person to whom Bolivar had confided the administration of affairs, the Minister of Foreign Relations (Pando) succeeded in gaining the Colombian troops to his interest, and immediately siezed all the officers of that corps, and shipped them to their own country; that afterwards, the Colombia troops, showed some disposition to adhere to the fortunes of Bolivar, and that troops were marching from the interior of Peru, for the purpose of enforcing the new order of things.

In Chile, no material change has taken place since my last. I believe that Freire and Pinto, will both come into the government again, which I hope may be beneficial to the country.

There were great rejoicings here, on the arrival of the late news from Peru, which were manifested, by the firing of salutes, ringing of bells and the display of flags; indeed, the people of Chile, have long since lost all confidence in Bolivar, and have regarded with much apprehension, his late movements in Bolivia and Peru.

*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *March 19, 1827.*

SIR: As I apprehended, the details of the late revolution in Peru, communicated in my last, proves to be very incorrect. It now appears that soon after the departure of Bolivar for Colombia, the troops of that nation, that remained for the purpose of keeping order in Peru, discovered a disposition to revolt, and applied to General Santa Cruz, who had been appointed President

the lead in these movements, which have resulted in the complete subversion of the constitution and of the election of Bolivar as President for life. A proclamation to this effect, has been published by Santa Cruz, and the Central College of the District of Lima, has reassembled and declared, that the election of Bolivar as President was altogether a compulsory act, that the proceedings on that occasion are henceforth void, and recommended to the Central Colleges in all the other districts to do the same. The Colombian Congress have supported these measures throughout, and have shown no disposition to change their course, except a few of their officers, who have been deported to their own country.

The odious tyranny of Bolivar in Peru, has been the cause of this importunate change; and as his confidential troops have deserted him, it cannot be doubted that he can reinstate himself in that country. The former ministers have all resigned, and others have been appointed by the new govern-

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*John Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *May 14, 1827.*

SIR: I have now the honour of informing you, that the late President Pinto, has again tendered his resignation to the Congress of Chile, and that the President, Pinto, having by that body, been specially invested with the powers of President, has entered on the duties of that office.

General Pinto, is an officer in the army; has held various distinguished situations, under the government of Chile, and is one of her most able and enlightened sons. He has always manifested great respect and friendship, for the government and people of the United States; and at a recent interview with him, he evinced very fully a determination, to send a Minister to reside near us. I availed myself of this occasion, to make known to the President, the expectations of the government of the United States on that subject, which was well received. He has also given further evidence of his usefulness, by the appointment of Ministers, of more liberal and extended views, than the late incumbents, in the several departments. Miguel del Solar, is now the appointed Minister of Foreign Relations, the ninth Minister in that department which I have been called upon to address since my arrival; and General Pinto, is the eighth individual, who has held the office of Chief Magistrate, during that term.

I understand that the Chiefs of the southern Indians, have joined the standard of Chile, and that the war in that quarter is near an end.

By the latest advices from Peru, no reaction had taken place, in the revolutionary movements in that quarter, and no apprehensions of that nature, appear to be entertained; unless General Sucre with his Bolivians should interpose his power.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *June 14, 1822*

SIR: The delay of the arrival of the PEACOCK, has allowed me the honor of addressing you again from this place. . . .

Information has just arrived, that the Province of Guayaquil has renounced the authority of Colombia; that Quito was about to follow the same example, and that both were expected to form a separate, independent government. Letters from Peru also, announce the existence of political disturbances in Bolivia, which have caused the execution of some, and the arrest of others, of Sucre's Officers.

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*Heman Allen, United States Minister to Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *July 31, 1822*

SIR: Having this day taken my final leave of the Court of Chile, presented to Mr. Larned, as Chargé des Affaires, of the United States, and delivered over to him, all the books, records, files and papers, appertaining to the Legation, I beg to subjoin a sketch of my address, and of the reply made by the President on that occasion, and to reiterate the assurance [etc.].

[ENCLOSURES]

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF HEMAN ALLEN ON HIS DEPARTURE FROM CHILE

MR. PRESIDENT: The President of the United States of America, in

to Chile; the period has arrived, in which, I must yield the pleasures and comforts that surround me, to the dangers and privations of the sea; to the bosom of whose waters, I am about to commit, the safety of myself and family.

In presenting to your Excellency, my letters of recedence, and in requesting your Excellency, to vouchsafe my departure, I beg to repeat, the cordial and friendly disposition of my government, towards that of Chile; and to express the unabated desire of the President of the United States, that the political institutions of Chile, may be speedily constituted, on principles, best suited to the real and improving condition of the people; that their liberty and independence, may be placed on the surest basis, and that their prosperity and happiness, may be permanently secured.

But, I cannot take my final leave, without the expression of my regret, and that of my government, that the several well founded claims, of citizens of the United States, upon the Republick of Chile, that I have so frequently pressed on the justice and good faith of its government, should remain unsatisfied; yet, in having had the honour, of opening the diplomattick intercourse, between the two nations, and as is hoped, in a manner, satisfactory to both, I content myself in the belief, that towards the attainment of these, and other important purposes, considerable progress has been made; and leaving their prosecution, to the late Secretary of Legation, Mr. Larned, who is henceforth encharged with its affairs, and who is instructed to that effect, it is confidently hoped, that his exertions, may be rewarded by better success.

In taking leave of your Excellency, and of this delightful country, I cannot repress my grateful sensations, for the many instances of kindness and attention, that have distinguished my residence in Chile; and with these favourable sentiments, I hope soon to mingle with my fellow-citizens, in my own country, should it please the Almighty, to grant me that happiness.

With the most distinguished consideration for your Excellency; with the deepest solicitude, for the prosperity of this infant Republick, and with the most ardent desire, that in the establishment of liberal and free institutions, and in the progressive influence of education and experience, there can be no point of human happiness or glory, at which, she may not hereafter arrive, I bid your Excellency, and the people of Chile, an affectionate farewell.

REPLY OF PRESIDENT ANÍBEL PINTO OF CHILE

[TRANSLATION]

MR. MINISTER: You were the bearer of the recognition, of the independence of our Republick, by the President of the United States of North America; and a conduct so noble, frank and generous, has caused the hearts of all Chilians, to beat with the sincerest sentiments of attachment and fra-

ternal regard, towards your government, and towards as many, as have good fortune to belong to so happy a country.

It is also very satisfactory to me, to be able to assure the Minister, good understanding and cordial friendship between the two Republics; be as lasting as time, and as sincere as virtue; that their relations, both political and commercial, will go on, acquiring strength from day to day, until arrive at that stage, when difference of language, shall alone distinguish North American from a Chilian; and that the Republic of Chile, will constantly second the grand designs of North America, of giving a permanent habitation to liberty and civilization, in the new world.

There remains for me only, Mr. Minister, to manifest my gratitude, for the predilection, with which your President has distinguished Chile, in having made choice of Mr. Allen to fill this mission; who has so worthily exercised the functions annexed to it, for the space of more than three years. The candour and wisdom, with which you have conducted, and the rare qualities of your personal character, have gained for you the regard of all Chilians, and I contemplate your separation, with that regret, which is felt, when we witness the departure, of a sincere and good friend.

*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to Henry
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, August 10, 1828.

SIR: I have the honour to inform you, that Mr. Allen had his audience of leave of this government, on the 31 ultimo; on which day he delivered over to me the books and papers of the Legation: so that at length, some nine months after my appointment, I have entered upon my official duties. Mr. Allen, with his family, left this capital on the 1 instant, and proceeded to Valparaiso for the purpose of embarking for the United States.

Under date of yesterday, I received official notice of the appointment of President Pinto, of Don Joaquin Campino as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, and of Don Jose Joaquin Perez as Secretary of Legation. I am informed by the President, that it is intended Mr. Campino, shall remain in the United States for a year or so, and then proceed to Europe, leaving Mr. Perez as Charge d'Affaires near our government. As the pecuniary embarrassments in the way of this Legation have at length been overcome, and the funds for defraying its expenses have been furnished, Mr. Campino will, I understand depart at an early day for his destination. Mr. C. is a gentleman of fine talents and liberal principles, and has filled some of the first offices under this government, and enjoys the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile, II.

tire confidence of the actual President. Mr. Perez, is a young gentleman of much promise, member of a family distinguished in Chile for its patriotism and extensive influence.

The political situation of Chile is at present tranquil, and the administration of General Pinto has thus far merited very general approbation. Many salutary measures for the melioration of the national affairs are in train, and there is reason to hope that they will be realized. As yet none of the Provincial Assemblies have pronounced upon the form of government to be adopted; and it is difficult to say what may be the result of this appeal to those bodies, further than the certainty that the decision will be in favour of popular institutions, and an elective Chief Magistrate.

Our dates from Peru are to about the middle of July. The new Congress had commenced its sessions, and General La Mar, a distinguished officer, whose political reputation, is unblemished, and who enjoys great popularity in Peru, has been chosen President of the Republic; Don Manuel Salazar Vice President, and the tried patriot Luna Pizarro, President of the Congress. It is to be feared, however, that General La Mar may be prevented from taking upon him the duties of this station, by the late reaction in Guayaquil, where he had been placed at the head of the government by the popular suffrage, upon the recent revolution in favour of the Constitutional system of Colombia. A resolution had passed the Congress of Peru, for increasing the military force of the nation, as its independence was conceived to be menaced from abroad, both on the side of Colombia and Bolivia.

From Buenos Ayres we learn, that Mr. Garcia, who had been despatched some time ago by President Rivadavia to Rio Janeiro, to treat of peace with the Emperour of Brazil, had returned to the former place, bringing with him a preliminary treaty of peace which he had negotiated; but which had been rejected by the President, with the approbation of the Congress. It appears from the instructions given to Mr. Garcia, and which have been published, that in the negotiation of this treaty he exceeded his powers. In fact, one can hardly conceive of conditions more disadvantageous and disgraceful to Buenos Ayres than those stipulated therein, namely, the relinquishment of the Banda Oriental and the restitution of the property taken by the privateers of Buenos Ayres during the War. President Rivadavia had resigned, and it is said his resignation has been accepted by the Congress; and that in the place of a national Executive, a Governour of the Province of Buenos Ayres will be named, and that things will be placed on the footing on which they were at the meeting of the late constituent Congress. It is probable that these measures, together with a convention of one or more members from each Province, which, it appears, is to be forthwith called, will have the effect of restoring harmony and union to the component parts of nation, and of putting an end to the civil war which has raged amongst them for some time.

With sentiments [etc.].

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*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to Henry C. Larned, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *November 1, 1827*

SIR: Annexed, I have the honour of handing you a duplicate of my despatch.

Sometime ago, the Minister Plenipotentiary of Chile in London transmitted to his government, a copy of the treaty negotiated between Great Britain and Mexico, an article of which reserved to the latter the privilege of granting special advantages to the new American states.

Mr. Campino, who was at that time Minister of Foreign Relations of the Chilean government, desirous of expressing to the Mexican government the thanks of Chile for this friendly disposition, and also its views touching the matter, consulted me verbally on the subject (Mr. Allen being at Valparaiso). I recommended Mr. Campino to thank the government of Mexico, in general terms, for this manifestation of national regard; but not to compromise the policy of Chile, either to an admission of such special advantages, or to what would be consequent thereupon, a reciprocation of them. I stated to Mr. C. that the acceptance of the proffered boon, and the granting of like privileges in return, would tend to embarrass Chile in her treaty stipulations with other countries, without affording her any real advantage,—that the policy was an invidious and unsound one; and that the only solid and enduring basis upon which to found commercial regulations between nations, was that of perfect equality and the most exact reciprocity: friendship between nations best preserved by an adherence to the most rigorous impartiality: as such a course did away all grounds of jealousy and complaint.

Mr. Campino, although persuaded of the truth of my observations, could not sufficiently divest himself of national and habitual prepossessions to adopt, in all its extent, the course recommended. He assured me, however, that his note should contain a virtual exception, from the rule in question, in favour of the United States. Accordingly Mr. C. in his communication to the Minister of Foreign Relations of Mexico says, "This conduct, (alluding to the reservation in favour of the new States) at once politick and generous, moves the government of Chile to express to those States its gratitude; and to give an assurance that the measure shall meet its just correspondence in the principles that shall serve as the basis of the treaties of a like nature, which the Republic may form either with Great Britain or any other of the European nations."

Hitherto, this principle has not been acted upon by this government.

not having as yet negotiated any treaty of commerce, except the recent one with Buenos-Ayres, which has not been ratified.

This state of the affair would seem to render desirable the negotiation of a commercial treaty between the United States and Chile, at as early a day as might be; as thus the stipulation that they were to be placed on the footing of the most favoured nation, would foreclose the concession of any special privileges, either to Mexico or any other of the new States; without clashing with the tenour of Mr. C's note.

*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *November 18, 1827.*

SIR: In my despatch No. 60, I touched incidentally on the subject of the offer of His Most Christian Majesty to grant a free passage on board of his ships of war, to such of the youth of this country as might be sent to France for their education; and promised to resume the matter in a subsequent communication. In pursuance of this intention I insert a translation of the note passed by the French Admiral to this government on this occasion, which is as follows:

TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHILE.

The Undersigned Rear Admiral has the honour to make known to the Minister of Foreign Relations of Chile, that he has received an order, under date the 18 of April last, from His Excellency, the Minister of Marine of H. M. C. M. relative to the youth of Chile whose parents may be desirous of sending them to France for education.

His Excy. made known to the King, that the undersigned had authorized the reception on board of one of H. M. ships of the sons of Mr. Solar, and various other young gentlemen of Santiago, whose parents were desirous of sending them to France for the before mentioned object; and H. M., approving this measure, has determined, that the same favour be accorded to all the youth belonging to recommendable families of Chile and Peru, who may be desirous of pursuing the same course.

These young gentlemen will be admitted, at the expense of the King, to the table of the *Alumni* of the ship, in which they may embark; and the Minister recommends it to the undersigned to enjoin upon the commanders of such vessel, all the care and attention which the tender age of these young persons demands, and which are rendered the more necessary by reason of their situation at the moment of separation from their families. Each of them will be sent to the agent that may be selected by the parents, whose name will be made known to the Minister by the Undersigned.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile, II.

The Rear Admiral, in communicating these dispositions to the Minister of Foreign Relations of Chile, experiences the liveliest satisfaction. They confirm that which he was encharged to announce to him on another occasion, namely, that France has no object in view save the establishing relations of friendship with Chile, and which will be after drawn still closer, by attracting to her bosom, in order to make them participators of the benefits of instruction, *such of the young people from their position and that of their families, may be destined to lend important services to their country.* He trusts, that the government of France will appreciate the benevolence of this measure, and flatters himself that it will not be unproductive of effect as relates to the families in question. Paternal considerations and cares will attend these young people in their voyage; and during their residence in France they will be *under the special protection of the government of H. M. C. M.*

The Undersigned Rear Admiral renews to the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Chile, the assurance of his sentiments of regard and consideration.

The Rear Admiral, commanding the Naval Forces of H. M. C. M. on the South American Station.

(signed) ROSAMONTE

On board the *Maria Theresa*
in the road of Valparaiso, the
10 of December 1825.

To this note the government of Chile gave a very flattering and prompt reply, in which, amongst other things, the Minister says, that "Chile persuades herself there will very shortly exist between the two countries relations, than those of pure friendship and benevolence."

In consequence, mainly, of the offers contained in this note, which were mainly addressed themselves to the weakest points in the character of the aristocratick classes of this country, their parsimony and their pride, the young men, of the wealthiest and most influential families, have been sent to France for the completion of their education.

In countries like Chile, and the other late Spanish American colonies, possessing, already, in their social constitutions so many elements of intemperance and anti-republican organization, the effect of a practice of this nature is greatly to be dreaded. These young men, with minds and habits in no measure prepared to receive the intended impressions, arrive in France where they witness the splendour of nobility and royalty—the palace state and pomp of the court, and imbibe a contempt for the simplicity and unpretending character of republican institutions. The idea too, of the fail of insinuating itself, that they appertain to that class in their native country, which, in the event of the establishment of monarchy there, will be called upon to constitute the nobility. Their religious education

imbued with a reverence for royalty, and a confirmed attachment for its attendant institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, these young men return to their native country, where they soon learn to express their contempt for its government, and all its social and political institutions. The consequence is obvious: they are so many fresh and active advocates for the establishment of their favourite system.

Even where this effect is not produced, one hardly less to be deprecated by all those opposed to the introduction of European influence into the affairs of America, can scarcely fail of having place. These young persons must necessarily acquire a strong attachment for the country in which they have been educated, and in which they have resided for so long a period, at that season of life when impressions are most easily and most indelibly made. Many of them, from their rank in society, must be called into the councils of the nation; to which they will come with all these predilections and early attachments, to render them accessible to the subtle policy of the French Cabinet. The species of tutelage exercised by Great Britain over Portugal, for so long a course of years, may be conceived as, in some measure, an antitype of that in which these countries will thus be placed, in relation to France. I am persuaded, that I do not over estimate the importance of this matter. The strength of early associations and impressions is well known, as is also the influence they exercise over us whenever they are called into action by an exciting cause. I have had an opportunity of witnessing their effect in the case of the very few natives of Chile who have been educated in the United States: in these instances, the early attachment has withstood the lapse of years, and never fails to manifest itself on all occasions when either the interests or the reputation of our country are brought into competition with those of another.

In Chile, the circle of influence is quite circumscribed. A very few persons determine the policy, and of course the future destinies of the nation. It is more or less so in all the other new States. In this relation, arguments of analogy drawn from the United States must be extremely defective; and yet even they have felt sufficiently the force of foreign attachments, and the effects of extraneous influence.

It really appears to me, that the future political condition of these countries ought to be a subject of deep interest to the United States; and that, at least the whole moral influence which they are capable of exercising, should be put in operation, and in the most efficient way; in order, not only to counteract the great efforts making by the European nations, and particularly by France, to bring about a state of things favourable to the existence of their systems, and to their interests; but also to secure, both to us and to them, the possession of free representative governments. From what I have seen of this country, and judging of the others by it, I am in-

prestige we can call to our aid, will be little enough to effect the question.

It is a fact, now unhappily beyond dispute, that in this respect the new States is much less promising than it was some years ago. There is in all of them, a very strong party,—if not numerically so,—composed of the richest and most influential portion of the inhabitants, favourable to the establishment of a system of government which, although nominally republican, and apparently embracing the leading features of popular institutions, is in fact, nothing but a constitutional monarchy in disguise, and from which even the *mask* will soon be dropped, were the system once firmly planted. This party, which rules the country that it may, is invariably composed of the same materials—the aristocracy and the hierarchy,—a circumstance sufficiently indicative of its character; and seems to acknowledge one and the same Head, under which it has lately rallied: it also, either from concert, or as a consequence of an identity of principles and views, appears to act in unison with the responding fractions, and in conformity to some general and systematic plan.

To the intrigues and machinations of this party, may be partly attributed, the difficulty which most of these States have encountered, in the establishment of their political institutions. It is a part of a great plan to prevent the consolidation, in any of them, of any form of government not in accordance with their views; and to sow dissension, to introduce anarchy, to the end, that the people, wearied with the uncertainty of the present, and tired of the uncertainty and vexations consequent upon such a state, may be induced to call in a deliverer, and admit any system of government which promises stability and quiet; even if it be the stability of a kingly government, or the quiet of despotism.

In the pursuit of this plan, Colombia has been transformed, from the most tranquil, most consolidated and most prosperous of all the new States, into the one most distracted, most convulsed and most impotent. For these purposes, the jealousies, and divisions amongst the different Provinces have been kept alive and fomented, and they have been prevented from uniting into a nation. The same hand is felt in Peru, in its efforts to divide the Provinces and array them against the congress; and in Brazil, to excite terror by a menaced invasion. In Chile, the object is to prevent the adoption of any permanent or regular institutions, and enlist the party of O'Higgins against that of Freire, and the almost extinguished party of Carreras. Bolivia, is guarded and kept with all the vigilance of a watchful dog; cautious watchfulness; and every thing like an expression of public opinion is carefully repressed. This position is to be maintained, if possible.

extend to Chile. Guatemala, has also felt a double share of the same influence, and it has even been sufficient to shake the powerful and bitter organised Mexican Federation. It is a well known fact, that secret agents were sent from Colombia to both of these States, for the purpose of sowing the seeds of discord, anarchy and revolution; thus to discredit their political institutions, and prepare them for others more consonant to the views of the party in question.

It is to be presumed, that the enemies of Republicks, in Europe, will endeavor to take advantage of the present distracted state of these countries, for the purpose of introducing their anti-liberal and interested pretensions; and if these can be sustained until fit materials for their corroboration are prepared, through the medium of the education of the youth of the new States in their political and social creeds, and other supplementary means; it may be apprehended, that, should they be left unopposed, the triumph of free principles will be put in great jeopardy, and perhaps, the cause of the people be here lost.

The condition and prospects of these new Republicks are certainly at this moment far from being either satisfactory or flattering to the friends of liberty: their situation is critical and full of interest. I shall not, however, despair of the ultimate success of republican principles in all of them, provided due efforts are made by those interested in the conservation of these principles, to defeat the manoeuvres of their enemies: but, in the meantime, they must undergo many revolutions, and freedom will, I fear, be, for a season, merged in anarchy, despotism and military rules.

I am aware, that it is not so easy for a government constituted as ours is, to take measures in this relation, as it is for the monarchical ones of Europe; and that some of the regulations of our Navy present additional obstacles to their adoption. I allude here to the rule which compels the officers to provide their own sea-stores, and thus exclude others from a participation in them. But all these difficulties might, perhaps, be overcome. There can be no doubt, that an offer on the part of the government of the United States, similar to that of the French King, to grant a free passage on board of our publick ships, to such of the youth of these countries as might be destined to the United States for education; coupled with the further one, to admit a determinate number from each of them into the Military Academy at West Point, would have a most beneficial influence upon their future destinies, as well as upon the relative situation of the new States with us, both immediately and eventual: at the same time that the charge to the nation would be so trifling as not to merit consideration, when put in comparison with these great advantages.

I have taken the liberty, with all due deference, to submit the foregoing observations to the President; and to close them with the above suggestion, as in my view, one of the best modes in which the moral influence of the

United States may be most effectually exerted, diffused and perpetuated, and the crafty and dangerous policy of France counteracted.

Mr. Campino requested of his government to be instructed to confer with the President on this subject; but he was answered, that the matter was so plain and simple as not to call for any special instructions. It is, therefore, highly probable that he will make some communications and overtures to the President on the affair. This gentleman will probably take passage in the vessel which this despatch goes.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to Henry Larned, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, May 10, 1820

I am aware, that Mr. Allen has heretofore considered that this government was not in a condition to authorize us to enter into conventional stipulations with it; owing to its proneness to change, and generally unstable character. But, with all due deference to so respectable an opinion, it appears to me, that, upon mature reflection, this object will be found more specious than solid;—that, although the premises may, in some measure, be correct, the conclusions deduced therefrom are erroneous. Any stipulations that may be made with this government, will not be made with the individuals merely who may at the time administer it;—they will be made with the nation, through its representatives; and in this virtue the nation, under whatever rulers it may chance to be, and let the changes be as frequent as they may, will be bound to respect those stipulations. But even granted that they should not be,—that in some of the violent fluctuations of this government, a Chief Magistrate, or a Minister should be found reckless enough of his own and of the national honour, to violate or disregard the publick engagements; should we be worse off in this case than if no such engagements existed? Should we not, under any circumstances, be subject to the arbitrary caprice of such Chief Magistrate or Minister? And, at any rate, would not such treaty stipulations at least serve as some security for our rights and privileges, even with such an Administration; or, at least, as a sure basis upon which to ground our demands for redress? Besides, it is not probable, that a treaty would cover any engagements which any Administration of this country could be desired to make, when once settled, or disregarding. How, then, could any stipulations

tended for their more perfect recognition and security, tend to lessen our hold upon this government for the enjoyment of our rights and privileges? On the contrary, in that case, in order to deprive us of them, it would become necessary to violate the solemn engagements of a treaty;—whereas, in the other, the denial of the privileges we now enjoy, would involve no such outrage;—the plea of convenience would be sufficient.

But, in point of fact, the present government gives more warrant of stability, as well on the score of its legal duration, as on that of its moral characteristics, than any preceding one, since the arrival of the Legation in this country. Vice President Pinto, has been elected for a period of more than two years and a half; and possesses qualities which give assurance, that a steady and consistent policy will be pursued by his Administration:—and besides, a representative body is now in existence, authorized to give the national sanction to executive acts; and there is, moreover, reason to believe, that Chile is about to assume the respectability of a constituted State. It is an undeniable fact, that she is at this moment, the most tranquil and orderly of all these new republicks.

The decidedly friendly disposition of the present Executive towards the United States affords another reason for considering this moment as peculiarly favourable for the formation of a commercial treaty between the two nations. But one of the most powerful considerations in favour of acceding to such a measure, is the hope, that thereby our claims on this government may find admission through the medium of a special convention antecedent thereto. There are several reasons why the negotiation of such a treaty should be desirable to Chile at this time, and more particularly, if negotiated here:—and there are still more for supposing that the claims would in this way, find a more ready admission than in any other. The independence of Chile has not yet been recognized by Great Britain, owing principally, as I have good reason for supposing, to the unfortunate representations touching her political condition, which have been made by the Consul General of that nation resident here. As though the question of her independence on Spain, had any relation to the form or nature of the domestick government, or the changes therein. This negation on the part of England, to admit in the case of Chile, what she has admitted as respects the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, Colombia and Mexico, has had the natural effect of making such a measure even more desirable than it was when no such distinction existed;—and its attainment would confer no little eclat on the Administration that should be so fortunate as to succeed in that object. There can be no doubt, that the fact of the United States' being about forming a treaty of this nature with Chile, would have great influence in accelerating such a step on the part of the British government; through the medium of commercial jealousy. At any rate, I think that this consideration might be so placed before the attention of this government, as to make it more desirous of trying

the experiment; and, perhaps willing to accede to a previous allowance of claims, in the way hinted at, in order to obtain an object so desirable; more particularly as I am aware, they consider the subject of them as a agreeable one, which they would be happy thus to get rid of, could any text be found that would, in their estimate, justify the proceeding with publick. The responsibility of the measure, would also in this way be divided between the Executive, the Minister and the approving body there would be the appearance of a *quid pro quo* in the transactions that would afford with the publick the justification desired. Such a convention would, moreover, give room for such stipulations in regard to the mode of reimbursement, as could not find place, was their admission insisted on absolutely and abstractly from any such consideration. And, as this convention would be subject to the approbation and consent of our Senate, in its ratification, the responsibility of the President, and of the negotiator would thus be placed, as regards the claimants, in a different aspect from that which it would assume should any arrangement for this purpose be made not requiring such sanction, and which should be conceived by them to prejudice their interests. Indeed, it would be easy to obtain the previous assent of those interested in the claims,—from their very limited number (only three) and thus obviate all questions of this nature. One of the claimants, rather the representative of one of them, reside, in Valparaiso, and I should take care to obtain his acquiescence previously to concluding any arrangements.

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*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to Henry C. Larned, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, July 17, 1822

We have accounts from Bolivia, by the way of Peru, said to be entitled to credit, which stated, that the army of the latter under General Gama, which some time ago crossed the Desaguadero in considerable force,—completely routed the Colombia and Bolivian army under General Sucre, and that the result would be, the evacuation of that country by the latter, accompanied by his foreign auxiliaries. This invasion was a consequence of the late revolutionary movement in Chuquisaca (capital of Bolivia) against Sucre and his Bolivian Administration; in which that celebrated officer was severely wounded, having been fired upon by his own guards. The in-

some fifteen or twenty of the most distinguished persons in the country, implicated in the movement, it is said, have been executed;—amongst them, the gallant General Lanza and the prominent Members of Congress Olancho and Molina, as, also, the late Minister Plenipotentiary to Buenos-Ayres, Serrano. The patriotick party, thus oppressed by the foreign force having possession of the country, it is understood, called in the assistance of General Gamarra, the Prefect of Cuzco, and the army under his command. . . .

P.S. I do myself the honour of transmitting by this opportunity, files of the publick papers of this country and of Peru; together with some other printed papers relating to the affairs of these new States.

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*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *September 10, 1828.*

Grand Marshal Santa-Cruz, late President of the Council of Government of Peru, has just been accredited by this government as Minister Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary from that Republick. It is understood, that this appointment has been made somewhat upon the old Machiavelian principle;—the Grand Marshal having a pretty strong party in Peru, whose views are in opposition to those of the existing government, and more favourable to those of Bolivar, under whom he formerly acted, in conjunction with the Minister Pando. General Riva-Aguero, formerly President of Peru, a person of much notoriety in this quarter, has within these few days arrived here from France. This personage has likewise many adherents and partisans in Peru; who, as well as himself, are alike inimical to Bolivar and La Mar. The mansion here of General Santa-Cruz, and the opportune arrival of Riva Agüero, together with the movements on the side of Colombia, would seem to threaten disturbances to Peru; where, we understand, President La Mar remained very much indisposed, and the government in the hands of the Vice-President.

A treaty has been made between General Gamarra, commanding the Peruvian Army, and General Urdinenea, encharged with the government of Bolivia, and which has been finally ratified; by which it is stipulated, that General Sucre and the Colombian troops are forthwith to evacuate Bolivia, and embark at Arica for Colombia. The dissolved Constituent Congress is to be

immediately reassembled for the purpose of receiving the re-
President Sucre; and a National Assembly is afterwards to be c-
revision or rejection of the Constitution forced upon the cou-
Colombia bayonets:—which circumstances seem pregnant with
Bolivian code. Amongst the articles is one which stipulates,
party shall enter into relations with *Brazil*, until this latter power
with Buenos-Ayres. It will be fortunate, however, if this inte-
the part of Peru, in the domestick affairs of Bolivia, although s-
great portion of the inhabitants,—be not seized upon by Bolivian
for a like proceeding in relation to Peru. If we are to give cred-
ances, such will be the case. The evacuation of Bolivia, in the
will very much relieve Peru on that side.

*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, *Novemb*

Since my last communication, I have had the honour of re-
despatch No. 1., together with the Commission, and other do-
which it refers. Immediately on the receipt of these papers, I w-
Minister of Foreign Relations and presented him the introductory
the Department, in my favour; and was formally recognized a-
Affaires of the United States near this government.

I, also, took advantage of the interview, in conformity with
tions, to repeat the often-given assurance, of the deep interest
President of the United States, in the prosperity and well bein-
publick of Chile, and of the earnest wish cherished by him for
ance and permanency of the friendly relations existing between
tions. The Minister assured me, in return, that the governm-
felt grateful for this friendly interest on the part of the United
was equally desirous that harmony and good understanding sh-
petuated between the two States; and, that nothing should b-
its part to promote so desirable an object.

At this interview, I asked an audience of the Vice President o-
lick, encharged with the executive functions, which was forthw-
and in which I had the honour of presenting him with the Presid-
reply to the one of which Mr. Allen was the bearer:—communi-

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile, III.

Minister, as directed, the copy transmitted to me, of the letter referred to. . . .

General Santa Cruz has been chosen President of Bolivia by the Constituent Congress of that country, and will leave here shortly for the purpose of assuming the duties of the station to which he has been called. The Bolivian Code will, no doubt, be annulled there, and, perhaps, even the name blotted out:—so far has this celebrated personage forfeited the good opinion of the people, even in this country of his creation. General Sucre and the Colombian *auxiliaries*, have finally departed from the shores of that country for their own. On his way to Guayaquil, General Sucre stopped at Callao, for the purpose, as he alleges, of offering his personal mediation between the government of Peru and General Bolivar, in order, if possible, to restore peace and harmony between the two. His offer was accepted, although in a manner somewhat equivocal, the government of Peru declining to make any overtures, but expressing a willingness to hear such as General Bolivar might think proper to make known. Col. O'Leary, one of General Bolivar's aide de camps, has addressed the government of Peru from Quito, informing it that he is authorized to negotiate an armistice; but the government refuses to listen to his proposals until he make known the basis upon which he is empowered to treat, and which is to serve for that of the consequent peace. Genl. La Mar has sailed from Callao, for the purpose of putting himself at the head of the Army of Peru, which will soon consist of near eight thousand men; a force superior to any that Genl. Bolivar can, at present, bring to bear upon that point. Besides this army, Peru has a further regular force of from eight to nine thousand men. They write from Lima, that they were under no apprehensions for the result of the War, but expected that it would end in the destruction of Bolivar, and his party, both there and in Colombia. Hostilities, had commenced, in the attack of a Peruvian Sloop of War, near Guayaquil, which, however, succeeded in beating off a superior force.

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*Joaquin Campino, Chilean Minister to the United States, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1829.

The Undersigned, Minister of the Republic of Chile, has the honor of transmitting to the Secretary of State, translations of certain notes from the Governments of the Republics of Chile, and of the United Provinces of

Rio de la Plata, respecting the institution of a "Mediation" between the Governments of the Republics of Peru and Colombia, which may avert an impending contest between those two countries.

The Undersigned refrains from remarking at length upon the importance of this measure, because it cannot but be well understood by this enlightened Government, and because its motives are sufficiently explained in the accompanying documents— The Governments of Chile and Buenos Ayres must have apprehended, as the probable result of the war, a loss of territory, and the establishment of a military power, which would have subverted the independence and liberties of those young Republics.

The Government of Chile, knowing that the distracted state of Colombia and the exhaustion of her resources, will not permit General Bolivar to put his former menaces into effect, draws the most favourable omen from the success of this mediation; while that of Peru which had taken arms merely to resist aggression, will receive with satisfaction the assurance of the return of peace.

At the date of the communications addressed by the Government of Peru to the Undersigned, (the 23d of December last) they were only waiting the arrival of the Minister of Buenos Ayres, who would then, in concert with that of Chile, proceed immediately to Peru and Colombia. The Revolution which broke out, at Buenos Ayres, in December (of which the Undersigned had no intelligence, in Chile, at the date of the communications to which he is now signed) may have delayed the arrival of their minister; but Chile notwithstanding, proceeded in the "Mediation," particularly as the new President of the Republic of Bolivia (General Santa Cruz) who had been expelled from Peru near the Government of Chile, and who had but recently returned in the middle of December, taken leave for the purpose of assuming the administration of his Government, had offered to Chile his co-operation in the "Mediation" by sending, also, a Minister, for that purpose, on the part of Bolivia.

The Government of Chile, which is so well convinced of the interest which the United States have felt, and still continue to feel, in the establishment of order and freedom, and in the improvement of the condition of the Republics, was confident that they would not look with unconcern upon the bloodshed, the horrors and other excesses consequent upon a war kindled out of caprice and passion, and that they could not overlook the evils which would accrue to their interests and policy, in the event of their not being prosecuted to the results and consequences above referred to.

Accordingly, the Undersigned has been instructed by the Government of Chile, most respectfully to invite, in its name, that of the United States, to take a part in the said "Mediation" and join in those good offices.

The Undersigned, in communicating to the Honorable Secretary of State, the preceding instructions from his Government, assures him that he is animated with the same sentiments and hopes with regard to the Government of this country, and renews to the Honorable Secretary of State the assurance [etc.].

*Joaquin Campino, Chilean Minister to the United States, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, May 27, 1829.

The Undersigned, Minister of the Republic of Chile has received the Note, dated the 26th instant,² which the Hon. Secretary of State was pleased to address to him, in reply to those of the 1st³ and 7th of this month, in which the Undersigned, by direction of his Government, solicited the Mediation and good offices of that of the United States, in order to avert the impending war between the Republics of Colombia and Peru. The said reply was accompanied by a Gazette Extraordinary of Bogota, containing the Preliminary Articles of Peace between the said Republics.

The Undersigned, in the name of his Government, tenders due acknowledgments for the generous and friendly sentiments manifested by this Government towards those Republics, of the existence of which sentiments the Government of Chile has always been well persuaded.

Relying upon these, the Undersigned takes the liberty of suggesting to the Hon. Secretary of State, that the continuance of his good offices, with respect to the Republics above referred to may still be very expedient, and even necessary. In the documents contained in the Gazette of Bogota are to be found indications of great irritation, on the part of the conquerors, and of a possibility that the vanquished will look upon the conditions to be imposed on them, as very onerous and humiliating. These circumstances may induce a want of confidence in the sincerity and duration of the peace,—unless General Bolivar, with more magnanimity should adopt a course of conduct more generous; and, it may be said more just and proper.

The Undersigned, in addressing a Government which must be abundantly supplied with data and information touching the condition of those countries, and who will justly weigh, in their wisdom, all the circumstances and exigencies, thinks it useless for him to explain these indications, or to advert to the acknowledged importance that these New Republics should preserve

¹ MS. Notes from Chilean Legation, I.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 184.

³ See above, pt. v, doc. 547.

their Independence, and the integrity (*Statu quo*) of their territory to the serious evils which would flow from the protraction of a civil war, which Spain might find an inducement to execute a new invasion, so much has been said, or which would keep up, in those countries, a system opposed to the establishment of free institutions, the result of the revolution.

The Undersigned renews, on his part, his humble acknowledgments, and repeats to the Hon. Secretary of State the assurance [etc.].

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*Joaquin Campino, Chilean Minister to the United States, to Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, May 29

The Undersigned, Minister of the Republic of Chile, has the honor to address himself to the Secretary of State, to repeat to him officially what he has communicated verbally, in an interview on the 5th instant, respecting the termination of his mission.

The object of the mission of the Undersigned was merely to express to the Government the profound gratitude of the Chilean People for the act by which this country acknowledged its independence, and for the honor conferred upon it by this Government in sending to it a Minister plenipotentiary— The term for which the Undersigned had been appointed having now expired, it is his duty to announce to the Honorable Secretary of State that his mission has terminated.

The Undersigned could not, without failing in his duty and doing violence to his own feelings, refrain from expressing, on this occasion, his grateful acknowledgments for the attention and kindness which he has experienced from the hands of the honorable Mr Van Buren, and the satisfaction with which he will ever cherish the remembrance of his intercourse with so distinguished a citizen.

The Undersigned also wishes to have the honor of personally presenting his last respects to His Excellency the President of the United States. In the event of His Excellency acceding to this request, the Undersigned will feel much obliged to the Honorable Secretary of State, if he will have the goodness to inform him of the day and hour at which he may be admitted to do so.

*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, July 8, 1829.

The last arrival from Peru informs us, that one of the military revolutions, so common in these new States, took place at Lima on the 6th of June last. It seems, that General La Fuente, who was there on his way from the Province of Arequipa to the Army in the North, with a reinforcement of about 1200 men, resolved to seize the opportunity for overturning the government and establishing, in its place, one more agreeable to his own personal views and feelings. He accordingly marched a division of his corps to the *Palace* of government, obtained quiet and unopposed possession of it; and dispossessing, at the same time, the Vice-President, Salazar, who, in the absence of President La Mar, exercised the function of Chief Magistrate, took upon himself, without further ado or authority, the administration of affairs. No blood was spilt on the occasion; and so quietly was the whole transacted, that it did not interrupt even the ordinary avocations of trade and business.

It is supposed, by those most acquainted with Peruvian politicks, that the object of this movement is, to place General Gamarra, late prefect of Cuzco, commander in Chief of the Army of the North, and the person who negotiated the late disgraceful capitulations with General Sucre, in the Presidential Chair; as one less inimical to the policy of Colombia, than the actual legal possessor, General La Mar. And it is generally believed, that peace with that State will be the immediate consequence of this step. But I apprehend, it remains to be seen, previously, in what light it is to be considered by President La Mar, and the Army under his command.

La Fuente, has been formerly much addicted to, and under the influence of General Bolivar; by whom he was promoted to the rank of General of Division, and made Prefect of Arequipa, in reward of his services in betraying up (in 1824) President Riva Agüero, and subsequent usefulness. It is thus, not the first time that he has made use of the force under his command to overthrow the legitimate authorities under which he held.

In the absence, in Peru, of any other government than this military usurpation, it is fortunate, that the delay in the receipt of my appointment for that country should have prevented me from before proceeding thither:—there will now be time, in the mean while, for the Congress to assemble, and for things to settle down into something like order and regularly constituted government;—one, offering some guarantee for the security and observance of its stipulations.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Chile, III.

*Samuel Larned, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Chile, to Mar
Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

SANTIAGO, CHILE, August 8,

From Peru, we learn, that General La Mar has resigned, both the command of the Army; not, as is supposed, in the most satisfactory manner, and had set sail for Guatemala or Mexico. General G. remained at the Head of the Army; and, in his proclamation, promised to defend the integrity of the Peruvian territory against the incursions of the Colombians:—but it is generally believed, that there is a secret understanding, both between him and La Fuente, and between the two and Bolívar, and which has for its object, the restoration of the latter's influence and authority in Peru: which in Bolivia they may be considered as reestablished by the election of General Santa Cruz to the Presidency of that State. Thus, probably, will this fortunate and ambitious man, through force, intrigue, flattery and the *prestige* of his name, soon see his sway over these countries, either directly or indirectly, restored; and he enabled from these *appuis*, to direct his machinations against the Provinces of La Plata, on the one hand, and Chile, on the other; neither of which, I fear, from their distracted and divided condition, will be able to oppose them with success.

General La Fuente continued in the undisturbed possession of the command; and,—if we may judge from the tenour of the official correspondence published, between the Peruvian Minister, and the Secretary General of Bolívar (not always a sure criterion in these countries) had been completely adopted towards Colombia, the identical policy indicated and pursued by his predecessor, General La Mar. The Minister says, in a note to the Secretary General, that he feels it to be his duty to anticipate to General Bolívar the opinion of his government touching the Convention of Giron (between La Mar and Sucre) which is, that the Congress of Peru, cannot approve of its actual shape, as it contains stipulations exceedingly onerous, and unbecomingly graceful, to that country. That, the Commander of the Army of the North has been authorized to propose a suspension of hostilities, until the Congress shall determine the question of peace or war; and that, one of its conditions may be the restitution of the City of Guayaquil. That, the continuation of the war will depend upon the disposition of the government of Colombia. Should it persist in exacting humiliating deferences, and sacrifices incompatible with the dignity and the independence of Peru, the latter will be strained to again have recourse to arms. The probability is, however, that peace will be made pretty much upon the terms that Bolívar, in his policy and his policy, may dictate.

I am drawing the affairs of the Legation, as well as my own private, towards a close; and shall be ready in the course of a couple of weeks, or so, to take my departure for Peru. But I am far from being satisfied that I ought, under existing circumstances, to present myself in Lima. To be there, without being able (from a conviction of its impropriety, and indecorum towards the government of the United States) to present myself to the actual government,—so illegally and forcibly constituted, and having no other foundation than the will and the power of the person at its Head,—would, doubtless, give great offence to the ruling powers, and be construed by them as an open insult; and which, should they be confirmed in their stations by the Congress,—might be visited upon me, to the prejudice of the negotiations with which I am charged: whilst, by remaining absent, no such offence could be taken; propriety and consistency would be preserved; and no injury to our interests would be likely to result from this short delay;—particularly, as the most urgent matter which weighed with the President in transferring me to Peru, has been obtained,—in the suspension of the decree above mentioned. Should the congress sanction these violent proceedings, and confirm the actual government in their places, all objections will be done away. Other considerations of moment, amongst the rest some arising out of the subject of mediation &c. hinted at in my instructions,—conduce to the same conclusion; but which want of time will not permit me to explain on this occasion.

I have the honour [etc.].

PART VI
COMMUNICATIONS FROM (GREAT) COLOMBIA

COMMUNICATIONS FROM (GREAT) COLOMBIA¹

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*Joseph de las Llamosas, President of Venezuela, and Martín Tovar Ponte, Vice President of Venezuela, to Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[TRANSLATION]

CARACAS, April 25, 1810.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: While the violent invasion by the French of the southern part of Spain has driven out the government which under the title of Supreme Central Junta represented and maintained the sovereign rights of Señor Don Fernando VII, the southern part of the American continent, namely, this Province of Caracas, adhering to the faith which it swore from the 15th of July 1808, erected on the 19th of this month another Junta for the preservation of his sovereignty throughout the territory of Venezuela, and being unable at this time to look to Spain which is occupied by another foreign monarch, or to accept from there mercantile expeditions, must draw its relations of friendship and commerce closer with the friendly or neutral nations. Your United States come within that class. The new government of this Province supplying the lack of that which has been dissolved in the Spanish Peninsula, and the absence of its King, still a captive in France, yearns to draw even closer the ties of its alliance with the people of North America. To that end tend all the letters that will be handed to Your Excellency by Señor Don Juan Vicente Bolivar, or Don Telesforo Orea of this capital and appointed on this commission. Through that means the Government of the United States of America will be kept acquainted with the new system established in Caracas and of the reciprocal advantages that its commerce will have with us. And so our harbors await with open arms all the peaceful foreigners who may call to exchange for our fruit and products all their industry and commerce. And we as President of the Executive Junta have the honor to communicate to Your Excellency this notice and to place ourselves at your command [etc.].

¹ The Republic of Great Colombia consisted of what was later known as New Granada, Venezuela and Ecuador. In 1829 Venezuela withdrew from the union; Ecuador followed her example in 1830. The Republic of New Granada was founded in 1831, but in 1862 assumed the name of the United States of Colombia. All documents relating to New Granada, Venezuela, and Ecuador will be found in this part of the collection.

² MS. Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Provinces.

*Robert K. Lowry, Commercial Agent of the United States at La
Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States¹*

BALTIMORE, July

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that my arrangements for future for Caraccas, will be completed by the 20th inst, and that I shall sail between that day & the 31st. for La guayra, either from this port or by vessel from Philada.—

In the course of conversation two days since, Mr. Bolivar informed me that a considerable order for muskets has been received by him for the use of Caraccas.—

Mr De Orea, the other deputy, who sailed for Laguayra this morning, has related to me an interview, which took place between him & Mr J. Bolivar last week in Philada.—Don Onis, the Span. Consul, & Ex. Governor of the Province, being present.— The impression left in his mind, is, that the Bolivarians will not be so friendly to them as was expected, especially if, as they seem to anticipate, the revolution ends in the total rejection of the authority of Ferdinand the 7th.—

I trust Sir, you will not deem this detail impertinent or officious, as it may have reached you at a later period and perhaps incorrectly.—

Since I had the honour of conversing with you at the Seat of Government, it occurred to me, that it may be asked of me on my arrival at Caraccas, as an accredited agent, from their Govt. will be received and acknowledged here.— Be pleased to point out what answer I shall make, if such an answer should be made—

Such paper, &c as are necessary for me to carry, may I presume to be forwarded by the 20th. Inst.—

I have the honour [etc.].

*Robert K. Lowry, Commercial Agent of the United States at La
Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States¹*

LA GUAYRA, September

SIR: I have the honor of informing you that I reached this port on the 20th ulto. on the evening of the following day, I presented myself to the Junta at Caraccas by whom I was received with many demonstrations of friendship, and Satisfaction at the promptitude with which an agent was sent out to this country. My reception has been not a little aided by the friendly communications with which I had the honour of being favored by you—

On the 19th. ulto. a revolution similar to that which has taken place in Caraccas, occurred in Santa Fé— This event has given much strength to the cause of freedom here, & from all I can learn, there can be but little doubt of the ultimate favourable result.—

The Secy. of the Governor of Curraçao, Col Robertson, has been here some weeks for the purpose I have been informed of obtaining some exclusive privileges for the British Commerce in this Quarter; But I have reason to believe, that his success so far, has been very inadequate to the expectations entertained. They prefer connection with the United States. I shall endeavor to obtain early information of the nature of the Commercial arrangements which may or have already, taken place, & in case of any exclusive preference make such temperate representation as the occasion may require, giving you at the same time the earliest possible information on the subject.—

Under date of the 3d Inst, the Govt. of Carraccas writes me, that they have received information of two privateers of 2-Eighteen Pounders & 4-twenty four pound Carronades & 60 men each, having been fitted out in Jacmel for the purpose of cruizing on this coast, & that they may be now momentarily expected— If this is the case, they will most probably do our trade much mischief— I beg leave to observe, that a Governmt. vessel sent to cruize on this coast to protect our commerce from such Pirates, and empowered to offer its assistance to this Govt. for the same purpose, would, in any future arrangements the Govt. of the U. States may wish to carry into effect with this Province, be of the first utility— It would place us on a footing with our competitors, of whom there are at present two Brigs of War in this port, one of which sailed for Curraçao with Col. Robertson in a few days—the other remains stationed here.—

It appears that from Philada. Don Onis has been sending out arms to Maracaibo. In my audience with the Junta, this was made a subject of complaint, & the Secy. of State Don Juan German Roscio, has requested me in my first communication to you to make mention of it, with the request that it should be prevented. The Secretary at the same time submitted to my perusal letters dated in March last from Don Onis to the old Govt. here, of the most hostile nature to us. I have been promised copies of them, and when in my possession I shall forward them by the first good opportunity—¹

With assurances that every part of the duty of the office with which you have been pleased to entrust me shall be discharged to the best of my ability

I remain [etc.].

¹ See below, pt. vi, doc. 555, Lowry to the Secretary of State, November 30, 1810, and footnote 2 thereto.

Robert K. Lowry, Commercial Agent of the United States at La Guayra
*Robert Smith, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, November 30, 1811

SIR: Since my respects of the 30 Sept. by the Globe for Baltimore, I have obtained copy of Don Onís' letter to the Capt. Genl. of Caracas under date of the 2 Feby. last² the which I inclose in its original language. I also

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

² A translation of the letter from Luis de Onís to the Captain General of the Province of Caracas, reprinted from *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, III, 404, follows:

PHILADELPHIA, February 2,

The administration of this Government, having put the stamp upon the servility and adulation in which they stand in relation to their oracle, Bonaparte, before yesterday, by their direction, Mr. Eppes, the son-in-law of the former President Jefferson, made a proposition that a minister should be immediately sent to Bonaparte, at Madrid. This was supported, in the committee in which the Hon. Mr. Jefferson was, by Mr. Cutts, who is the brother-in-law of President Madison. There were debates, there were howlings in the tribunals, there were sarcasms against the Central Junta, and many trifling observations from one party and the other, in which mention was made of the arrival of a minister from the Supreme Junta, and this Government's having wisely refused to receive him; and, at length, a vote was given from which it resulted that, for the present, no minister was to be sent to Joseph Bonaparte.

In the annexed paper you will see all the debates, which, for want of time, I have been able to have translated. If your excellency should not be informed, by means of despatches, of the mode of thinking of the present administration, this alone will give you the little hope there is of obtaining any thing favorable from it, but by energy, and by chastisement.

The facility—I again repeat it, and I will repeat it a thousand times—with which American vessels are admitted into our colonies, preferring them to our own, these people believe that our weakness does not permit us even to talk to them in terms, much less to take measures which may injure them. From hence springs the great opinion (la grande opinion) they have, that the intruder, Joseph, will rule in our colonies; and hence the incitement to their scandalous conduct in proceeding by every means in their power, the machinations of Joseph to make himself master of our colonies, as if upon that depended their happiness.

The determination of making war on England, and of treating Spain with contempt, supposing that her nullity did not entitle her to any thing else, was taken by the present administration some time since, though it was not in them the determination to do so. To accomplish it, they thought of forming an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States; and some even supposed that the alliance was formed. With this object they have sent Mr. Adams to the court of Stockholm, in quality of minister plenipotentiary, directing him to examine on his way (en route) the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen; but, notwithstanding this, if England should display her energy, in however small a degree, and if, on the other hand, some vessels should be sent to their coasts, and some troops should draw near to them, there is reason to believe that we should see these provinces separated and divided into two or three republics, and, consequently, they would remain in a state of nullity. We should soon have from the republic of the north, which would be our friend, all the supplies which are now drawn from the others, who would perish by poverty and quarrels among themselves.

This country is now without a cent, with a deficit of four millions of dollars in revenue, with not more of an effective army than six thousand despicable men, and two thousand five hundred, that they had at New Orleans, are reduced by death to one hundred; and although they have passed a law for one hundred thousand, more men and money will be necessary to organize them. Its navy is for the most part destroyed.

copy of another letter dated the 28 March of less importance, but shewing how far the malice and hatred of the war extend.—

The Capital of this Province has been latterly much rent by civil dissension, which however are now happily beginning to subside. Two conspiracies, the first having for object the destruction of the present heads of the Govt. with the most of their partizans, and a recurrence to the old system, war was nearly executed by some Europeans in Caracas; the second equally dangerous, was fomented by some members of the Junta, with the design of seizing and usurping the Executive power, of massacring all the Europeans, & lastly of freeing the negroes, and placing the mulattoes & them on an equal footing with the remainder of the whites. Intelligence having arrived of a most execrable massacre of the Creoles by the Spaniard, in Quito in the month of August last, in which some thousands were put to death in cold blood; the movers of the last design in Caracas seized on the oppy. as a fit one for its execution; the streets were crowded with armed men calling out for vengeance on the Spaniards, and a scene equal to the worst of the French Revolution was momentarily expected. The mob was however fortunately prevailed on to disperse without any blood being spilt; when a discovery of the Conspiracy took place and the public tranquility secured for the present by the Exile of its head. The security of the Province may therefore be considered as greater than it has been since the expulsion of the members of the former Government.—

On the 16 of Octr. the Inhabitants of the Province of Barcelona deposed the old Govt. and came into the measures of this Province.—

On the 26 of Octr. the Junta of Caraccas issued a manifesto declaring war in due form against Coro and Maracaibo, and to reduce them 2400 men have been sent, who will most probably have accomplished their purpose by this time.—

The Deputies of the Congress to assemble next month at Caracas are mostly elected. What Govt. they may constitute or how far they may extend their views to independence, it is difficult to foresee. That the wishes of a large portion of the people of this country tend that way there can be but little doubt, but unless the contest in Spain ends unfavorably for the cause of their King, it may be deferred for a while. And even should the French be driven out of Spain, I consider from all that I have seen and heard the submission of the Inhabitants of these Provinces to their old taskmasters as out

come from the Havana, Mexico, and other provinces, he believed (not knowing his integrity) to be one of the many emissaries of Napoleon, the caste which abounds most here, offered to him the constitution of Paine, and other papers relative to the liberty which here they dispute about, persuading him to send them to Mexico and our other colonies, and that he should endeavor to induce them to unite themselves to this republic; that here they were ready, if this succeeded, to move near to them, or even to place in their country, the seat of Government. These, sir, are the ideas with which this administration is animated. Notwithstanding, at the time they observed this conduct, they sent General Sumpter in the character of minister plenipotentiary to Rio Janeiro.

God preserve you many years.

of the question, and as a cause of inevitable dissension, if not war with mother country.—

This Coast as yet remains clear of Privateers of any description.—

I inclose translation of a letter written to me by the Secy. of State 9th. inst; and copy of my answer which I trust will meet yr. approb.

This Govt. has lately granted to a vessel from New York the privilege of landing and storing her cargo for 6 months in imitation of our De System. In fact they appear desirous of imitating the U. S. laws in things, as well as of giving our Commerce every encouragement.—

I have the Honour [etc.].

P.S. Between this Province and Mexico and Buenos Ayres there is no communication whatever.—

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Juan de Escalona, an official of the Government of Venezuela, to Robert Secretary of State of the United States¹

[TRANSLATION]

CARACAS, March 18,

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Since Venezuela decided to achieve for itself independence from the unlawful and infamous governments that have succeeded one another in Spain to arrogate to themselves the representation of the unfortunate Fernando VII it gave its attention first among other things to asking for a helpful hand from its brothers of North America on whom it could rest in the great undertaking that it assumed at Caracas on the 19th of April for the glory and happiness of both Continents. The Supreme Government then ruling in these countries, desirous of fulfilling this duty of international brotherhood, first commissioned Don Juan Vicente Bolivar and subsequently Don Telesforo de Orea to come to that capital and lay before the Congress of the United States through Your Excellency the wishes which Venezuela made for its stability and aggrandizement and the sincere desire of all its inhabitants that the friendly relations existing between the two peoples be enlarged and strengthened more and more.

This Government has received nothing since which would indicate a change in the sentiments of union and friendship that Don Juan Vicente Bolivar commissioned to express to it through Your Excellency had reached the Government of the United States.

Notwithstanding that silence His Highness has not been able to

ry in the capacity of Maritime and Commercial Agent at La Guaira for Government and whenever opportunity was offered His Highness favored to extend to the American citizens all the brotherly reception our interests and consideration demanded for the original authors of freedom and regeneration in America.

Seven months have gone by during which, although this Government has favored to give positive evidence of the sincerity of its purposes with regard to the United States, it has not had the satisfaction of meeting any response of any kind to its steps taken in advance towards the union and peace which it yearned for. The duplicates of the letters we sent to Your Excellency on April 25, 1810¹ through Don Juan Vicente Bolivar and which now have the honor to duplicate, will convince Your Excellency of all that we have assured to you and will convey to you an idea of the first period of just and peaceful revolution.

Our fate was given its course under the same auspices and Venezuela proceeded in setting up on the second day of this month the General Congress of provinces and restored its national representation on the foundation of liberty, justice and right which had been usurped by the prior despotism of its inhabitants.

No memorable an event could not leave unconcerned the representatives of the grand family of North America and the Congress of Venezuela makes its duty to bring it officially to the knowledge of the Government of the United States through Your Excellency.

Don Telesforo de Orea and Señor Don Jose Rafael Revenga are the commissioners of His Highness to fulfill those duties. To convince Your Excellency of the sincerity of our wishes and resume the mission which was held the same purpose by Don Juan Vicente Bolivar since the 28th of April of this year. These persons whose qualities recommend them as having won the confidence of His Highness will also be acceptable to Your Excellency in their object, their steps and their conduct must have no other motive than union, brotherhood and a reciprocal advantage between the South and North Americas. The instructions that they carry are intended for those important ends and the public papers with which they have been provided will fill all the void that there may be in Your Excellency's knowledge since that we are up to the arrival of these new Commissioners. His Highness hopes that through them the delay which, much to his regret has taken place in our negotiations will be beneficially offset and that Your Excellency will henceforward be the Agency through which Venezuela and the United States will receive all the advantages flowing from an alliance resting on the liberty of our principles and the interests themselves of our two peoples.

With the sentiments [etc.].

*Talisfero de Orea, Commissioner of Venezuela to the United States, to
Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

May 17, 1811

Telesforo de Orea

To the Honorable Secretary of Foreign Relations

Sir James Monroe

presents his credentials under which the Government of the Confederation of Venezuela has sent him as its Extraordinary Agent in these States. The official notes are appended to it: one from the President of the Executive Power of Venezuela and another from the Secretary of Foreign Relations.

The General Congress representing the provinces of Caracas, Cumana, Barinas, Barcelona, Merida, Truxillo and Margarita, which are up to constituting the Federation having been already installed, the Supreme Executive Power having been organized in three persons and the Judiciary in five—and the bonds of friendship and alliance having been drawn close in an indissoluble way with all the provinces of the new Kingdom of Colombia—Venezuela now puts before the world a more worthy picture than what was at the time it broke its chains.

The United States pointed to Venezuela the way to freedom and virtue and the peoples of South America will also keep as close as possible to the constitution of those of the North. The Venezuelans have been faithful to their right and they have sworn in their hearts to stand by them or perish. While they have put off a declaration of absolute independence it was not to their regret and under the strain of political circumstances.

But it will not now be much longer postponed and in that Venezuela looks to her brothers of the North and all friends of mankind extending to her a beneficent hand. The nature, the political condition of the old world and the reciprocal interest of both Americas suggest an intimate union. The Government of Venezuela, in compliance with the will of the people, gave it birth, wishes to enter upon a lasting alliance with the States and to conclude commercial treaties beneficial to both. I have indicated, Honorable Secretary, the main object of my mission. May God grant that the United States will meet the wishes of the Government to which I am indebted for the honor of this mission.

¹ MS. Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Provinces.

*Robert K. Lowry, Commercial Agent of the United States at La Guayra, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

LA GUAYRA, June 9, 1811.

SIR: By the instructions which I had the honour of receiving from your predecessor, R. Smith Esqr., when he appointed me Marine & Commercial Agent for the U. S. to this province, I am directed to correspond with the Department of State from time to time, communicating such particulars as may interest, touching the State of this Province. . . .

With regard to the situation of these Provinces, (confederated as they are called) since the change in April 1810, it would require much time to describe it. Suffice it to say that from want of a proper application of the Public money, through want of talent; and intrigue; the country is fast approaching to poverty, anarchy & imbecility; which will most probably throw the Government into the hands of General Miranda. Some late occurrences tend to strengthen these suspicions, and the probability is that in less than a couple of months, there will be some further Revolution perhaps more favorable to the real liberty of the country.

I have the Honour [etc.].

*Robert K. Lowry, Commercial Agent of the United States at La Guayra, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, August 21, 1811.

Since the letter which I had the honour of writing you on the 9th June² I remain without any communication from the department of State. I have taken the liberty of suggesting in former letters, the advantage which would probably result to our commerce in this quarter by a little attention being given by the Government of the United States to the Deputy from this province— I have also stated the actual benefit the English Flag enjoys by a distinction [*sic*] of one fourth in Duties both of Import & Export, and the visible effect which this preference has had in diminishing our trade to the main.

I now beg leave to enforce these remarks and to observe further that the success of the Revolution depends in a great measure on succor from abroad, for I repeat that however determined these people are to establish their Liberties; they have not arms to defend themselves in case of an invasion, and in their present situation 6,000 Europeans would reduce them infallibly to their

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old bondage. The Heads of the Government have in conversation to understand that their only hope of aid is from the United States & at the same time that they have been deceived by the British and to consider them more their Enemies than friends. To ensure success arms but money is necessary, and if assistance is at all contemplated by the Government of the U. S. it should be prompt & decisive.

On the 5th July the Congress of the provinces assembled at Caracas declared the Independence of this Country. For some time previous circumstances had given rise to an opinion with many that some plot was on foot to return to the Spanish yoke once more. The decree of Independence accelerated the explosion which took place on the 11th inst. in Caracas on the same day at Valencia a considerable inland town about 40 miles distant.

About this time a small squadron appeared off the Coast of Cumana about 300 men to cooperate with the conspiracy in that quarter. But by the activity and courage of the patriots the whole insurrection has been suppressed. In Caracas fifteen of the leaders taken in arms have been hanged & publicly executed. The Rebellion of Valencia requiring a military force about 3000 men under the Command of General Miranda sent against it who reduced it on the 13th Instant. so that the whole country is now in a state of tranquility— I learn that Genl Miranda is going against Coro & Maracaibo immediately & I have little doubt of his success against those places. In my opinion this man will e'er long be at the head of this Government which will most probably be a benefit to the Country. He may be safely pronounced the fittest person in it for the station.

I remain [etc.].

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Robert K. Lowry, Commercial Agent of the United States at La Guayra
*James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, October 2

SIR: Inclosed is a copy of a letter I had the honor of writing to you on the 21 Augt.²—little has occurred since that period worthy of note. The countries newly revolutionized parties are liable to prevail, unless the Government is occupied by a foreign enemy; so in these Provinces much precaution has taken place, but in my opinion not enough so far, as to endanger the safety of the Confederation.—

A Deputy is now daily expected from Santa Fe, whose object is to

to treat of a general Confederation of that country extending to Peru; with the five Provinces United in this quarter.—

Daily observation tends to enforce the suggestion I have hazarded with regard to general Miranda's being ere long at the head of this Government. I should be well pleased to add, that I had reason to believe him a friend to the United States.

The Constitution now framing by the Congress of these provinces, is shortly expected. The title meanwhile taken is that of 'The United States of Venezuela'. The flag, is yellow, skyblue and red stripes transversely flowing from the Staff. The grand Standard (designated by General Miranda) with these stripes, has for its union, the figure of Liberty seated on a Crocodile.—

Strong apprehensions exist with this Government, that the British have in view to possess themselves of the Province of Guayana, and measures are in agitation if possible to anticipate them. But their means are so limited, joined to the want of efficient arms, that it is to be feared they will be too late.—

My situation here without a direct commission to this Government, has exposed me to divers very disagreeable circumstances since my arrival in the Province. How far the President may deem it expedient to extend the Powers he did me the honour of granting when sent hither; I am not a proper person to judge. I hope it will not be thought improper on my part to observe that if they were rendered more ample to me or to some more capable person, it would not be disadvantageous to the American trade in this quarter.—

So far no oppy. has presented itself of corresponding with Mr Gelston in Buenos Ayres or with Mr Shaler in Mexico—

I have the honour to inclose the statement of our Commerce to this port for the six months ending the 1st. of July. I have as yet thought it unnecessary to appoint any Vice Consuls in any of the neighboring Ports. I presume that in Puerto Cabello, it will be advisable to make such an appointment, especially should the U. States be compelled to enter into the present conflict.—

Some expences, trifling so far, have accrued in this Consulate for the purpose of relieving and sending home distressed seamen, an account of which will be regularly furnished at the end of the present year.—

I have the Honour [etc.].

Robert K. Lowry, Commercial Agent of the United States at La Guayra
*James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, November 1, 18

SIR: I had the honor of writing to you on the 2d. Ult^o.²— Since v period nothing very material has occurred in this country. The Con tion adopted by Congress still in Session in Caracas is daily expected published.—

I am concerned to inform you that several american vessels, among v is the Schooner John Randall of Baltimore, and a Schooner from M head with valuable cargoes, have been captured, and sent, the first to the second to Porto Rico within these few days, by a blockading squa from Porto Rico. This squadron consists of a frigate, sloop of war and smaller vessels, and I am fearful they will do much injury to our tra they have orders to capture everything except vessels with express lic from the Governors of the neighboring British Islands.—

I have the Honor [etc.].

Talisfero de Orea, Commissioner of Venezuela to the United States, to
*Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*³

WASHINGTON, November 6, 18

The Congress of Representatives of the Confederation of Venezuela ing solemnly declared the Confederated Provinces to be states that ar and independent of any domination that is not constituted by the spor ous and general vote of their people, I have been appointed by the E tive Power of that Government as its extraordinary agent to communic worthy a decision to the President of these United States. I have the to hand to your Excellency a copy of the Declaration of Independ which are set forth its main fundamentals and also the credentials v accredit me.

Although Venezuela's action has the support of the natural law of na nevertheless the respect due to the other nations has prompted that Go ment to declare the causes which brought to an end the consideration g ously observed toward Spain until then. Being thus justified in respect, it does not doubt that this Government will recognize that new federation as a free and independent nation; and it finds in the unifor

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

of principles and the mutual interests of the two countries foundation for its hope that this recognition will be the forerunner of treaties of friendship and commerce based on equitable foundations and mutual advantage.

Your Excellency will permit me to enclose a diagram of the national flag which from now on will be the badge of Venezuela among the nations: and permit me to hope that your Excellency made aware of the object of my mission will impart to me the decision this Government may arrive at on the request of that of Venezuela, as above stated by me.

Be pleased to accept [etc.].

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*Robert K. Lowry, Commercial Agent of the United States at La Guayra, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, February 2, 1812.

SIR: Since I had the honour of writing to the Department of State 1st. Novr.² I remain without any communications from thence.

The American Commerce here is evidently on the decline, owing partly to the greater advantage enjoyed by the British flag over that of the United States & which I have dwelt on in former letters. Herewith I inclose a statement of our trade here for the six months ending the 1st. of Jany. which with the addition of Four or Five vessels at the neighboring Ports, may be considered as the extent of the American Commerce to this part of the main.—

Parties run high in this country, but I believe that they all concur in one point which is the determination never to submit again to Spanish domination.

The opinion which I have hazarded in a former letter with respect to General Miranda's being unfriendly to the United States, I believe to be ill-founded.

I have the honour of inclosing a copy of the Constitution adopted by the Congress of Venezuela.

On the 28th. Ult. I was called to Caracas by the Executive for the purpose of consulting with me on an application which they are about to make to the Govt. of the U. S. for assistance of Arms & money. General Miranda had been appointed by the Legislature to concert with the Executive the means of repelling an invasion daily expected from Spain of 4000 men joined by others from Porto Rico.

In the course of the conversation which ensued, I urged the necessity, in

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 561.

case of an application, of a candid statement of the resources of this country, the men capable of bearing arms, and the warlike implements and stores actually in their possession.— I also observed, that if any assistance were given it might be expected more readily in arms than in money.—

I stated the impolitic and unjust preference granted to the English and the necessity there was of placing the American Commerce on an equal footing with the British. The Executive appeared sensible of the propriety of these remarks. They were urgent with me to embark for the United States, that I might in person communicate to you the real situation of the Country, and perhaps obtain wholly or in part what they are in need of. This for various reasons I declined doing—

I have since learned from General Miranda, that there are not more than 6000 serviceable muskets in the Public Stores, which with 2000 represented to be nearly useless, form the actual number of muskets in the Confederation.—

I have the Honour [etc.].

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*Talisfero de Orea, Commissioner of Venezuela to the United States, to John C. Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PHILADELPHIA, February 27, 1811.

I have the honor to send to your Excellency, a Copy of the Constitution by which the States of Venezuela have unalterably laid the Foundation of their Government, and sealed their liberty.

The resolution consequent to the Note which I had the honor to address to your Excy—the 6th Novr.—of the last year,² being still pending, I thought that a Document of so much importance, ought to influence and accelerate considerably the deliberations of this government on that subject.

In communicating to your Excellency the progress and stability of the Confederation of Venezuela, and assuring Y. E. that these principles and measures have been already adopted by other Provinces of South America, I ought to congratulate Y. E. who manifests so much interest for the welfare of these Nations. It is very satisfactory to me to have been afforded this occasion, to write to you after my arrival in this City; and it will be equally so, to receive in answer the orders I expect your Excy will communicate to me.

I pray Y. E. to be assured [etc.].

¹ MS. Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Provinces. ² See above, pt. VI, doc. 563.

*Talisfero de Orea, Commissioner of Venezuela to the United States, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

WASHINGTON, April 28, 1812.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: In the name of mankind I am now imposing on your Excellency's attention. I do so in great confidence; because the misfortunes of mankind cannot fail to make an impression on just and sensible beings.

The unfortunate fate of the cities of Caracas, la Guayra, Puerto-Cabello and adjoining towns is already a matter of common knowledge; and Oh, that its effects were not of so much consequence! We who survive the catastrophe not only have to lament the loss of fathers, sons, friends and thousands of our fellow citizens, but find that our lives are threatened in thousands of ways. Without shelter from the hardships of weather, deprived of the food that was yielded by the fields and that have been buried under the ruins, without any immediate help, hunger, lack of protection and the sternness of the weather are going to cap the climax of misery and desolation, unless some provident hand intervenes in such a great calamity.

If communication with this country was easy, the unfortunate people could receive succor from the compassion and generosity of every individual, but as long as the embargo stands their fate hangs on the decisions of this Government. Whatever may be the cause of the said embargo, I venture to hope that a relaxation as far as the ports of Venezuela are concerned cannot endanger its object. This would not be partiality from which complaints could spring; it would be an appropriate tribute to suffering humanity and to the special relations between the two countries; a tribute which justice demands to ward off absolute annihilation. The misfortune was involuntary; its needs demand prompt remedy and there is no consideration that could impart more sacredness to our prayers or make the obligation to afford the remedy less imperative. In laying before Your Excellency the sad condition of those whom I represent before this Government, I would do injury to your Excellency's virtues if I should for a moment doubt that you are disposed to help. Intimately convinced of this and that the President and also the legislative body will take all proper interest in such a deplorable catastrophe, I beg to venture to ask for the relaxation of the embargo law as far as the Venezuelan ports are concerned and that at least it be permitted to export from these states food and such material as may be used by the unfortunate in building frame houses. In order that the law may work its effects otherwise I leave it to the consideration of the Government to decree the conditions under which the exportation may be made so as to make sure that the shipments to the ports of Cumana, la Guayra and Puerto Cabello will with-

¹ MS. Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Provinces.

out fail reach their destination; but let us help them in some way; let us save the remnants of the most awful earthquake. Let also Providence permit this country to undergo such a devastating evil and let the people of South America be forever grateful for the unofficial and quick generosity of their brothers of the North.

With sentiments [etc.].

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*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to James M. Smith, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, June 5, 1812

SIR: Since the communication I had the honour of making on the 1st of Feby.,² the commission of Consul in due form, which it has pleased the President of the United States to forward to me, has been received.

On the 23 of March, I forwarded the patent to Caracas to the Executive Power, being prevented from personally presenting myself by indisposition. It was gladly received, and the usual forms of recognition nearly completed, through when the dreadful convulsion of nature of the 26 March, threw everything into confusion and dismay. The Earthquake has been followed up by the invasion of the province from the side of Coro. The Enemy has penetrated as far as Valencia, & has been joined by a considerable portion of the Inhabitants of the Interior, among whom the superstitious idea, partially excited by the Priesthood, that the Earthquake is a chastisement of Heaven for abandoning the cause of Ferdinand the Seventh, has generally spread itself— General Miranda has succeeded in stopping the progress of the enemy and there is now reasonable hope that they will be defeated. In the meanwhile the General, has been Invested with the powers of a Dictator, and I believe an organization of this government distinct from that which has been given to the world in the shape of a Constitution, is shortly to take place—

Circumstanced as the authorities of the Country are, I have deemed it making any further application for the present relative to the recognition of my Powers but purpose doing so ere long, and with this view have written to Genl. Miranda—

Personal affairs will call me home in the course of the summer when I shall have the honor of presenting myself to your Department in the mean time. I shall have the Honour [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

² See above, pt. vi, doc. 563.

*Alexander Scott, Agent of the United States for the relief of earthquake sufferers in La Guayra, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

CARACAS. November 16, 1812.

SIR: I wrote you some time ago by Dr. Stockdon (of Kentucky), the earliest opportunity that offered, giving you a statement of the situation in which I found this country, and a detail of the events which succeeded my arrival. But as the war in which the U: States are engaged, renders the transmission of letters precarious, I now repeat the substance of my former communication. I arrived at the port of Laguyra on the 27th June, and found the five other vessels bringing the donation, at that place. Never was any Country in a more deplorable state than this at that period; and the subsequent occurrences have rather augmented, than diminished its calamities. So completely destroyed by the Earthquake was Laguyra, that only one house remained, and Caracas was equally an heap of ruins. Not less than thirty thousand persons, are computed to have perished, and the loss in property estimated at four millions of dollars. The destruction extended thro'out the Country not only dwelling houses but the Coffee and Sugar mills and machinery, being entirely ruined. Unfortunately for the independence of the country, the Barracks containing the troops, occasioned by their fall a great loss of lives, most of the men having perished under the ruins. The panic and distress produced by these disasters, the influence of a corrupt clergy, who persuaded the credulous people, that this misfortune was the vengeance of providence for their political conduct, produced despondency among the friends of freedom, and inspired the Loyalist with renewed hopes and courage; The latter party at Coro Porto-Rico and Maracaibo collected a small army and invaded the republic of Venezuela— The distracted counsels and imbecility of this government, their recent calamities the want of arms, and ammunition, promises success to the expedition. The want of a suitable military commander was another evil under which the country labored. In the mean time the enemy was advancing with rapid strides. Miranda appeared to be the only person capable of arresting the threatened ruin, and unfortunately this choice prevailed— He however refused to accept the command unless invested with dictatorial powers— These terms were acceded to, and Miranda clothed with unlimited civil and military authority. In this capacity the true character of the man soon began to develop itself. By men of discernment his ambition and cowardice (qualities seldom united) were discovered, and they anticipated the fate of their unhappy country. The introduction of military law was one of his first acts— The plunder of property and emancipation of Slaves to be incorporated in the army soon followed— The appointment of low characters to important

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

stations, the neglect of military discipline, and general want of confidence in the leader, were circumstances which by no means insured a favorable result to the contest— The enemy tho' weak at first, daily acquired strength when I arrived had penetrated into the heart of the country— The Government of Miranda was victorious in all skirmishes, he continued to retreat— The country was suffered to possess himself of all the avenues to the great cities, from whence is derived all the animal food of the country— This produced a great distress and when I arrived not a pound of fresh meat could be procured— The sequel you have no doubt learned from the public papers— Miranda by a shameful and treacherous capitulation surrendered the liberties of his country— Whether he was an agent of the British Government as he now states, or whether this conduct resulted from a base and cowardly heart, I cannot decide. As to myself, a short acquaintance with him convinced me that he was not only a brutal capricious tyrant, but destitute of courage, honor and abilities. Thus has terminated this unfortunate revolution, nor has the evil ended here— The successful party have established themselves in every respect unworthy the power they have obtained— A system of proscription, sequestration, imprisonment and cruelty unexampled has been adopted and practiced towards the unhappy republicans— Loaded with irons, and deprived of the necessaries of life they have fallen victims to the contaminated air of crowded dungeons, not only in all countries, but doubly fatal in a climate like this— The donation of the progress was received by the republicans with the gratitude it deserved, and will make a lasting impression on the people of the country— It completely averted the horrors of famine, which the country must have experienced without it— I am sorry to say however that the conduct of Miranda and the present Government towards the persons and property of Americans has by no means corresponded with the generosity and benevolence displayed by the U-States— The seizure, and detention of our vessels, the imprisonment of American citizens, have evinced a spirit not only of neglect, but hostility towards our government.

After a long tedious delay, and repeated remonstrances on my part, the vessels are at length released, but in a state and under circumstances, of little value to the owners— No exertions on my part have been wanted to prevent this flagrant injustice. At a time when an hostile and brutal army were marching to Caracas, when strangers and the citizens fled for safety, I remained there (contrary to the advice of Miranda) that my small resources and exertions might be employed for my fellow citizens— I regret to say however that the effects have not been commensurate with my efforts— The present government is evidently inimical to the U-States, and believe, no communication with them—

The earthquake and its fatal consequences, the civil war and its unfortunate termination, the merciless rigor of the conquerors the destruction of the Estates and misery of the inhabitants, have reduced the country to a state from which it will not emerge for many years— The Earthquakes continue to recur but with diminished violence; Some alarming shocks have however lately been felt, and strange to say the inhabitants are rebuilding their houses upon the former plan, that is, with thick heavy mud walls, extremely ponderous and fragile externally whitewashed or stuccoed, than which a worse mode of construction for this country cou'd not be devised— With great truth (as many fatal examples have shewn) did the aborigines remark that the Spaniards were erecting their tombs, rather than building their houses.

The climate of this country varies exceedingly being much modified and changed by local circumstances—Laguyra, for instance, situate at the foot of a lofty mountain, on the sea coast, and on a sandy soil, is hotter than any part of the W Indies— Caracas, so far as respects the vegetable kingdom, may be said to enjoy eternal spring— But its temperature is extremely variable— During the meridian hours of every day the heats of summer are felt and every night, the cold humidity of autumn is experienced— The city is elevated three thousand feet above the level of the sea, and encompassed by lofty mountains— This easily accounts for the coolness and dampness of Caracas tho within ten degrees of the Equator—

The seasons are divided into rainy and dry— I have seen the former and have no doubt but it rains three hours upon an average daily for six months in the year.

With regard to its vegetable productions, few countries are more fortunately situated— The difference of elevation varying the plants as it does the temperature. All the fruits of the tropics, and a variety of those of the temperate zone are here found in abundance and perfection, and are often the promiscuous growth of one garden— A luxuriance of vegetation unknown to temperate regions, is here displayed, in some degree attributable to the fertility of the soil but principally the effects of the diurnal showers of the rainy season—of the farinaceous plants, Indian corn appears best adapted to the soil, the same field producing two and often three exuberant crops in one year. Two crops of wheat are also obtained, and it might be cultivated with great advantage, were it not for numerous flocks of a gregarious bird, which assail and destroy the fields in a short time.— The grain however is not equal in size or whiteness to ours. Rice is also produced in great perfection in the interior of the country— Several substitutes for bread are also extensively used, as the manioc or cassava, and several species of plantains, the latter a perennial plant, the usual bread of hot climates, and of which a small area of ground will produce a large quantity of food— This vegetable requiring scarce any culture to perfect it is the great encourager of idleness a vice highly

predominant in this country— But the great and valuable articles of the provinces, are cocoa coffee Indigo & sugar, constituting the common wealth of the country— The coffee and Cocoa of Caracas are celebrated but the present crop is much curtailed by the unfortunate events alluded to, and at present sell for almost nothing, tho foreign articles excessively [high?] flour being forty dollars a barrel—

The country for a considerable distance is extremely mountainous altho it at first sight appears an evil, is probably a necessary one, the mountains counteracting the heats which wou'd be excessive, and by condensing the vapours producing the fertilizing showers without which the country would be an arid waste— Beyond the mountains extensive and almost boundless plains analogous to the prairies of N. America feed innumerable herds of cattle, and the land might be cultivated to advantage, but the grazing invites to a life of laziness which the Spaniards prefer. The mountains produce a great variety of medicinal, ornamental, and dye woods, metals and minerals, but little known or explored— Indeed no country presents so extensive a field for the contemplation of the Botanist, mineralogist, and naturalist, and to do justice to the subject would require not only a long residence and minute observation, but a combination of learning which falls to the lot of few. I do not think the climate favorable to longevity as I see but a small proportion of persons advanced in years— This may perhaps be attributed in some measure to the want of the tonic influence of a cold climate and in some degree to the nature of the food— The plants forming the basis of the food of animals, are here rapid on growth, and succulent in quality, but do not probably contain as much of the farinaceous and saccharine principles as in colder climates— Hence the frames of men not so well nourished do not receive those stimuli for permanency as in colder climates. With respect to diseases, those of a chronic nature as Gout Rheumatism &c but rarely occur, but fevers, intermittant, remittant, typhus, and dysenteries, are very common— The latter complaint is the great epidemic of the country, and kills off not only many strangers, but is very fatal to the inhabitants— It is produced perhaps by acid fruits and bad food, by the humidity and sudden changes of the atmosphere, but the great occasional cause I believe to be some miasmatic oxyde, held in solution, by the waters which are filtered from the mountains— The tumour on the throat styled goitre in the neighborhood of the Alps, and in the technical language of medicine, termed bronchocoele is frequent here— The existence of the complaint in this country, refuses to support the theory that it is derived from the use of snow water— A variety of diseases, such as leprosy, swelled leg, Elephantiasis &c (fortunately unknown in our less temperate tho happier clime) here deform the figure and produce frightful and disgusting objects— In no country is the sun

The mixed progeny of whiter Indians and Blacks with their various modifications, form far the most numerous class, under the denomination of "people of color—" These people, in addition to their numerical superiority, I consider as much superior to the native whites in courage and bodily energy and are no doubt destined e'er long to be the exclusive masters of the country— The creole whites are in general a mild generous, friendly people, of a character far more amiable than native Spaniards— They are however timid indolent ignorant superstitious and incapable of interprise or exertion— From the present moral and intellectual habits of all classes, I fear they have not arrived at that point of human dignity which fits man for the enjoyment of a free and rational government. Certain principles of honor, virtue and morality are wanting; and certain deep-rooted prejudices are to be eradicated, before that period arrives— Their minds require to be more enlightened, and emancipated from the absolute sway of an ignorant and depraved clergy— They appear perfectly passive under the present order of things— They have submitted tamely to a lawless banditti of desperate and ignorant adventurers, bigotted and illiberal to strangers cruel & relentless to the wretched victims in their power; who acquired the country, not by their own bravery, but by the baseness and cowardice of the leader with whom they had to contend— Were the oppressed, any people but Spaniards, I should say this state of things cou'd not continue long; But unfortunately, that spirit does not exist, which animates an insulted people to break their chains, and take vengeance on the oppressor— They seem formed rather for slavery than freedom— It is reported that a republican army from Santa Fé 12,000 strong is marching to the relief of the unfortunate party in this country but on this subject I am rather incredulous— Had it not been for this unlucky change the U. States wou'd have enjoyed commercial advantages, and privileges in the time of war, which wou'd have been highly beneficial— For the length of this letter my apology must be the impression I am under of your not having received any of my former.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Alexander Scott, Agent of the United States for the relief of earthquake sufferers in La Guayra, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, December 1, 1812.

SIR: In addition to the information contained in the letter which accompanies this, I have to state that Genl Monteverdi (lately invested by the Cortes of Spain with the office of Captain General of the Province of Caracas) has issued an order by which all citizens of the U. States, including Mr

Lowry and my self, are commanded immediately to leave the country. I am unable to say from what cause this measure proceeds, as it is in vain to enquire the motives which actuate a government as tyrannical, capricious and mysterious in its proceedings as this. Holding their power by a power extremely precarious and unstable, their alarms produce measures as countable as unjust. No American here, I can confidently assert, has been guilty of any conduct to merit this harsh and unfriendly treatment. Possibly it may be a device to extort money from such Americans as are capable of residing here, for a time as was practiced towards the unfortunate who were expelled this country some time ago, with circumstances of great barbarity. These people are needy, rapacious, and unrestrained by any principle of shame, justice, or humanity.

It is probable also that they may mean to revive the ancient system of exclusive jealousy, heretofore enforced in the Spanish Colonies—

The season of the year concurring with the war to render a return to the U States extremely hazardous if not impracticable, Mr Lowry and I have determined to make Curacao our rendezvous until a safe opportunity North America offers— Whether we shall be permitted even to disembark in that Island is uncertain,— However there is no alternative and we are reduced to a dilemma not very comfortable.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Don M. Palacio, Agent of Cartagena to the United States, to James M. Smith, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, December 26,

The Independent Government of Cartagena of the Indies, one of the provinces represented in the Congress of New Granada, is now defending itself against the armed Royalists in Santamarta, who, having received aid from the Cadiz Government, have invaded and occupied some towns in this province. This has prevented communication between the States of New Granada and that of Cartagena, and inspires with new efforts the Spaniards who are at the same time waging war in Cuenca and Cúcuta in the countries of Venezuela, and puts in danger the communications of New Granada with those States and Europe, to which Cartagena is the one port worthy of the name. That is left from Montevideo to Panama, to the friends of independence.

me to the Government of America to ask for the aid which it needs and to offer advantages relative to their commerce and to the war that yours is now waging, as explained at length to Your Excellency in the conferences we have had and as you, in the name of the Government, have replied always with a denial of my requests on the pretext of harmony which America of the North is observing with the King's Government, and I, in order to give satisfaction to the Government which sent me, wish you to return a fitting answer to this communication. May God guard you many years.

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*Pedro de la Lastra, Commissioner of New Granada to the United States, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

[Undated]

The capital and provinces of the new Kingdom of Granada, having set up a new and independent government since the 20th of July of last year, have commissioned me to present their respects in their name to the most Excellent the President of the United States, and to assure him of the high consideration and wishes they entertain to draw closer the ties of friendship and political relations which may help to strengthen that Government. In their name, Honorable Mr. Secretary, I have the honor to lay before you the enclosed official note.

[The note referred to, also undated, is as follows:]

Joseph Miguel Rey, Vice President of New Granada, to James Madison, President of the United States

[TRANSLATION]

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: The political vicissitudes that have taken place in the capital of this new Kingdom and its provinces since the 20th of July of this year afford us, among other advantages, the invaluable one of being able to enter into communication with Your Excellency free from the hateful restrictions which had kept us isolated in the middle of the world. From this day on we may ventilate our views and open our ports to the other nations, among which we will be glad to distinguish the inhabitants of New Albion, who have presented us with a standard of wise government which likewise is preparing the happiness of the whole American Continent.

Your Excellency has known of the necessity under which we were placed to rely on our own resources in that unfortunate time when after the overthrow of our August Sovereign, the Peninsula of Spain was

¹ MS. Papers relative to the Revolted Spanish Provinces.

about to yield to the law that the Emperor of France would for it, there being there nothing but an inactive government constantly in the midst of convulsions, without the definite assent of the people, blockaded in the City of Cadiz and powerless to provide for the needs of these far-away Dominions. It was impossible for us to stand unconcerned and unmoved in that dangerous situation in which we were expecting to be involved in the ruin of the mother country, and as was seen that in all the main points of South America, as moved by the same inspiration, all the people have attempted simultaneously to provide for themselves a government that would save them in such circumstances. Santa Fe has constituted a Supreme Junta which has called the provinces of the Kingdom to send their representatives to the Cortes which takes upon itself in advance the honor of tendering its thanks to Your Excellency and to the illustrious Congress over which Your Excellency worthily presides in the United States, with which our Government desires to enter upon the most harmonious relations. We shall be fortunate indeed if, following the noble example set by the United States, we succeed in adopting a political system founded on equity which will make us worthy of an alliance with your great Republic! We hope that Your Excellency will aid us in this difficult task by taking and that in accordance with the liberty and wise principles which govern your States Your Excellency will deign to contribute to the happiness of all the peoples of the Continent of America who are looking to Your Excellency and base their hopes on the mutual ties of friendship and government which from now on are to be established in his part of the world, and for which that constituted by your enlightened nation serves as a type and foundation. There is being opened a brilliant stage on which Your Excellency is able to display the resources of your great Republic for the good of all the peoples of America who are about to emerge from political depression in which they have been kept heretofore and whose holy ends they rely on the powerful aid of the people who are to take the lead in American happiness. As Your Excellency has gone on the road which we are about to take, you may guide us on our way and show us the precipices to be avoided, in which we might fall from our present experience.

This body assures your Excellency of the respect and high consideration it has for your well-deserving person and the Congress of the United States, with whom it wishes to strengthen the bonds of friendship and political relations on which they base the stability of this new government that will always preserve the most profound adhesion to the mother Republic and at any time with the highest consideration

*Alexander Scott, Agent of the United States for the relief of earthquake sufferers in La Guayra, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, January 1, 1813.

DEAR SIR: I have this moment received an order to leave this country in forty eight hours— This measure is a proof among many others, of the hostility of the Spaniards towards the U. States, and of their being completely under the influence of British counsels— I am under the necessity of chartering a Vessel to carry me to Caracoa, & from thence I shall proceed in quest of a Cartel to some of the other Islands, with no small expence and trouble. A variety of ontoward events have conspired to render my residence in this country extremely uncomfortable and inconvenient. We have witnessed in succession, since our arrival, famine, civil war, the subjection of the country by the enemy; our friends (attached to the former Government) carried in chains to prison, and treated with the utmost cruelty. As this Government received the greatest part of the Donation, I expected at least, politeness and civility, but their conduct has [been] entirely the reverse— A recent instance of their meanness is the exaction of the Export duty on my property—which I am obliged to pay—

About two hundred more unfortunate victims, have been lately torn at midnight from their families loaded with Irons and dragged to the Dungeons of Laguyra, without knowing of what crime they are accused.

We have rumors of Insurrections in the Interior, and the invasion of the country by an army from Santa Fé— But under a petty militay despotism, where the people are kept in utter darkness, and it is dangerous to divulge the truth, reports are not to be relied on— Towards the patriots of South America, our government, cannot, in my opinion, pursue a conduct too friendly; but towards those attached to the Spanish Monarchy, (the native Spaniards), the friends of England, and of course enemies of America, I shou'd be glad to see a different System adopted— From my own knowledge they entertain a deadly enmity to our country, & wherever their territories come in contact with the U. States, will, I am persuaded, do us every possible injury— Every arrival from the U. States brings from the different Spanish agents or consuls in America, violent philipics against the American Nation, and abusive libels on the government, which are here considered official statements.

I have the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

*Alexander Scott, Agent of the United States for the relief of earthquake
in La Guayra, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*

LA GUAYRA, January 4,

SIR: I am just embarking for the Island of Curaçoa in obedience to
to leave this country in forty Eight hours— These people, as ungrate-
they are rapacious, endeavor to subject me to all the expence and in-
ience possible— The necessity of the case places me in their power
subjects me to all the exactions they choose to demand.

As I understand the government sends out Cartels to the West India
prisoners, I shou'd esteem it a particular accommodation, if the Govern-
comes cou'd touch at Curaçoa for me, and shou'd be glad if conveyed
have the Cabin exclusively—

I am induced to make this request, as the present is a hazardous period
travelling by sea, and I have some little property which I do not wish to
jeopardize.

From accounts from the Interior I am of opinion that the reign of
petty despots is nearly at an end, this system of oppression having been
as to excite this torpid people— Shou'd the change take place the United
will experience the strongest evidence of their partiality and will, I
doubt, be allowed to bring into the ports of their province and supplies
prizes, the British being allowed the same advantage that they may
reason to complain— This privilege would, during the war, be im-
beneficial as we are in great want of friendly Harbors in these Seas.

I have the Honor [etc.].

*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to James
Secretary of State of the United States¹*

ST. THOMAS, February 17,

SIR: I had the honour of writing you on the 22d. Aug. last from La Guayra
to which letter I beg leave to refer. Mr Scott & myself received information
in Decr. from the Spanish government, that our residence in the Province of
Venezuela would not be permitted. On the 1st. of January a decision
was given to us, to leave the Province in 48 hours. We accordingly
ordered a vessel to convey us to Curaçao where we arrived on the 7th. Jan.
we were inhumanely driven from the Island by the Governor Genl. I

I left Mr Scott & his family at Puerto Cabello on the 16th. Ultó. & have not since heard anything of him.— It was his intention to return to the United States early in the Spring, by way of Puerto Rico or of this Island.—

Ill health prevents for a few weeks my return to America. The intermediate time between now and my embarking, I purpose passing at St Barts. On my arrival in the U. S. I shall do myself the honour of immediately presenting myself at your Department, being with profound Respect [etc.].

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Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States¹

PHILADELPHIA, January 22, 1816.

SIR: I deem it my duty to inform the Department of State, that authentic intelligence has been received in this City within these few days from Santa Martha, by which it appears that various outrages have been committed on the persons and property of American Citizens, by the Commander of the Spanish force blockading Carthagena.

My informant states that he was on board of the Spanish Commodore's Ship in the month of October last, when he saw chained to the deck, the crew of the Schooner Charles Stewart of New Orleans which vessel had been taken attempting to go into Carthagena; and that afterwards in Santa Martha, ascertained that nearly forty Americans who had composed the crews of vessels taken in the same way, were actually in the dungeons of that place.

Carthagena held out on the 16th. Decr. last, altho' nearly 5000 of its inhabitants had perished through hunger. They were at that time well supplied with provisions.

I have the honor [etc.].

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Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Graham, Chief Clerk of the Department of State of the United States¹

WASHINGTON, November 30, 1816.

SIR: Previous to complying with the directions you have given me, I beg leave to call to your recollection the circumstances that accompanied my mission to Caracas.

In the Summer of 1810, the President was pleased to appoint me Marine

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

& Commercial Agent for the United States to Caracas. I arrived at La Guayra in August of that year. My communications to the Department of State, were as frequent as the Subject matter *worthy* of communication permitted. I was directed to correspond with Mr Shaler in London & Mr Gelston in Buenos Ayres, did opportunity present and was furnished with a means of doing so in cypher. This was never practicable, and never took place. The only use I made of the cypher (which I received from the Department of State, on my arrival from South America,) was to communicate to this Government, some particulars relative to the situation of the defenceless State of the Country, which I was desirous should be understood by the Spaniards should my dispatches have been intercepted. My residence in Caracas was rendered disagreeable to me by pretty frequent information that I had, which was that the Junta did not consider the position under which I acted for the United States as a Sufficient one. This circumstance became the Subject of some communications from me to the Department, which were briefly answered in Feby. 1812 by inclosing to me a Circular Commission of Consul "for the Port of LaGuayra in Caracas & other ports as shall be nearer thereto than to the residence of any Consul or Vice Consul of the United States within the same Allegiance." This document was laid before the Government of Caracas, which had not yet before declared its Independence, and of course proved highly satisfactory to it. The Earthquake occurred a few days afterwards and I recovered with difficulty, the Commission which is still in my possession, and was in the period contemplated resigning, unless I would have obtained a better position of the Same Kind.

The Donation by Act of Congress for the Inhabitants of Venezuela, which arrived by the Earthquake arrived in May, and was, in pursuance of instructions from the Dept. of State presented by me / Mr Scott arrived / to the Government, then a military one & Completely in the hands of Miranda. The greater part of that donation / say upwards of 100,000 lbs of the flour / fell into the hands of the Royalists when Miranda's Capitulation of Victoria in the July following.—

Not contented with the large sum obtained from the possession of the flour, the Royalist Government, libelled all the American vessels at LaGuayra, and condemned them by a Court of Admiralty headed by Don Cabello, but in consequence of a Strong representation being made by Don Verde the leader of Royalists who had retaken the Province, and by a regular protest made before me as American Consul the vessels were ordered to be restored to their several owners in October or November 1812. The vessels were in the meanwhile much injured by lying in the months in an open roadstead, were plundered of much of their cargo by the Spaniard and the War with Great Britain intervening, produced total loss to their respective owners.

Neither my Commission nor that under which Mr. Scott had visited Caracas; were at any time recognized by the Royalist Government; and in December following we were both forcibly expelled the Province which we left on the 1st. Jany. 1813.

Since that period, the convulsions of the country have rendered extremely hazardous the residence of any foreigner, and that of an open Agent from this Government next to impossible.—

But a great, and what is considered by many, a decisive revolution having taken place; which will in all human probability secure the ultimate separation of that Country from Spain; my object in waiting on the Secretary of State has been principally to intimate my intention of resuming my official Station in La Guayra and of receiving Such instructions as may be deemed essential for my conduct there. I beg leave to submit through you the following suggestions to the Secretary of State with due respect premising, that some of them may be inadmissible or advisable according to the relative Situation of our affairs with Spain.—

1st I do presume, that a fresh Commission or authority as agent or Consul will be necessary inas much as a commission dated in 1812, and of course impliedly directed to the then existing Constituted authority of the Country; may not be received by the party now in Power.—

2d This commission should be in full form. The leader of the Patriots being a Scotchman, and from what I recollect of him much in the interests of Great Britain; he will I think be inclined to thwart any American Representation there unless it comes in an unquestionable Shape. And I must add that an immediate mission to that country, is on that very account indispensable. McGregor has been by some supposed an agent of Great Britain, and if we take in view the desire always manifested by that power to use every means of monopolizing the Commerce of South America, the supposition is not an unreasonable one.

The Third and last Suggestion I have to make, is, to call to your recollection, that various acts of rapacity and oppression have been committed towards our flag on that coast beginning from Margaritta down to Carthage, principally perpetrated by the Royalists, and which might have been in part or wholly prevented by the occasional appearance of a Government vessel of War in some of their ports. The British Ships of War visit them almost monthly and whether the country be held by the Patriots or the Royalists, they offer an example worthy of imitation on our part. The respect with which the Macedonian was treated, and the prompt compliance with the requisition made by her is a proof in point. How much more weight the character of an agent arriving in a vessel of War, would have with the Power dominant on the main, than if he arrived in a simple merchant vessel, can easily be conceived. Be assured that this observation is not made from personal motives of Convenience (Supposing the Government judges it con-

venient for me to resume my Station in Caracas,) so much, as from a patriot wish that as an American I feel, that we may not assume a secondary Station in the opinions of our South American Brethren.—

Any communications which the Secy. of State may be pleased to make me in consequence of this letter, be so good as to direct to me at Baltimore.

With sentiments [etc.].

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*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Graham, Chief Clerk of the Department of State of the United States*¹

BALTIMORE, December 6, 1816.

SIR: In addition to the remarks I had the honour of laying before you under date of the 30 Ult^o.²; I take the liberty of informing you that all the recent advices from the West Indies, confirm the accounts of the Patriots being in possession of the main, as far down as Puerto Cabello. The Cas^o of that place, may remain in the hands of the Royalists as long as they have the command of the sea, and the means of supplying it with provisions. The want of artillery and Engineers, prevented its being taken by the patriots when attacked by Bolivar in 1814, and its possession much facilitated the reconquest of the Province by the Royalists in the same year. The recollection will doubtless make the obtaining of this port, a primary object with the Patriots, and as their former deficiency is in all likelihood now supplied, it can resist but a few days of regular siege from the landside; and will in that case, speedily follow the fate of the rest of the Province.—

I again suggest to you the propriety, indeed the necessity of the speedy return of the United States Consul to Venezuela, and still urge the superior advantage that will accompany his mission if sent in a Government vessel. Indeed such is the decay of our once flourishing trade to that quarter, that much question whether I could obtain a passage thither in a merchant vessel without great difficulty and delay, as no insurance but at very high rates can be effected to that quarter.

I need not advert to the excellent points of annoyance, as well as of security to prizes, which that coast will yield against the Spanish trade should circumstances force this country into a war with Spain; and of the utility resulting from being prepared to make the earliest use of them.

Should there be no war with Spain, still the separation from that government, of the rich and incomparably fertile country of Venezuela being not considered as next to a moral certainty; early measures ought to be taken

Britain, and in short, prevent a monopoly of its trade which from its contiguous West India possessions, will be too much within the grasp of that Power.

Excuse the freedom with which I bring this subject before the view of the Department of State. Our trade to the main, from August 1810 to Aug 1812 amounted to nearly *one and an half millions*, and is capable of a great increase, when the country becomes finally tranquil & separated from Spain. It is therefore in a commercial point of view, well worthy the attention of Government.

In the fresh instructions and Commission Government may be pleased to give me, I am desirous of having Puerto Cabello particularly specified with LaGuayra, as in case of future disturbances that will be the point of greatest safety in the Province

I shall not again intrude on your time, unless on the receipt of official accounts of the success of the Patriots, when I may be induced to trouble you again, meanwhile I shall wait in this place, for orders from the Department of State.

With due Respect [etc.].

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*Francisco Xavier de Mays, President pro tempore of Venezuela, to James Monroe, President of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

NEW SPARTA, May 21, 1817.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: The fortune of arms, which decides the fate of empires, and a disastrous combination of circumstances well known to your Government, have interrupted the progress of this republic, established by a proclamation of the 5th June, 1811, and occasioned the capitulation of the 26th July, 1812, entered into between the commander-in-chief of the patriot army, Francisco Miranda, and Don Domingo Monteverde, commander of the Spanish forces, which compact, shamefully violated in the end, has drawn on Venezuela the signal disasters which this country has yet to deplore, and of which you have received information through citizens Scott and Lowry, who were eyewitnesses of those events. This has been followed alternately by prosperous and adverse fortune, which this continent has experienced since the year 1812. To this date nothing more propitious has presented itself than the reinstatement of the Federative Government, which was brought about on the 8th of the present month in the city of San Felipe de Cariaco, within the jurisdiction of the State of Cumana, by the legal proceedings, which your excellency may perceive by reference to the official documents which, in the name of the executive department, I have the

honor of forwarding to you. And I have to assure your excellency that, having wrested Venezuela from the hands of enemies of her liberty and independence in almost every part of the seven provinces of the confederation, she desires nothing more earnestly than to extend her relations with her brethren of North America, identified as they are by nature, and by political and republican principles, with the great family of the south.

Venezuela, at the first period of its emancipation, deputed to your republic two of its citizens, Juan Vicente Bolivar and Talisfero Orea, both furnished with credentials and competent powers to transact all business, and who had it especially in charge to assure your excellency of the ardent wishes of the people of Venezuela to make such arrangements as would conduce to the happiness of both nations. The state of affairs in Europe at that period retarded the success which Caraccas promised herself by the acknowledgment of her independence by the republic of the north; but a change having taken place, and a sentiment favorable to our cause extended throughout the continent of Colombia, the Government of this people, whom I represent does not doubt that your excellency, taking into consideration the mutual interests which we propose, will give your concurrence, in as far as depends on yourself, towards the establishment of diplomatic arrangements and stipulations, which citizen José Cortés Madariaga has it in charge to open and, being assured of the noble qualities attached to your excellency, I flatter myself that our negotiations will be speedily concluded.

The executive department has the honor to tender to your excellency the homage of this republic, and the high consideration and respect with which in its name, I remain [etc.].

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*Caeiano Bezares, Secretary of State ad interim of Venezuela, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

PAMPATAR, May 22, 1817.

The Executive Department of the Confederated States of Venezuela has charged me to transmit to his excellency the President of the United States through your hands, the annexed copies of the act of the happy re-establishment of the Congress of Venezuela, the exercise of its powers, and other particulars therein contained.

Be pleased, sir, to lay the whole before his excellency, and assure him that this Government will have the highest satisfaction in communicating to him whatever may occur hereafter.

*Lino de Clemente, Agent of Venezuela in the United States, to Vicente Pazos, Commissioner of the Independent Government of South America to the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

PHILADELPHIA, January 15, 1818.

By letters from General Don Luis de Aury and Don Pedro Gual, dated at Fernandina, the 26th December last, I have been informed that they have commissioned you, for the purpose of presenting to the President of the United States, a protest in the name of the Independent Government of South America, against the invasion of Amelia island by a naval and military force of the United States, on the 23d of December last, and to demand the restitution of the vessels captured from the enemy, which have been detained, and sent to different ports by American vessels of war.

Although the Government of Venezuela, of whose powers I am bearer, is included in your commission jointly with those in whose name possession was taken of Amelia island, yet it has seemed to me to be proper specially to authorize you, as I do hereby, to protest, in the name of my said Government, against the invasion of Amelia, and all such further acts of the Government of the United States as are contrary to the rights and interests of the several republics, and the persons sailing under their respective flags, duly commissioned.

And to enable you satisfactorily to prove that Amelia island was taken from the Spaniards by a competent authority, I enclose a copy of the commission granted to General McGregor on the 31st of March last by the deputies of the independent republics.

The motives alleged by the Government of the United States, in justification of their hostile measure, serve to prove their own futility, and clearly demonstrate that the sole object was the acquisition of the Floridas, without forming any other calculations than those founded on the more or less exhausted state to which the patriots may reduce the Spanish Government; and, in consequence, the pretext of a want of authority in the parties who took possession of Amelia and Galvezton, was one while resorted to; and, at others, that those establishments were formed to serve as a shelter to pirates and smugglers; finally, that no foreign Power could be permitted to establish itself in the Floridas, alleging a secret act passed in 1811, which is applicable to the present case.

I flatter myself it will be very easy for you to prove that the United States have no other grounds for this step than their own convenience, supported by force.

I have repeatedly transmitted an account to my Government of the

occurrences at Amelia island, after its occupation by General I request- ing it to communicate the same to the Government of New at Casanare; and to enable me to continue my communications, w ing circumstances make interesting, I request, sir, you will be inform me, as speedily as possible, of the result of your mission.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

YORK SPRINGS, PENNSYLVANIA, April 3

SIR: I have the honour of stating to you, that in December predecessor The Hon. Mr. Monroe renewed my Commission as Consul of the United States to La Guayra, and such other Ports as shall 'be it than to the residence of any other' Consul or Vice Consul of the States within 'the same allegiance'.

It was my expectation that the circumstances of the country would have permitted my return at that time, to my station near the Patriotic Government; but so far it has been impracticable.—

From recent advices there being a probability of the final expulsion of the Royalists, which would enable me to return to Venezuela with Safety, I leave to signify my intention of returning thither as soon as the Revolution takes place. As soon as this desirable event is confirmed by authentic intelligence, I shall have the honour to present myself to the Department of State, to receive such instructions as may be deemed necessary.

I have the Honour [etc.].

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*Lino de Clemente, Agent of Venezuela in the United States, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, December 1

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: Having been appointed by the Government of the republic of Venezuela its representative near the United States in North America, I have the honor to inform you of my arrival in this city.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

² *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 414. See above, pt. I, docs. 6

purpose of discharging the trust committed to me; to effect this, I have to request that you will be pleased to inform me at what time it will be convenient for you to afford me an opportunity of presenting my respects to you personally, and of communicating to you the object of my arrival in the federal city.

I avail myself of this occasion to tender to you the assurance [etc.].

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Commission of Manuel Torres as Chargé d'Affaires of Venezuela in the United States, given by Francisco Antonio Zea, Vice President of Venezuela and President pro tempore¹

August 14, 1819.

TO ALL WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL CONCERN:

With the desire of terminating with Success the sanguinary struggle, in which the good people of Venezuela, has been engaged, since the year 1810 for its liberty and independence, as well as all that part of America commonly designated as Spanish America; and convinced that one of the means more conducive to accomplish this important object, is the maintaining of friendship and good understanding with the United States of North-America, which have served as models to the Venezuelans in their revolution, for which consideration they were the first to receive official communication of that interesting event, by a mission which has been interrupted only by the vicissitudes of the war, and the object of which has always been close relations of friendship and reciprocal interest, in the great work of the emancipation of these countries: Being informed that Senor Manuel Torres of Philadelphia, charge-des affaires of Venezuela in the United States, in consequence of the absence and by the appointment of Senor Lino de Clemente, who was there the representative of the Republic, of the authority of the President, When he was Chief Supreme, possesses the talents and qualifications necessary for the discharge of the functions which appertain to this office, and particularly on consideration of his Singular Steadfast adhesion to the republican institutions of North America; I have approved and by these presents do approve the appointment made of Said Manuel Torres as charge-des affaires of Venezuela: And Whatever may be the actual signification of the title of this office, he is authorized thereby, to do in the United States, every thing conducive to put an end to the conflicts in which the Patriots of Venezuela are now envolved, for their independence, either by entering upon, and concluding negociations with the government of Said United States;

With their Banks, or With individuals, concerning the necessary means for the obtaining of those important ends; or to adopt any other means whatever Kind, which may conduce to that purpose; provided, that nothing Shall be done, contrary to the constitution and laws of the United States, nor contrary to the general rights and laws of Nations.— Given at the Palace of the government at Angostura the 14th Augt. 1819.

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Charles O. Handy, Purser of the United States ship, "John Adams," to Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

WASHINGTON, September 29, 1818

SIR: The fatal illness which terminated in the death of Commodore F. has imposed on me a task of a very delicate nature. Justice to his exertions and a sense of what is due to the Department of State, have induced me to execute its execution in a manner that shall comport with the means in my possession.

The Commodore while engaged in negotiation with the public authorities in Angostura recorded the principal conversations on the several topics presented for discussion in a book which had been one of a common place to him for many years. Circumstances which mark it of a very private nature would be sufficient to deter me from submitting it to the Department. Added to this the imperfect character of the pencil-mark would make it illegible to any one who has not been like myself long accustomed to this mode of writing. In his last moments he confided to my care all his public and private papers, and as the correspondence which took place between him and the Vice President of the Venezuelan Republic is confined to but a few of the many points which distinguish the negotiation, I deem it a matter of primary importance, to make known to you sir, the various impressions made upon the mind of the Commodore, connected with the moral and political prosperity of the province to which he was delegated, his collection of their resources to bring to a successful issue the prevailing controversies and his opinions as they relate to the stability and duration of their existing form of Government. In pursuance of this object, from a conviction of the Commodore's determination to have made a detailed report, I shall endeavour in this communication to follow the original notes as literally as possible and in some instances shall employ his identical language.

On the arrival of the U. S. Schooner Nonsuch at Angostura, finding

himself to the Vice President Don Francisco Antonio Zea, explaining the objects of his mission, and soliciting a frank and friendly interchange of sentiment on the various subjects which might be agitated in the course of their conferences. By this abandonment of ceremony unnecessary delays would be avoided and as the Commodore supposed, the Government of Venezuela impressed with a high sense of the sincerity & friendship of the U. States. Mr. Zea acknowledged his gratification at the arrival of a vessel of War belonging to the U. States with an officer of his distinguished rank. In order to elude the prying curiosity of the populace who were on the alert to ascertain the objects of the mission, the Vice President called on the Commodore at his lodgings when the latter fully explained to him the views of the President in sending him to Venezuela. Mr. Zea listened with much attention, and gave assurances of a prompt and satisfactory issue to his business. On the subject of the restoration of the property reclaimed in behalf of Lowell and Nickly, he declared his readiness to submit the subject to Congress who were then in Session, when he believed it would receive such attention and disposition as would be satisfactory. He observed that it ever would be a characteristic trait in their Government to manifest on all occasions a disposition to indemnify sufferers for the loss of property illegally and wantonly captured by their cruisers. The subject was then before Congress and that that body would place them under rigorous restrictions. A copy of its acts in relation to them should be hereafter furnished the U. S. with a list of the vessels in commission. In revolutionary times he observed that some abuses of trust would always take place; the Government was frequently incapable of preventing them, but their authors would be held responsible for their acts of aggression and injury, and that justice would inevitably overtake them at a sooner or later period. Notwithstanding these assurances the Commodore was of opinion that from the fact of the privateers being owned by the monied men of the country, who must necessarily possess a large share of influence with the Government and people, a radical reform of their abuses would be attended with great difficulty, if not impracticable.

The acts of Congress on the subject of Piracy the Vice President had never considered to be directed against the cruisers of the Republic legally commissioned. It was a question which deeply affected the interests of all governments, and it was their duty to take every possible step to prevent such wanton violations of public law. In this view he considered the communications of the Commodore, as an act of delicacy and friendship on the part of the President. As regarded the occupation of Amelia Island by the troops of the U. S. the Vice President stated, that the motives which prompted the President to that measure had never been misunderstood by the Government of Venezuela, nor had it ever been to them a subject of embarrassment or objection. He was perfectly satisfied of the justice and policy of the

U. S. in expelling from an usurped territory a flag which was never acknowledged by the Venezuelan Republic.

With regard to Mr. Clemente, he stated that the President of the U. S. could not possibly be more dissatisfied with his conduct than the Government of Venezuela. On this subject no explanation was necessary. A letter of Mr. Adams declining further communication with him was in terms so delicate, that the most scrupulous could not object to it. That a gentleman alike distinguished for talent and political prudence had been expressly nominated to the Government of the U. States, against whom no possible objection could exist, and whose conduct he believed would never create disgust. At the same time the Vice President stressed the importance of having an agent deputed on the part of the U. States to their Government, by which means the views of the two Governments could never be misunderstood, and a stop put to communications through interested and corrupt channels.

On the subject of the exertions made by the U. S. with the chief powers of Europe in behalf of South America, he said that they afforded him much pleasure and satisfaction. Their object was marked with a character of purity and friendship, and their extent he understood and highly appreciated. The Vice President stated that he had been aware that some thing unfavorable to South America had been agitated in Europe by the allied powers, but of the nature and extent of the proposition he had never been apprised until the arrival of the Commodore.

The general disposition of the people as far as the observations of the Commodore extended, was deemed by him to partake of a determined spirit of resistance to Spain. This with the higher classes may proceed from attachment to the cause of liberty, but with the major part of the population the feeling could not be ascribed to such a cause, nor to the possession of the energy of character, but might be confidently traced to a dread of being subjugated by the Royal forces, the chief of which an officer of high talent, having stamped the conflict as a war of extermination, and whose career has been uniformly marked by acts of the most sanguinary character. He has been to them an able, formidable and persevering adversary, and the people of Venezuela entertain strong doubt of the speedy termination of the struggle in their favor, whilst Morillo continues in the field. It was to the Commodore that the acts of the Government of Venezuela had hitherto partaken of a very arbitrary character, and that the supreme chief of the Republic swayed its destinies without being actually controuled by the legislative congress. Bolivar is absolute dictator, and although the ceremony of submitting his former measures to Congress for its approbation has been complied with, it was manifest that his will was the supreme law of the land. As long as he may continue at the head of the army, the office of chief

accident deprive it of his services, they would degenerate into anarchy and mis-rule and the attempt to recover them from such a state of confusion, would be a measure of very doubtful issue, from the many opposing factions in the state.

The people of Venezuela generally think that the U. S. regard with an eye of indifference their struggle for independence, and that they have never really enlisted our sympathies. These impressions have derived their origin in the conduct of the British Government in permitting men to be enlisted within its territories, and officers to embark in their service. Whereas the U. S. have never countenanced such proceedings. These sentiments are encouraged and actively propagated by the English in Venezuela, who are the avowed favorites of the Government. It was impossible during his limited stay at Angostura for the Commodore to take any steps that could effectually check the prevalence of such opinions. There are only two or three Americans in that section of the country, and they are so immediately occupied with their private concerns, that they have no leisure to devote to the discussion of political prejudices. The most active and persevering enemy of the U. S. is a Mr. Hambleton, a Scotchman, on terms apparently of close intimacy with the Vice President. He is an agent of some commercial houses in Europe, and never fails to embrace every opportunity to excite a spirit of hostility towards the U. S. in Angostura, and in England by his scandalous misrepresentations.

They complain that the commercial spirit of the Americans has never been sufficiently roused towards them. Money and stores have been procured for their armies in England; we have supplied them with neither. These assertions were expelled by the Commodore in his stating, that the American Merchant could feel no security in a speculation which constantly exposed his property to wanton violence and aggression, and when redress for injuries was so remote, and difficult to be obtained. When measures should be taken that would authorize a belief in the security of American property, the merchants of the U. S. would not fail to embrace so lucrative a traffick, when at the same time that their prospects of pecuniary benefits were realized, the best feelings of the human heart would be interested in furnishing supplies to a people oppressed and struggling for existence. The arrival of a vessel with about a hundred English soldiers during the stay of the Commodore, excited a very strong sensation in Angostura in favor of England and against the U. States. The enlightened part of the population (and this comprehends but a small portion,) look with distrust at the apparent interest of Great Britain in their welfare. They know of the attempt heretofore made by that power to establish a footing on their continent, and seriously apprehend that in the event of any open and active efforts in their favor from Great Britain, they would proceed from motives of national aggrandizement, to the extermination of the native population. The English treat

have been miserably fed and clothed, and have not been paid for their services. Their officers are disheartened, and the Commodore was of the opinion that they would resign, if pride did not deter them.

Ignorance of the grossest kind is a prevailing feature in the character of the people that came within the sphere of the Commodore's observation. They have no public seminaries, and even the libraries of the members of the learned professions are exceedingly limited. Liberty of the press is not allowed by the Government, but in Angostura there is but one paper printed, and this under the immediate *surveillance* of the public authorities. Nothing introduced into it, must have undergone an examination, in consequence of which the people are kept in delusion and ignorance in regard to public transactions, unless of the most glaring kind, and even these are presented in an unnatural dress. Dr. Roscio the Secretary of State is the editor of the paper.

The profession of the law is carried among them to a very limited extent. They are but indifferently acquainted with the admiralty practice and the laws of nations, and are ignorant of the principal and prevailing making of the law. The law of human reason is their beacon, and amid the agitation of the passions they are liable to be led by it into a devious and bewildering path. A reform in the prevailing order of things, must be one of violent and gradual approach, introduced with apprehension and marked with difficulty; and from the distractions of political tumult, it may be predicted that should the people of Venezuela be ultimately successful in establishing their independence, some time must elapse before their education can exercise a general and congenial influence, and before a radical change in the character of the population can be effected.

In the several conferences had by the Commodore with the Vice President Dⁿ. Forsyth an American Gentleman of distinguished talents acted as interpreter. To him the Commodore felt much indebted for his able assistance, and his regard for him was enhanced by a conviction of his unbroken devotion to his country.

With sentiments [etc.].

Benjamin Homans, Chief Clerk of the Navy Department of the United States
*John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

NAVY DEPARTMENT, October 20,

SIR: I have the honor to transmit to you herewith, a transcript of the original minutes taken by Com^d Perry on his late mission to Angostura, collected by Rufus Hendon, who was especially employed by General D.

*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Venezuela in the United States, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, December 10, 1819.

SIR: By a despatch received from the Secretary of State of the Republic of Venezuela, dated at Angostura, on the 21st of September last, I have received advice, that in consequence of the resignation by Don Francisco Antonio Zea, of the Vice-Presidency of the Said State, which had been repeatedly tendered by him, His Excellency Don Juan Bautista Arismendy was appointed his Successor, who being at that time at the Capital, accepted the appointment and immediately entered upon the exercise of his functions:— Which I have the honour to communicate to you for the information of the Government of the United States.

I have also received a copy of the official despatch addressed to the Government of Venezuela, by Don Simon Bolivar, Commander in Chief and President, dated at Santa Fe de Bogota, on the 14th of August last, transmitting details of the operations of the Army under his command, and of his entry, on the 10th of the same month, into the capital of New Grenada.

These signal successes of the Republican arms, have, it may be affirmed, fixed the fate of Venezuela and New Grenada— On the liberation of that central portion of America, hitherto Spanish, essentially depends the Freedom of the Whole of that interesting country. The Government of Venezuela is therefore now directing its views towards acquiring the means necessary to realize this important object, and put an end to the effusion of blood which has been and still is caused by the war of extermination which, to the horror of humanity, has for ten years past been carried on by the Government of Spain, against the South-Americans, and which it is to be feared, will be pursued so long as the smallest portion of Royal Authority is suffered to remain in any part of that vast country.

In hastening to communicate to you these events and the ulterior views of the Government of Venezuela, I flatter myself they will be received with particular satisfaction by the President and by you, since they so essentially subserve the interests of humanity, and promote the diffusion of Republican principles in this Hemisphere.

I avail myself with pleasure of this occasion of reiterating the Sentiments of high respect and distinguished consideration with which I have the honour to be [etc.].

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I. Manuel Torres, chargé d'affaires of Colombia in the United States: Presented credentials, June 18, 1822, and served until June 10, 1823.

*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

WASHINGTON, January 1812

SIR: I have the honour to inform you that it is my present intention to repair to LaGuayra in Caracas, to resume the exercise of my Consular duties under the Commission which I hold from the President of the United States dated the 3rd of February 1812; in the event of the Revolutionary Party's gaining the ascendancy at that place, as there is every probability to anticipate from the actual State of things. It becomes however a necessary object with me to ascertain before I make the necessary arrangements for a removal thither, whether the President, upon the contingency of such a removal, will be disposed to keep an accredited Agent at LaGuayra, or if he should be so disposed, whether it would be agreeable to him that I should enter anew upon the duties of the office which was so long confided to me.

Under these circumstances I take the liberty of asking the favour that you will take an early opportunity of bringing this subject under the consideration of the President, and of getting his decision on it.

In proof that I have not forfeited that share of public estimation which has procured me the appointment, I take the liberty of inclosing herewith a copy of the recommendation of the major part of the Pennsylvania Representatives.

Being with the utmost respect [etc.].

*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BALTIMORE, February 1812

DEAR SIR: I have the honour of inclosing to you, the Consular Commission which has been executed. Accept my best thanks for your Kind offices to me in Washington.

There is at present no intelligence which will warrant my immediate departure to LaGuayra—but whenever that does arrive, shall be prepared to resume my Station.

With much respect [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

WASHINGTON, *March 18, 1820.*

Manuel Torres, Charge des affaires of the Republic of Colombia near the President of the United States, in compliance with the wishes of his Excellency the Secretary of State, has the honor to Submit to his consideration, the Substance of the observations, which he had the pleasure to State to his Excellency the Secretary of State, in the interview which took place on the 16th of last month.

The system of policy, which some European powers have addressed for some time past, in regard to the struggle, in which, Spanish continental America is engaged, to accomplish her emancipation, and Sustain the Independence, which has been solemnly and Successively proclaimed, by Venezuela, New-Grenada—Mexico, La Plata and Chilli, determined the President of the Republic of Colombia, to attempt in the course of last Summer, to liberate New-Grenada, from the Spanish Yoke; under a conviction, that the union of that country with Venezuela, so ardently desired by the inhabitants of both, was the only means to effectually frustrate the designs and projects which gave rise to the formidable expedition, then forming in the Port of Cadiz; even should the arms of Ferdinand 7^o. and his allies, succeed in obtaining a momentary possession of the city of Buenos Ayres, or any other point on the Coast of Chilli: So great was the importance attached to the prompt relization of this enterprise, that every consideration tending to retard it, was disregarded by General Bolivar, even the deficiency of Muskets in his army; a part of which, was only armed with Lances; and the few Muskets that the liberating army carried into New-Grenada, were of so inferior a quality, that they were rendered entirely useless at the close of the Campaign: Those taken from the Enemy, were not any better, otherwise, the whole of the authorities of Spain, would have been completely expelled from the territory of the Republic of Colombia, both North and South of the Equator, before the end of the last year; and her troops by this time, would have entered Peru and Mexico, to cooperate in effecting the emancipation of both countries: But this enterprise will be attempted, the moment the necessary means to insure its success, can be obtained; to which object, the attention of my Government, has been principally directed, ever since last Spring; and with the same view, General Bolivar immediately on his arrival at Santafee in the month of August; Sent in haste one hundred Thousand Dollars to Angostura, to be applied exclusively to the procuring of arms. The Money arrived safe on the 14th October, and on the 18th, the greatest

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

part of it, was delivered by the Government of Venezuela to two English merchants under a Contract, to furnish twenty Thousand prime Muskets all the month of January. One of those Contractors, came to the United States, and the other went to the West Indies; But both returned to Venezuela, carrying only fifteen hundred Muskets. Ultimately, my Government anxious to facilitate the means to procure the Supplies so much wanted by the armies, authorized me to enter upon and conclude in its name a negotiation for that purpose, with the Government of the United States, or their Banks, or with individuals. I accordingly proposed to the President of the Bank of the United States, to enter into a contract in the name of the Government, to furnish the Bank with Specie on very reasonable terms; which proposal, having been declined for the present, I immediately contracted with some Commerical houses, for the supplies for the armies. Scarcely four Thousand muskets have been found fit for service, out of more Than fourteen Thousand, that have been inspected in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York and Boston, according to the information I received yesterday and the day before.

Your Excellency will be pleased to observe in this frank exposition notwithstanding every exertion has been used on the part of my Government to procure good fire locks in the United States as well in the west Indies about one Sixth part of the quantity wanted, have been obtained.

In this State of things, in conformity with my instructions, I am coming to apply to the President of the United States, for a Supply of twenty thousand Muskets to the Republic of Colombia, on the terms and conditions. That the President may Think most proper.

This Assistance will effectually Secure her Independence, and very probably, That of the Whole Spanish America too. My Government relies on the greatest confidence, on the Good disposition of the President, and on the friendly exertions of your Excellency. It is also the opinion of my Government, that the United States, will be perfectly justifiable, in affording Assistance to a neighbouring people, who are combatting under the greatest disadvantages, for the Same Rights, for which, the North-Americans fought forty years ago. It will appear more so, if the example of some European Governments, should be taken into consideration; because it is well Known that The Emperor of Russia, sold, or lent many Ships of war in 1817, to Ferdinand 7th, the King of Spain, for the express purpose of helping and assisting him to chain or extirpate a brave people, who have been Struggling Since 1808 to free Themselves, from the most Cruel oppression, and insufferable tyranny: And the Example of helping the King of Spain, is not peculiar to the Russian Government.

Sir, The policy of European powers, must naturally be, to prevent

rests of Europe, as the politics of the latter, are distinct from those of the former; and fearful of the consequences, that That important event can not produce, in the political and commercial relations of the new Continent with Europe, They have afforded to the Spanish Government, ever Since Venezuela declared her Independence in 1811, but more particularly Since the return of Ferdinand to his Throne, very considerable support, in arms, munitions, Vessels of War, and by other means, under various pretexts and disguises; with the Sole view, that Spanish-America, may continue dependent upon Europe. But those ambitious projects, so opposit to the prosperity of this New Continent, and so dangerous to its Safety, will prove destructive, if the United States afford to my Government, the assistance which I have had the honor to mention to your Excellency in this exposition. The Republic of Colombia, with the help of twenty Thousand Muskets, will be enabled to Secure her emancipation, and that of Spanish-America, with less difficulty than can be generally supposed, by those unacquainted with the true State of the affairs of that Country, and the Sentiments and unanimous determination of all Classes of inhabitants, to remain united, under the same form of Government, the best calculated to promote Their prosperity, and Secure to them, Independence at home, and respect abroad.

To enable your Excellency, to form a just opinion of the Capacity of my Government, to accomplish That enterprise, I shall take the liberty to add the following remarks on the actual State of New Grenada and Venezuela.

These Two countries, have been united, by a fundamental law of Congress, on the 17th December last, at the unanimous request of the inhabitants; and form at present, a Sovereign, free and Independent State, under the denomination of the Republic of Colombia; with a provisional Constitution and a representative System of Government, exercising all the functions pertaining to Sovereignty, without the least impediment. Her extent of Territory Embraces between both tropics, 14 square degrees; with a population of upward of three millions six hundred Thousand Souls; And by her central Situation, abundant internal resources of every Kind, her contiguity to Mexico on the North, and to Peru on the South; the insalubrity of her Sea Ports for foreigners; and the facility that the interior of the Country offers to her defence, against the attacks of an invading enemy, the New Republic may be properly considered, as the citadel of South America Independence. The Royal authorities, are at present confined to some Sea Ports, and few fortified Posts, near the Coast.

The history of the revolution of Venezuela and New-Grenada, furnishes the most evident proof, that the Republic of Colombia, is in fact the rampart of South-American Independence and liberty.

A tremendous Earthquake, which destroyed almost the whole of the veteran troops of Venezuela, with the whole of their arms and implements of war; The raising of Slaves against their masters, excited by the Royal

Chiefs, in conformity with orders from the Spanish Government, is early as 1809; the conflict of opposit interest, which every revolution fails to produce; and the deceitful *Indultos* offered by General Morillo in the name of Ferdinand, at a time of so much alarm and uncertainty to that inhumane Chief, to subdue almost the whole of New-Grenada and Venezuela, in the beginning of 1816. But notwithstanding these calamities and the desperate situation of the Republicans, the energy of General Bolívar and other Patriotic leaders, and the devotion and love of Independence which existed among all Classes of the people, in every section of the Continent, supplied for every want, and rescued that part of the New World from the Graft of Kings; and the emancipation of Spanish colonies in South America, will now be effected, by the same means, that General Morillo prepared, to subdue Buenos-Ayres, and extinguish the revolution in 1816; that is, by embarking in the Port of Buena-ventura on the Pacific (not in the possession of the Patriots) troops raised in New-Grenada and Venezuela. Your Excellency will see by the annexed copy of a part of the dispatch of General Morillo himself, to the Secretary of War, dated Santafee 31th June 1816, which was published in a Supplement to the Royal Gazette of Spain of the 28th June 1817.

My demand Sir, becomes more urgent, on account of the recent changes in Spain. My Government has been covertly acquainted betwixt a year ago, with the designs of the principal European powers, on the continent; and it is not altogether impossible, that a war against the New World, on the part of the sovereigns who composed the holly alliance, may issue from the present or future political situation of Europe and America. But I firmly believe, that if my Government, can procure in any place, ever, Twenty Thousand hand of arms for its troops, to promote effect the revolution in Peru and Mexico, the results of such a war, would be to this new continent, in the rang that nature itself, has assigned to it, and the civilized nations of the World.

European politics Sir, have habituated Themselves, to depend on the deal too much, for their ambitious progress, on the supposed incapacity and indolence of the South Americans; But I hope the time is not far when Those politicians, will have an opportunity, to cure themselves of that disease, like General Morillo.

The people of South America have maintained for ten years, their resistance, against the efforts of the Spanish Government, and its allied crowned heads of Europe, without being supported by any foreign aid, and are now perfectly acquainted with the extent of their own resources and means of deffence, and fully satisfied, that there exist not power in the whole World, however formed or organized, competent to change the destinies of South America, from Independence and Liberty, to despotism.

I will close these observations, by informing your Excellency with Sincerity, that the means of my Government, are adequate and competent at present, to fulfill with punctuallity, any contract or engagement, that I may subscribe in its name.

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*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

WASHINGTON, May 20, 1820.

Manuel Torres, Charge des affaires of the Government of Colombia, has the honor to present to his Excellency John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, for the consideration of the President of the United States, this informal exposition, concerning the conduct that his Government, as well as those of La Plata and Chilli, will probably observe, in regard to Spain, in consequence of the changes which have recently taken place, in that Country.

The Spanish Constitution excludes from representation in the Cortes, all persons of African origin, or connected by blood, even in the most distant degree; that is; the Constitution deprives of the right of citizenship, a great proportion of the population of Spanish-America, which really form the Strongest, as well as the most active and industrious Classe of people.

This colored and mixed population, compose almost exclusively the armies which have Conquered liberty and independence, in Venezuela, New-Grenada, La Plata and Chilli; They enjoy at present equal rights with the other citizens, and for this powerful consideration, it is well known by those who are at the head of the new Governments, that the least apprehension of any disposition on their part, to accept proposals from the present Government of Spain, Short of the acknowledgement of the independence of all Spanish continental America, would instantly Cause their destruction.

For this reason, and Many other equally weighty, the Chiefs of the new Governments, will on the Contrary, redouble their activity, to take advantage of the present situation of Spain, in order to accomplish that important object.

It is to be remarked, that the necessity of the independence of Peru and Mexico, has not escaped the vigilance and Solicitude of the New Governments of Spanish Continental America; and with this view, as soon as the 11. & 12th. of June 1818, President Bolivar, addressed the Supreme Director of La Plata, suggesting to him the importance as well as the necessity, of dividing an American Compact, the object of which Should be, to form a

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

political Body of all the independent republics, in order to present world, the interesting Spectacle and example of the union of Spanish a

The same Suggestions were addressed to the Government of Chili under dates of the 18 November, and 24th December of the same year. The Supreme Director of Chili, expressed to the President Bolivar, that the Cause of Spanish America, was so linked and connected in every point of the new Continent, that no other alternative was left to its inhabitants but to be all free, or Slaves; and that he considered as an indispensable duty of every part of Venezuela, La Plata, and Chili, to promote by all practicable means the revolution of New Grenada, Peru, and Mexico, for which purpose he suggested the necessity of establishing frequent communications between the three governments, in order to combine and concert the most adequate measures to accomplish the enterprise.

On the 5th of February 1819, the Governments of La Plata, and Chili, concluded a treaty for liberating the vice Royalty of Lima—La Plata and Chili were to act against the Royalists in Peru, at the same time that the President Bolivar, was to penetrate into New-Grenada: the success of this enterprise was the most complete; But local differences in La Plata, prevented the projected invasion of Peru. This enterprise will soon take place, the independence of the Republic of Colombia, being already on their march.

The determination of the new Governments, to accomplish the independence of all Spanish America, has been proclaimed by public acts, and nothing can change their determination on that re

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia,
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

St. THOMAS, July 12,

Accompanying this letter, I forward a newspaper published at this place containing the proclamation of General Morillo, announcing the restoration of the Constitution of the Cortes and since my arrival, I have procured intelligence from the Spanish Main which may be interesting to you.

The Constitution has been already proclaimed in all of the Spanish Colonies excepting that of Margarita and it has also been adopted in such colonies as are upon the Main, as are in the actual possession of the Royalists—it is rather of some difficulty to ascertain what proportion of those who ha

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia. I. Todd had a little more than a month's

scribed to the new Constitution have been or are now devoted to the Cause of Independence; it is probable, however, from the information I have been able to collect here that many in Porto Rico as well as on the Coast of Venezuela, have acceded to the late change, with a view to ulterior objects.— Since the proclamation of the Constitution at Caraccas, ludicrous placards have been circulated publicly & with impunity, evincive of the opinion that the adoption of the Constitution in old Spain will produce no effect upon their plan of Independence.— General Morillo did not cause the late change to be proclaimed until the expiration of several weeks after intelligence of it had reached Caraccas & indeed some arbitrary execution of unarmed citizens, occurred by his immediate orders at Valencia, just before the proclamation of the Constitution and which measure has been differently ascribed, on the one hand, to an attempt to poison him & on the other, to his hostility to the Constitution. . . .

A few days since, a Brig under American Colors arrived at this place, chartered as a Flag of Truce, and bringing as Passengers, two Commissioners with a Secretary, deputed by General Morillo and the Cabildo at Carraccas, under instructions from the Provisional Government in the Peninsula, with authority to treat with the Independent Government at Angostura— The Commissioners are a General Cires, formerly Governor of Cumana, and a Native of Buenos Ayres and Joseph D. Duarte, a Native of the province of Barinas. Don Manuel Ecuria, the Secretary is a Native of Venezuela— The Marquis of *Pumas*, a Native of Barinas, formerly a Colonel in the Patriot service and President of the Junta of Barinas, had also been dispatched by General Morillo, to treat with Genl. Paez and another deputation had proceeded to the Hd Qr^s of General Bolivar, consisting of Dr. Francis Linares and Don Francis Iturbe, both Biscayans and former friends of General Bolivar.

The Commissioners now in this place, expressed upon their arrival, sanguine hopes of success in their mission but I have understood that they are not now so confident, since they have learned the sentiments of the South Americans who are sojourning here.— They represent that their powers allow them to grant to the Patriots, everything short of Independence, that they are instructed to address them, as “their Most Serene Highness the Congress” and General Bolivar as “Captain General of the Patriot forces” that they are authorized to offer to General Bolivar and his Officers their respective grades under the Constitutional Government & that the representation of Spanish America in the Cortes shall be in proportion to the population without excluding those of African descent.— Upon acceding to these terms, General Morillo & his Army shall leave the Country—

General Cires, one of the Commissioners, has repeatedly spoken in the most exalted terms of the character of Bolivar, while at the same time he ascribes the loss of the Country to the cruelty and tyranny of Morillo—

The Commissioners sail on tommorrow for Angostura and I have taken necessary measures to have transmitted to me at Margarita, the proceedings and result of their mission.

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*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia,
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

ST. THOMAS, July 18,

The Commissioners sailed for Angostura on the 15th—it is reported that they should have remarked that General Bolivar had been requested to expect them at Angostura; that they had no hopes of success in their mission but it was directed by the Provisional Government, in expectation that in case of failure, the Cortes might be the more justly prosecuting the war with increased means & rigor— It seems probable in this state of things, that General Morillo is apprehensive, the operation of the ensuing campaign, may compel him to abandon his positions upon the Coast; and that with a view of procrastinating it, until the period of inactivity, shall have passed by, he has dispatched these several deputies to the Patriot Authorities— Such also, may be the views of the Provisional Government, if the Commissioners have been really deputed under such instructions— perhaps, however, Morillo as well as the Government of old Spain, have come to the determination that a peace is necessary, in order to enable them to adjust upon a proper basis, the affairs of the Peninsula— that if the Independents will not accede to their terms, they must submit to peace upon such, as may be required—indeed, this idea was very distinctly intimated by Morillo in a conversation which he had with General Cisneros before his departure.

I have seen a late Orinoco paper, containing remarks upon the expected arrival of the Commissioners—it distinctly avows that no arrangements can be made, which shall not in the first instance, acknowledge their Independence.— In the Spanish portion of St. Domingo, there are five parties. One in favor of the Constitution; one in favor of Ferdinand; one in favor of Independence and one in favor of each of the neighbouring black chieftains.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, I.

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to Juan German Roscio, Vice President of Colombia*¹

[EXTRACT]

JUAN GRIEGO, MARGARITA, *August 2, 1820.*

It is presumed that Commodore Perry, during his mission to Angostura last summer, availed himself of a suitable occasion to assure the Government of Venezuela, of the good wishes of the Govt. of the U. States towards them; that their good offices had kept pace with their good wishes and that although it had been considered, the duty as well as the policy of the U. States, to observe in the struggle between Spain and her Colonies, a faithful and impartial neutrality, yet that the countenance, which within the bounds of that neutrality, they had given to the S. Americans and the part they had taken by negotiation with the European powers, had unquestionably, in a very great degree, contributed to promote the Cause of S. American Independence.— It is not doubted that he, at the same time, communicated to your Government, the effort which Spain had made at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle, to procure the mediation of the Allied powers of Europe, in restoring her dominion over her Colonies and that the U. States, by refusing to join in the mediation upon any other terms than a complete recognition of S. American Independence, became the happy instrument of defeating the proposed plan of mediation and then of neutralizing all the Powers, in their efforts and designs, in favor of Spain.

I have the honor to enclose some documents, containing the correspondence between the Government of the U. States and the Minister lately deputed by Spain to them, by which it is ascertained that the U. States had made a direct though unsuccessful proposition, to the different Governments in Europe, to unite in a recognition of S. American Independence; and among the causes assigned by the Spanish Minister for the refusal on the part of his Sovereign, to ratify the late Treaty ceding the Floridas, it was insisted on as a prerequisite, that the U. States should pledge themselves not to recognize the Independence, or form other relations, with any, of the Revolutionary Governments in S. America.— The Message of the President of the U. States to Congress and the answer of the Secretary of State to General Vives, will shew the manner in which the Government of the U. States regarded the requisition—it was even considered impossible to discuss a proposition, so incompatible with the honor and Independence of the U. States—

While I disclaim any intention of intruding my remarks upon you, and influenced by sentiments of the most profound regard for the Government of Columbia, I would beg leave respectfully to suggest, the necessity for a real discountenance to the practise of assuming your flag by foreigners; for an

establishment of Admiralty Courts to proceed upon principles and forms recognised by all established Governments; for subjecting the crews and commanders of Privateers to effective bonds, to guard against the abuses, to which this species of armed force is more than all other exposed; and for inspiring neutral and foreign Nations with confidence in the justice of your proceedings, as the most substantial guarantee to the stability of your new Institution.

I cannot, Sir, close this communication, without repeating assurances of the favorable dispositions entertained by the Government of the United States towards the Government of Colombia; dispositions as friendly as are consistent with the obligations of Neutrality, and that the people, as well as the Government, of the U. States, unite in sincere and unabated wishes for the success of their S. American brethren in the present interesting struggle. At the same time, I avail myself of the occasion to acknowledge the satisfaction it gives me, to be the official instrument, of promoting and maintaining sentiments of friendship and reciprocal good will between the United States and Governments of our respective countries.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia,
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

JUAN GRIEGO, MARGARITA, August 19,

On the 15th Inst. I had the satisfaction to witness the interesting imposing ceremony of the public authorities, and of the people, of this Country, taking the oath of Allegiance to the temporary Constitution of the Republic— On this occasion, great unanimity and enthusiasm prevailed and the process was conducted with as much order, as though the Country was basking in the sunshine of peace. This ceremony has already taken place in all, if not all, of the provinces of the Republic.—

A letter of the 29th July from Jamaica, enclosing an extract from the 2nd July dated at Porto Cavello and published in the *Columbian Gazette*, conveys the information, that General Bolivar has replied to the deputation dispatched by General Morillo, in terms similar to those in the answer made by the Congress at Angostura—thus all hope of success in the justice is dissipated and the result of the Campaign will be ascertained by the dispositions of the Cortes of Old Spain can be known or its result. This is the opinion of General Morillo, General Bolivar, and

Grita, on the river Zulia, which empties into the head of Lake Maraycabo and was fortifying that position, from whence he would detach General Urdaneta, with some Gunboats, to attack the City of Maraycabo, whose Citizens have refused to swear to the Constitution of old Spain—he would, in the meantime, proceed with the main army to join General Paez, who was represented to be on the route from Barinas, to attack Morillo, in his fortified position at Valencia.

Admiral Brion and General Montillio occupied several small towns at the Mouth of the Magdalena, having been received with open arms by the people, who were joining the Republican Standard in great numbers. Confident expectations of success were entertained, in relation to the proposed attack upon St. Martha & Carthagena, whose inhabitants were convulsed by internal divisions, a party for Ferdinand, one for the Constitutional Monarchy and another for Independence— The Spanish Governor and their Chief General, had been confined by the people for refusing to swear to the Constitution and the Chiefs of the two parties, in favor of Ferdinand and of the Constitution, had refused to cooperate with each other—

In a former letter, I had the honor to suggest that the constitution of old Spain, had been adopted in such portions of the Main as were *actually occupied by the Spanish Troops*.— I feel now great confidence in the opinion that a very considerable number, at least of the creole part of these districts, are devoted to the Republican Cause—such seems to be the obvious inference from the most satisfactory intelligence received from the provinces of St Martha, Carthegena, Maraycabo and Carraccas; and an incident which occurred a few days since in the province of Cumana, immediately opposite to this Island, serves to illustrate and sanction this idea— The garrison of the Town of Carupano on the Coast, consisting of 150 Creoles revolted and having seized upon a Danish Vessel in that port, sailed for this place, which they reached on yesterday—they were becalmed in the harbour and attacked by 125 Spanish Troops in 5 Flecheras who were repulsed with great slaughter.— they represent that two other Creole Battallions of 150 each, had revolted & proceeded to the Head Qrs of General Montes and that daily defections occurred among the Creole troops at Cumana.—

This circumstance, combined with information received from other districts in a similar situation, indicates the real state of the public sentiment on the main and will have a powerful moral influence on the subsequent operations of the Campaign—it will no doubt, incite the Creoles of other districts, to emulate their daring conduct, while it must necessarily impair the confidence, heretofore reposed by General Morillo, in that efficient portion of his Military force.— the whole number of his old Spanish Troops does not exceed 4000; while, by some statements, they are estimated at 2500.—

both sides, to conceal the real state of affairs, it is evident, that the Campaign will have terminated before any relief can have arrived from the Peninsula. Such shall have been their determination and that the sentiments ascribed to prevail among the Creole population, and the Creole portion of the Spanish force, aided by the imposing attitude of the force & arrangements of General Bolivar, cannot induce a doubt as to its result.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia,
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

JUAN GRIEGO, MARGARITA, August 29,

. . . The intelligence received from those provinces, is much more satisfactory than was anticipated; though much of the credit to be assigned for the success of the Military operations in that quarter, is attributed to the efforts of the strong detachment of Troops from the interior provinces of Antioquia on the Magdalena and the very general disposition of the people in favor of the cause of Independence. . . .

The opinion expressed in my last communication, of the great probability that the Campaign on the Main will have terminated before any reinforcements can arrive from the Peninsula, may not be well founded. It is not certain that the S. Americans, whatever may be their doubts in relation to the feelings of those members of the Cortes of 1812, who may have intervened in the present Cortes, are sanguine in their expectations of a favorable disposition towards them, by those Constitutional Spaniards who organized and effected the late revolution— But it is not impossible to suppose that the Castillian pride and persevering obstinacy, for which the Spanish Nation has been distinguished during several periods of its history, may induce the present Cortes, to prosecute the War with renewed vigor and with the united force of united resources.— Adverting to the late extraordinary events in that country, it is not visionary to suppose, that the Cortes may determine on the principles of prudence, as well as of justice, and persevere in the measures which influenced Ferdinand in his conduct towards the United States, as well as the revolutionary Governments in S. America—indeed it is not remarked with great propriety, that the Cortes is now deciding upon the question of Peace or War with both Americas—one or the other course must inevitably result from the measures which that body is now pursuing.

is possible, also, that General Bolivar may conclude to remain satisfied with the possession of the interior of the Republic and of its principal outlets, Orinoco, the Maraycabo and the Magdalena, awaiting until the next year the influence of better feelings in the Councils of Spain, the effect of the defections in the ranks of General Morillo, and in the expectations, of the blockade of Porto Cavello and Laguira, to intercept supplies and then to obtain a bloodless victory— It would seem, however, to be his obvious policy, to make a vigorous effort before the possibility of aid from the Cortes, which such probably might be his determination, were there not serious obstacles in the nature of the Country, which is destined to be the theatre of his operations—the plains are yet overflowed and cannot be penetrated by Infantry—before the 1st November whilst upon the circuitous route along the mountains of Venezuela from La Grita to Valencia, it will be found to be impracticable to convey *heavy Artillery*, so essentially necessary in operations against disciplined Troops, strongly & skilfully fortified— General Morillo has very judiciously concentrated his means at one point and his success justifies the belief that he will defend it to the last extremity— After the Capture of St Martha, Carthagena, & Maraycabo, I presume the Patriot Fleet will blockade Porto Cavello & Laguira, while General Bolivar shall invest General Morillo, by land— Of the final result of the war, there can be no doubt—but its continuance, I apprehend, will depend essentially upon the feelings and measures of the Cortes— We have seen the present revolution of this Government; it remains to be ascertained, what may be the disposition of the Spanish Nation, and whether upon its continued hostility, this determination shall be changed.

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*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

JUAN GRIEGO, MARGARITA, *September —, 1820.*

SIR: I have the honor to transmit now, a copy of the regulations adopted by the last Congress at Angostura, in relation to the mode of selecting members of the General Congress to convene at Cucuta; which should have accompanied my last dispatch of the 29th Ult^o. but I could not procure it in time, to forward by that conveyance—a duplicate of that letter is enclosed.—

In all revolutionary struggles, there is a tendency to increase the powers of the Military at the expence of the Civil authority and the ancient maxim,

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, I.

the "laws are silent amidst the din of arms" is peculiarly applicable to the condition of a people, whose civil rights and privileges were extremely limited, before the commencement of the Contest; it is not, then, surprising, that the character of the public measures in this country, should be strongly of military enthusiasm and therefore, among the happiest expectations, the speedy termination of the present campaign, will be the opportunity may allow them, of the advantages of a period of peace, to erect upon a new foundation, the Constitution which it is proposed to establish, during the session of the General Congress at Cucuta, on the 1st January next. At this distance from the scene of operations and with imperfect means of communicating, no opinion can be indulged, as to the precise character of that instrument; but a disposition prevails, to have its general features correspond to the Constitution of the U. States, though many of their public documents, no doubt from motives of policy in regard to the views and institutions of the European Powers, hold out intimations, that it will require some modifications to be adapted to the present condition and prejudices of the people of this Country— With the people of S. America, however, independence and an exemption from those revolting cruelties, that have marked the struggle, are the first great objects to be accomplished; and any Government adopted by them, with the legitimate consent of the governed, must be irreconcilable to the dominion of Spain, which, in defiance of natural and political causes, has overwhelmed with more than Ethiopian darkness the fine country of the South—

I have had the honor previously to suggest, the probability that those who were active in the late revolution in the Peninsula, would favor an immediate recognition of the Independence of the Colonies, and that there were many of the professed Constitutionals, some of the old adherents of Ferdinand, who would insidiously oppose the progress of free principles and have yielded to the late extraordinary changes, in the hope, by the aid of the Clergy, of effecting a counter revolution or of enlarging the powers of the Monarchy— It is understood that a portion of the Constitutionalists are desirous in the first instance, of procuring some political and commercial advantages and then of consenting to this qualified Independence, but eventually, in case this project should be rejected, they will agree to an unqualified separation—it is not, therefore, improbable, that Spain, by the union of the Constitutionalists and disregarding the suggestions of the Castillian pride & obstinacy, may shortly acknowledge that sovereignty to the Independent Governments, which the arms & the cruelties of Ferdinand have failed in prostrating; and thus indulge the hope of obliterating the recollection, of the oppressions of three Centuries and of the sanguinary measures of the present struggle— This would seem to be the policy of

despotism, with which they have been desolated, and the unnatural effort, in any power in Europe, to wield the destinies of this vast continent—

There has been no further intelligence received from the Armies on the Main except the official confirmation from Angostura on the 20th August, of the defeat of General La Torre, who had attacked General Bolivar, before the expiration of the Armistice—

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

JUAN GRIEGO, MARGARITA, *October 5, 1820.*

I have not been enabled to ascertain the number of the Provinces in the Republic, actually occupied by the Spanish forces, and consequently, can form no precise idea of the number of members who may attend the Congress at Cucuta on the 1st January next.— It is understood, however, that with the exception of the Coast, in the Provinces of Carthagena, St Martha, Maraycabo, Venezuela, Cumana, Barcelona and probably one or two provinces situated on the Pacific Ocean, South West of Popayan and the provinces of Panama & Veragua North of the Gulph of Darien, the residue of the Country included in the limits of the Republic of Columbia, which for the present embraces the late Vice Royalty of New Granada & late Captain Generalship of Venezuela, is completely in the possession of the Patriot Authorities— In the event of the recognition of the Independence of the Colonies by Spain or in case, no arrangement shall take effect, by which she shall assume to pay the debts due by the Revolutionary Governments, it will become an interesting question in what mode, they will satisfy the numerous claims against them; and whether their armies, emulating the illustrious example afforded them, by the Revolutionary army of the U. States, will peaceably retire, without pay or subsistence, to the walks of private life? These are considerations of great importance to the permanent welfare of this Republic and constitute necessarily, a source of anxious solicitude—

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, I.

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia,
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

JUAN GRIEGO, MARGARITA, *November 26,*

SIR: An Officer has just arrived with official intelligence of the occurrence by General Montes, of the City of Cariaco, situated at the head of the bay of that name in the province of Cumana; who was greatly aided and enterprized by the general dissatisfaction among its Creole inhabitants.

On yesterday a Danish Vessel engaged in the trade between Lagaira and St Thomas was brought into this port as prize to one of the privateers in the service of this Republic—this vessel sailed from Laguaira on the 10th inst. and by a Spaniard captured in her and who was endeavoring to escape from the Coast, intelligence has been received of the result of another declaration from General Morillo to General Bolivar—it consisted of General Bolivar, Governor of Caraccas, Don Juan Toro and Dr. Linares— General Bolivar again proposed to guarantee to General Bolivar and his officers their respective grades, on condition of their subscribing to the new Constitution of Spain— General Bolivar replied that he could not suspend his opinion without acknowledgement of the Independence of his Country— It is not known whether Morillo had adopted this measure under instructions from the Cortes—

*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, *December 15,*

SIR: The change, which the insurrection of the army of expedition has produced in the political system of Spain, presented to the new constitutional Government a favourable opportunity for renewing, with redoubled energy, its favourite plan of seduction and deception; by which means, it has sought to obtain, in Venezuela, that, which by a horrible war of ten years with the sword it could not produce. According to custom, artful promises, the sentiments of philanthropy, and the most shameful and degrading intrigues, ought to realize that plan of iniquity and abomination; and with this view General Morillo published on the 17th. of last June, a long and pathetic

lamation, addressed to the emigrants from terra firma, in which he promised them greater personal security, and invited them to return to their houses, to enter into the possession of their goods and property, and to enjoy the benefits of that peace, which a constitutional Government afforded them.

With the same design, he likewise dispatched official letters to the sovereign Congress of Colombia, to the President Liberator of the Republic, and to the Generals Paez and Montilla, proposing a suspension of hostilities, under the plausible pretext of commencing negotiations for terminating the war; and added, that Commissioners, fully authorized to conduct and conclude the negotiations, would immediately depart from Caraccas to Angostura and Cucuta.

No extraordinary penetration is necessary to discover at first sight, in the mysterious contents of General Morillo's letters and in the particular cunning which he used in addressing the proposition for a cessation of hostilities, at the very same time, to the Congress in Angostura, and to the three military Chiefs, stationed at points or places immensely distant from each other, that his principal object was, to arrest the progress of the Republican arms, especially in New Grenada, and to see if in their answers, he could not discern some diversity of opinion, which he might use, as a powerful instrument, for impairing the reputation of the Magistrates and the Generals of the Republic, by representing them as a band of ambitious men, who acted without concert and without system.

Fortunately, however, the results of those wicked plots have turned out diametrically contrary, to what the Spanish government expected.

The publication of the correspondence with General Morillo presented to the Colombians, and likewise to the Spaniards, a better opportunity than they could desire, for being convinced of the perfect unanimity of sentiment among the Magistrates and the military Chiefs of the Republic, and also of the firm resolution of the whole to maintain at every hazard the independence proclaimed at Caraccas on the 5th. of July 1811, and ratified at Angostura on the 2d. November 1820. They have seen at the same time, in a manifesto of the President of the Sovereign Congress, addressed to the inhabitants of Colombia, relative to the aforesaid correspondence, the injustice with which the Spanish Government has made war upon America, and the artifices and stratagems, which it has employed to divide the Americans and deceive the Spaniards; this fortunate declaration has produced the destruction of the moral force of the royalist army: entire battallions have united themselves with our troops, or have sworn to the Constitution of Colombia in their own quarters, as the garrison of Barcelona did, with the Spanish Governor at their head. A great number of the people have done the same thing, not very far from the capital of Caraccas; and General Latorre, who occupied the province of Merida, found himself obliged to quarter his division, in order to preserve it for some days longer. Such, Sir, have been, in

Colombia, the results of the first measures of the new Constitution, and of its General Morillo.

I have received the orders of my Government to make this explanation to you, Sir, and to annex the seven accompanying documents, which are authentic copies of the correspondence of the Generals Morillo and La Cerna on one side, with the sovereign Congress of Colombia, the President Liéke on the other: these are contained in Nos 1 to No 5 of the Documents: No 6 is a copy of the manifesto of the President of the Sovereign Congress, to the inhabitants of Colombia; and No 7 is a copy of the declaration of the Government of Venezuela of the 10th of November, mentioned in the answer of the Present Liberator to the General Morillo.

I have also received the orders of my Government to inform you of their unalterable determination to continue the war without intermission, and with redoubled vigour, as the only means of obliging the Spanish Government to exercise justice towards America. All which I hope you will be pleased to present to the consideration of the President of the United States.

I renew, Sir, the sentiments [etc.].

599

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia,
Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

JUAN GRIEGO, MARGARITA, *December 23,*

On that day I had the pleasure to receive a newspaper from the United States containing the President's Message to Congress at the commencement of the Session— I embraced the occasion and on the 20th addressed a letter to each of the Departments, enclosing an extract from the Message, relative to the contest between Spain & the Colonies— I was favored by very prompt acknowledgements on the subject and hope to be enabled by the next conveyance, to forward a copy of the correspondence; which will be of the most conciliatory character—

[His circular letter of the 20th of December to Colombian officials follows:]

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I. For the portion of the President's

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to
Generals Arismendi and Clements, Governor Guevarra, and
Judge Yanes, Heads of Departments in Margarita*

SIR: I hasten to enclose to your Excellency, a copy of an extract from the Message of the President of the United States, transmitted to Congress at the commencement of their present session.

The extract to which I have the pleasure to request your attention, has reference to the contest in which South America is engaged, with the elevated view of atchieving and maintaining her Independence of Spain.—I experience great satisfaction in the occasion, which thus allows me to assure you, of the lively interest, the Government of the United States feel for the success of their Columbian brethren; of their confidence in the constancy and valor displayed in the struggle; and of their firm reliance on the ultimate accomplishment of the revolution—

With considerations [etc.].

600

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

ST. THOMAS, *February 13, 1821.*

I forward a copy of the Treaty concluded at Truxillo at the same time with the Armistice, prescribing the mode in which the War shall be prosecuted, in the event of its being renewed— As illustrative of the views which probably influenced Gen^l. Bolivar in acceding to an armistice, without an explicit provision as to the recognition of their Independence, I transmit a copy of a letter from him to General Morillo, which no doubt led to the negotiation.— Annexed also is a proclamation by Bolivar connected with that subject; and an order restricting the further employment of Foreign Officers in their service—

General Morillo sailed on the 17. Dec. from Porto Cavello for Spain by the way of Havana.— He would not remain at Porto Cavello to avail himself of a public entertainment which had been provided for him.— In a short time after the conclusion of the Armistice, a Squadron of 3 or 4 ships of War arrived at P. Cavello from Spain, with a considerable supply of provisions and six Commissioners to treat of Peace with the Colonies—two of them proceeded to Caraccas and the others sailed immediately for B. Ayres and Chile.— The old Spaniards at Caraccas express great dissatisfaction with the conduct of Morillo in concluding an Armistice—a feeling secretly encouraged by the Citizens devoted to the Patriot interest, and indeed such was the temper manifested at Caraccas, that the Spanish Commissioners conceived it most prudent to retire to P. Cavello.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, I.

601

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia,
R. Revenga, Secretary of State of Colombia*¹

[EXTRACT]

ST. THOMAS, *February 15, 1861*

. . . The Government as well as the people of the United States have a deep interest in the success of the illustrious experiment now progressing in the South and they yield only to the people of Columbia, in their solicitude for the termination of the War in the establishment of your independence, and in the foundation which may be laid for the noble structure of free Government— It is not the least of the sources of my regret at the necessity which compels me, for a time, to seek the invigorating influence of a Northern climate for the restoration of my health, that I am thus be deprived of the gratifying opportunity of witnessing the deliberations of that body of republican sages, who are now convened at Cucuta for the interesting purpose of fixing upon a Constitutional basis, the foundation for which you have so gallantly contended and of adding another generous example, which I trust we have afforded, of the practicability of a people appreciating their rights and governing themselves without the aid of the strong arm of despotism—

602

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Captain
Behrmann*¹

[EXTRACT]

ST. THOMAS, *February 16, 1861*

I shall expect you will transmit to me by every conveyance, a full and complete information of the State of Affairs at Cucuta— The union decreed by the Congress at Angostura last year of Venezuela and New Granada, with its immediate effect of military operations and seems not to have been hindered or impeded by delegations of power to that effect from the people of either country— It is expected that the present Congress will sanction and confirm that union— A general account of its proceedings, as well as to the revision of the Constitution as to the negotiations which may grow out of the Armistice, will be expected from you— Ascertain what may be the peculiar features of the proposed Constitution and what will be the probable result of the Armistice— In case the war shall be renewed, commencing

an account of its progress—procure the best charts of the Country and the most full and accurate estimates of its resources, particularly of the populations, revenue, exports and imports and whatever may be interesting in relation to a knowledge of the Country, acquire detailed information of each province and of the portions of Country represented by each Member of Congress.— Ascertain, if practicable, the extent of internal divisions, if there be any; and what may be the real feelings of the people, as to the struggle and the form of Government they may ultimately adopt. The disposition of the Country towards the United States will be particularly important—

Wishing you every success I remain [etc.].

603

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

ST. THOMAS, February 20, 1821.

I have now just time, as the Vessel is under weigh, to transmit a duplicate of the Treaty formed at the period of the Armistice, to regulate the mode in which the War shall be conducted, on the event of its being renewed; together with a letter and proclamation of General Bolivar, preceding, and explanatory of, that important transaction:—

By arrivals on yesterday from Maraycabo, P. Cavello and Cumana, satisfactory information has been received of a general disposition among their citizens to revolt against the Spanish Authority— At Cumana, serious dissensions prevail among those devoted to the Spanish interest, on account of the refusal of those in authority, to enforce the provisions of the Constitution and confident hopes are entertained that a peace will follow the Armistice.— At Maraycabo they have already revolted and have established authorities independent of Spain, with the view, no doubt, at the expiration of the Armistice, to unite with the Republic.— No intelligence has been received of the interference of the Patriot forces in this event, and therefore no apprehension is felt that the Treaty has been violated— At P. Cavello great fears were entertained by the Royalists that the example afforded by that portion of the people of Maraycabo previously devoted to the Spanish cause, would be followed by its citizens.

These ci cumstances will probably have a material and favorable influence

to accede, in the Negotiations now progressing at Cucuta; and add various reasons for indulging in the pleasing hope, that the Armistice terminate in a peace, founded on the basis proposed by the Government of Colombia—

I have forwarded to the Secretary of State of the Republic, a communication—

604

*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, February 20, 1820

SIR: The republics of Venezuela and New Granada, which, after a devastating war of more than ten years, have victoriously achieved the independence

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*. IV, 832. The following are the circumstances and the fundamental law referred to:

[TRANSLATION]

REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA

ANGOSTURA, May, 15

JUAN GERMAN ROSCIO, Vice President of the Department of Venezuela, and charged with the Government of the Republic, on account of the absence of the President on campaign, and of the Vice President on commission.

Whereas it is important to the prosperity of Colombia, and to the dignity of the Republic, to station to which it has been elevated, to establish diplomatic intercourse with other nations, and to make treaties which may confirm its friendship with them, regulate commerce, and protect mutual interests; and this Government being desirous of having more close the relations and bonds of union and good correspondence which happily exist with that of the United States: Therefore, I have nominated, and, I now present, do appoint and authorize, Manuel Torres, Esq., that, in the rank and character of agent and chargé des affaires of the republic of Colombia, he present himself and treat with the said United States, and, conformably to the instructions which have been given him, to promote the interests and advantages of Colombia, by conciliating them with those of said States, upon the principles of the most intimate and sincere friendship.

Given at the palace of Government, at Angostura; signed by my hand, sealed with the provisional seal of the republic, and countersigned by the Secretary of State and Relations, the 15th of May, 1820.

JUAN G. ROSCIO

By his excellency the Vice President of Venezuela, charged with the Government of Colombia:

JOSE R. RAVENGA,
The Minister of State and Foreign Relations

[TRANSLATION]

Fundamental law of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, of the 17th of December, 1820, for the union of the Republics of New Granada and Venezuela, under the title of the Republic of Colombia

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA

which they had declared since the year 1811, were united by virtue of a fundamental law of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, of the 17th December,

1. That, by uniting the provinces of Venezuela and New Granada in one republic, they will have the means of attaining the highest degree of power and prosperity;
 2. That if they should remain in separate republics, however great the bonds that might unite them, yet, far from benefiting by so many advantages, with difficulty would they consolidate their sovereignty, and cause it to be respected;

3. That these truths, clearly perceived by every man of sound understanding and genuine patriotism, had excited the Governments of both republics to agree to their confederation, which the vicissitudes of war have heretofore prevented;

From these considerations of necessity and reciprocal interest, and in conformity with the report of the select committee of the deputies from New Granada and Venezuela, *in the name and under the auspices of the Supreme Being*, has decreed, and does decree, the following fundamental law for the republic of Colombia:

ARTICLE I. The republics of Venezuela and New Granada shall be from the present day united, under the glorious title of the *Republic of Colombia*.

2. Its territory shall be those comprehended in the former captain generalship of Venezuela, and the viceroyalty of the new kingdom of Granada, embracing an extent of one hundred and fifteen thousand square leagues, whereof the exact boundaries shall be fixed at a more seasonable opportunity.

3. The debts contracted by the two republics, separately, are acknowledged *in solidum* by this law, as a national debt of Colombia, for the discharge of which the goods and property of the state are pledged, and the most productive of the revenue shall be destined.

4. The executive power of the republic shall be exercised by a President, and, in his absence, by a Vice President, both to be appointed *pro tempore* by the present Congress.

5. The republic of Colombia shall be divided into three great departments—Venezuela, Quito, and Cundinamarca, which shall comprehend the provinces of New Granada, whereof the name shall be henceforward suppressed. The capitals of these departments shall be the cities of Caraccas, Quito, and Bogota, the addition of Santa Fé being omitted.

6. Each department shall have a superior administration, and chief magistrate, to be appointed for the present by this Congress, with the title of Vice President.

7. A new city, bearing the name of the liberator, *Bolívar*, shall be the capital of the republic of Colombia. The plan and site thereof shall be determined by the first General Congress, upon the principle of making it suitable for the conveniences of the three departments, and proportioned to the grandeur for which this rich country is destined by nature.

8. The General Congress of Colombia shall assemble on the 1st day of January, 1821, in the town of Rosario de Cucuta, which, in every respect, is considered the most suitable place. The convocation shall be made by the President of the republic, on the 1st of January, 1820, who shall also communicate the plan for the elections, to be devised by a select committee, and approved by the present Congress.

9. The constitution of the republic of Colombia shall be formed by the General Congress, to whom shall be presented the projet of one already decreed, together with the laws enacted by this Congress, to be immediately carried into execution, by way of experiment.

10. The arms and flag for Colombia shall be decreed by the General Congress. In the mean time, those of Venezuela shall be employed, as they are known.

11. The present Congress shall dissolve on the 15th January, 1820, in order that the new elections may take place for the General Congress of Colombia.

12. A commission of six members, with a president, invested with special powers, to be decreed, shall occupy the place of Congress during its recess.

13. The republic of Colombia shall be solemnly proclaimed to the citizens and the armies with public feasts and rejoicings, to take place in this capital on the 25th December instant, commemorating the nativity of the *Savior of mankind*, under whose protection the state has been regenerated by this reunion.

14. The anniversary of this political regeneration shall be perpetually celebrated by a national feast, where virtue and talents, as formerly at Olympia, shall be distinguished and rewarded.

1819, with the glorious title of the Republic of Colombia, under which it has taken its rank among other independent nations.

In consequence, I have received the order of my Government to communicate to you, sir, this resolution worthy of Colombia, and to accompany it with the subjoined authenticated copy of the said fundamental law, so that you may be pleased to lay it before the President of the United States.

I have also the honor to present to you, sir, the credentials of the plenipotentiary character, and a drawing of the national standard, which will distinguish Colombia among other sovereign and independent states.

Although the foundation of the republic of these United States completely justifies the right of Colombia, yet, with respect to the recognition which has been introduced among nations, the causes which have led to this measure indispensable have been explained in the declaration of the independence of Venezuela, of the 5th of July, 1811, a copy of which was transmitted by Don Juan de Orea, then agent extraordinary of that republic, transmitted by his predecessor on the 6th of November of the same year: the other copies of the declaration of Venezuela, of the 2d of November, 1818, and the manifesto of the Sovereign Congress of Colombia, of the 26th of August, 1819, copies of which I sent you with my official letter of the 15th of last month, I likewise mention them.

The conduct of Colombia being thus in all respects justified, no further explanation is necessary.

Given at the palace of the Sovereign Congress of Venezuela, in the city of Angostura, on the 17th day of December, A. D. 1819, and in the first year of its independence.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA, *President of Congress*

Juan German Roscio,	Diego Bautista
Manuel Sedeño,	Juan Vincente
Juan Martinez,	Ignacio Muñoz
José España,	Onofre Basalo
Luis Tomas Peraza,	Domingo Alzu
Antonio M. Briceño,	José Tomas M
Eusebio Afanador,	Ramon Garcia
Francisco Condé,	

DIEGO DE VALLENILLA, *Deputy Secretary*

DECREE

PALACE OF THE SOVEREIGN CONGRESS OF VENEZUELA

AT ANGOSTURA, *December 17, 1819,*

The Sovereign Congress decrees that the present fundamental law for the Republic of Colombia shall be communicated to the supreme executive power by a deputy, for its publication and execution.

FRANCISCO ANTONIO ZEA, *President of Congress*

DIEGO DE VALLENILLA, *Deputy Secretary*

PALACE OF THE GOVERNMENT, AT ANGOSTURA

December 17, 1819,

Ordered to be printed, proclaimed, executed, and sealed with the seal of the Republic.

By his excellency the President of the republic:

DIEGO B. URBAN
Minister of the Interior and

Government will be recognised by that of the United States as a free and independent nation, a sister republic, situated likewise in the same hemisphere. It is also hoped that, to the recognition of the independence of Colombia on the part of the United States, treaties of commerce and navigation will be added, founded upon the bases of reciprocal utility and perfect equality, as the most efficacious means of strengthening and increasing the relations of amity between the two republics.

As you are already acquainted with the solicitude of Colombia, permit me, sir, to add that it is of the greatest importance to my Government to know the determination of the United States in regard to it.

I repeat sir, the homage [etc.].

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*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, *February 25, 1821.*

SIR: By yesterday's post I received an official letter from Luis Brion Admiral of the Republic of Colombia, dated at Saint Martha the 5th. December last, in which he communicates to me the capture of that place, and the occupation of the whole Department of Quito by the arms of the Republic.

Such was the confidence, with which the victorious march of the army of General Valdes inspired that people, that the inhabitants of the City of Guayaquil, without waiting for the arrival of the troops, deposed the Spanish Magistrates, and immediately after proclaimed independence, on the 9th October: in consequence of this success, the authority of the Republic is now regularly established in the whole of its vast territory, except in those few points comprehended in the treaty of Armistice, concluded between Colombia and Spain, on the 26th. November last.

I hasten to communicate to you, Sir, this important news, persuaded that it will be received by the President of the United States with singular satisfaction.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept [etc.].

¹MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia
*Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

FRANKFORT, KENTUCKY, May 8,

The official accounts that have been lately received from South America in relation to the operations in the Department of Quito and particularly in the provinces of Guayaquil and Maraycabo, as well as the intelligence of the termination of the Armistice and the consequent end of the War, will necessarily abridge the remarks which I had intended to make as to the actual condition of affairs at the period of the adoption of the Truce— I deem it proper, however, to communicate the substance of my conversation with General Arismendi on the 2nd January— He requested my opinion freely as to the policy of the Armistice— I replied that I could not give an opinion on a view of the whole ground and could not therefore give an opinion on a single point; that I was informed of all the circumstances and motives which had produced the measure; that I hoped it might promote their cause and thought it would probably have a favorable effect on Foreign powers—the conduct of the War was referred to, who recognized the U. States between the period of the armistice or provisional articles, and of the definitive treaty of peace— I concurred with me as to its probable effect on Foreign powers—they had been a long time contending for their Independence and were apprehensive there were not sufficient guarantees on the subject of their being no security but the faith of the Spaniards— He coincided with my suggestion as to the favorable effect which would probably arise from the express provision as to the admission of Agents to Columbia from the United States Governments and said it certainly shewed that they did not consider themselves as *Rebels*.

He stated that Bolivar and Morillo had a secret interview a few days before the Armistice— Morillo said to Bolivar, "You know my force can be only 2500 and I know yours to be 9500— I cannot hope to succeed as I was sent out with a large army and have obtained some reputation— I grant an Armistice, and I will proceed to Spain and exert myself to obtain a recognition of your Independence—" Genl. Arismendi continued, remarking in a tone of dissatisfaction, that this measure had been adopted by Bolivar in a moment of generosity and magnanimity—he was engaged in the most active efforts to recruit his forces to be prepared for the contingency of a renewal of the War; that he had sent a party brought from St Fee, to procure arms, clothing and provisions at Antioquia and entertained the expectation that at the expiration of the Armistice he should have some 2000 men in the field. He had also sent a party to

London, to proceed to Madrid, to conduct the negociations for a peace—that the Spaniards as well as Creoles were coming over to him in bodies of 50—100 & 150 and that 14 Spanish officers had requested and obtained permission to be dismissed, with a view to join the Patriot Service— It is very probable these circumstances had been communicated by the aids de Camp of Bolivar & Morillo who had just arrived on the Island, and with whom I had conversations which satisfied me that I should encounter various obstacles in the effort to pass from Caraccas to Cucuta along the mountains and through the positions occupied by the Royal forces—

As soon as Copies can be prepared, I shall have the honor to forward a sketch of Spanish Continental America and sundry manuscript charts of portions of Venezuela and New Granada.

I am, [etc.].

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Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

BALTIMORE, *September 22, 1821.*

SIR: Having just received advices from my agent at LaGuayra, which would seem to justify my return thither; I have the honour to State to you that I am prepared to resume my Consular residence at that place, agreeable to the authority which I received from the Department of State, under date the 26 Jany. 1820—

A Difficulty occurs relative to the mode in which I may with safety reach my post: the Coast of the Spanish main being so infested by Privateers of the most lawless description, under Spanish Colours; as to make it difficult of access: and to fall into their hands, would be attended with the worst effects, I therefore take the liberty of Soliciting a conveyance in any one of the Government vessels, which may be appointed to protect our West India Trade, and to respectfully suggest the necessity of my Speedy return.

On intimation from the Department of State, I will repair to Washington, to receive any orders with which I may be entrusted: or if my going thither is considered unnecessary, I will receive them directed to me at this place.

I have the Honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

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*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, November 23, 1821

SIR: I have the honour to inform you of my safe arrival in this place on the 13th. Inst., on the 17th. Inst., I presented my commission accompanied by the Certificate forwarded to me at Baltimore from the Department of State to the Executive at Caracas; and on the 19th. Inst, my Credentials were acknowledged by the Vice President as reinstating me in my former consular Situation—

I have the Honor [etc.].

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*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[TRANSLATION]

PHILADELPHIA, November 30, 1821

SIR: Since I had the honor of addressing to you my official note of the 10th of February last, requesting of the President of the United States the formal acknowledgment of the independence of the republic of Colombia as a sovereign, and independent state, new successes have taken place, which at the same time that they remove any well-founded obstacle which might at that time have been in the way of the Government of the United States, prevent their acceding to the wish of that republic, render now the measure more urgent, and I might say indispensable, in consequence of the recent events in Peru and New Spain, and the conduct of the Spanish Government towards America, always unjust, and always capricious.

In compliance with the orders which I have received from the Minister of Foreign Relations, of date the 3d of August, in Cucuta, I hasten to communicate to you, sir, what has occurred in Colombia since the recommencement of hostilities with Spain, and to inform you of the real actual state of the republic, that you may be pleased to lay it before the President of the United States.

In conformity with the fundamental law of the 7th of December, 1820, the solemn act of the installation of the General Congress of the republic of Colombia, composed of representatives named by the people of the nine free provinces of New Granada and Venezuela, took place on the 6th of

last in the city of Rosario de Cucuta, as is shown by the official document No. 1, which I have the honor to enclose to you.

The General Congress being installed, one of the first measures which called the attention of the legislative body was the great question of the fundamental law; and, after long and elaborate debates, in which each member expressed his opinion with the greatest freedom, the union of New Granada and Venezuela into one body as a nation, under the express agreement of a popular representative Government, divided into legislative, executive, and judicial authorities, was adopted and sanctioned by a plurality of votes; and also the division of the territory of the republic into departments or circles, according to the evidence in No. 2.

The document numbered 3 is the manifesto which, on the 6th of June, the President of Congress addressed to the people and armies of the republic, notifying them of so important a measure; and No. 4 contains the fundamental law.

Whilst the Congress was engaged with patriotic spirit in discussing and making laws conducive to the correct administration of justice, to the regulation and management of the revenues, and to the promotion of public instruction in all the provinces and places of the state, the attention of the Liberator President was engaged in conducting an active war against the enemy, to expel them entirely from the territory of the republic. The arms of Colombia experienced once more the aid of a beneficent Providence, and they accomplished, at one blow, the entire destruction of the Spanish power in Venezuela, in the memorable battle of Carabobo, on the 24th of June.

The enemy lost their park of artillery, their baggage, their all, in their very intrenchments; and of more than six thousand men who were assembled at that military point, scarcely could a small number escape, who were able to retire within the walls of Porto Cabello.

The formidable fortress of Carthagera, and that of Cumana, also fell successively; so that Porto Cabello, in Venezuela, and the isthmus of Panama, in New Granada, are the only two points which the Spaniards for the moment occupy in all the vast territory of Colombia; and probably before the termination of the present year both will be incorporated with the republic.

Although the isthmus of Panama, from its scanty population, its absolute want of agriculture, and its situation, can contribute little or nothing to the increase or facility of the interior or exterior commerce of the new republic, still its occupation is of great importance to Colombia, under the view of its own future security and that of the rest of America, and from the great facility which the river Chagres affords for the commerce of Peru, and that of the provinces of New Spain which lie along the Pacific, since the distances, the dangers, and expenses of a navigation by Cape Horn are considerably diminished.

But it was not enough for the Liberator President to annihilate the formi-

dable legions with which the Spaniards oppressed the country; it was necessary to preserve good understanding and harmony among the inhabitants of Colombia, and to maintain among foreign nations the respect and reputation of the authorities of the republic which the agents of Ferri VII. have constantly defamed, by circulating, through the medium of the press, the most infamous falsehoods against them. He had no other way of realizing his object but exposing to the impartial world the pernicious conduct which the Peninsular Government had incessantly observed towards the Americans; and, to the incontrovertible manner in which he did this, the proclamation which he addressed to the Spaniards on the 25th of October from the city of Barinas, is partly due the success of the republican arms in Colombia and in Peru.

The inhabitants of Colombia, after eleven years of war, as unjust and destructive, guided by the genius of their Liberator President Bolívar, achieved the liberty and independence of their country without the aid of foreign aid; have given themselves a popular and representative Government, and a constitution well calculated to preserve the principles of liberty and equality, and to promote the general prosperity.

With respect to the ability and capacity of Colombia to maintain its independence, no well-founded doubt can arise upon that point, if we consider on one hand the great population of the republic, which exceeds 3,600,000, the extent of its territory, its natural and artificial resources, and its military organization; and, on the other, the great military talent displayed by its generals and officers, and the discipline and valor manifested by its troops on all occasions, but particularly in the celebrated battles of Boyaca and Carabobo, the capture of St. Martha, defended by seventeen exterior batteries, taken by assault, and the reduction of the fortresses of Carthagen and Cumana.

Some idea may be also formed of the degree of splendor, power, and prosperity of the new republic, by considering it placed in the centre of the universe, with an extent of coast of twelve hundred miles on the Atlantic, from the Orinoco to the isthmus of Darien, and of seven hundred miles on the Pacific ocean, from Panama to Bahia de Tumbez, and exempt, at all seasons, from any of those dreadful hurricanes which cause such disasters in the Antilles, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in other places.

The great canals which are formed by the river Orinoco and its tributary streams, the Sulia, with the lake of Maracaibo, the Magdalena, the Cauca, and the Atrato, which all empty into the Atlantic, render Colombia the most favored part of the universe for interior navigation, and, by a union of all climates, unite also, in great abundance, the productions of the three kingdoms of nature.

which consist chiefly of cocoa, coffee, indigo, tobacco of Barinas, and some cotton, are of a quality superior to those of other countries, except the cotton. With respect to the precious metals, Colombia is inferior neither to Mexico nor Peru, with the advantage that their discovery is more easy and less expensive. She also unites, by prolonged canals, two oceans which nature had separated; and, by her proximity to the United States and to Europe, appears to have been destined by the Author of Nature as the centre and the empire of the human family.

Under these auspices it was that the new republic took her rank among other free, sovereign, and independent nations, and that I had the honor, in my note to you, sir, of the 20th February last, to solicit the recognition of her independence on the part of the President of the United States; which request I repeat anew in this.

The glory and the satisfaction of being the first to recognize the independence of a new republic in the south of this continent belongs, in all respects and considerations, to the Government of the United States; and this recognition would be, after all, but a measure which the humanity, the justice, and the convenience and interest of this nation demand.

Reduced as Spain is to an absolute inability to continue the war, her pride wishes an opening, perhaps, to meet with a pretext for making her peace with the Americans, and nothing would better answer her purpose than the recognition of the independence of Colombia by the Federal Government.

On the other hand, if the war between Spain and Colombia must continue, the law of neutrality of the United States would operate with equality with respect to both belligerents, which was not and cannot be the case while this Government does not recognise the independence of the new republic. Lastly, between the United States and Colombia there can never exist a competition or rivalry in agriculture, commerce, and navigation, because Colombia has no mercantile navy, nor can she form one for many years, and the products of exportation of her agriculture are entirely different from those which are cultivated in the United States. She wants annually twenty thousand barrels of flour and other provisions from these States, for which she pays in coffee, indigo, hides in the hair, and in money, according as the intercourse between the two countries is favorable to the agriculture of both.

The political events of Peru and Mexico render the recognition of the independence of Colombia urgent, on account of the great confidence with which this act would inspire those nations to establish popular representative Governments. All South America formerly Spanish is emancipated—that is, upwards of eleven millions of souls; this has given a new importance to the new world, and now they are no more afraid of the machinations of the Holy Alliance to keep America dependant upon Europe, and to prevent the establishment of free Governments.

The present political state of New Spain requires the most earnest atten-

tion of the Government of the United States. There has occurred a long since formed, to establish a monarchy in Mexico, on purpose to the views of the Holy Alliance in the new world; this is a new reason ought to determine the President of the United States no longer to a measure which will naturally establish an American alliance, capable of counteracting the projects of the European Powers, and of protecting our republican institutions. My Government has entire confidence in the policy of the President, in his disposition to favor the cause of the liberty and independence of South America, and his great experience in the management of public business.

Confined for about three months past to my bed or my chamber by a grievous indisposition, which still gives me very few moments of recreation, has not been in my power to address this communication to you sooner.

I have the honor to remain, [etc.].

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*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

PHILADELPHIA, December 30,

SIR: The General Congress of the Republic of Colombia, in the session of the 6th of September, appointed the liberator and captain general Bolivar, President of the State, and General Francisco de Paula Santander Vice President, for the constitutional term of four years; and on the 10th of October they took possession of their respective magistracies, after having taken the oath prescribed by the constitution.

The functions of the executive power devolved, from the 10th of October, on the Vice President of the State, agreeably to the 158th article of the constitution, in consequence of the Liberator President having taken the command of the armies of the republic.

The Supreme Government has fixed its residence in the city of Bogotá, in virtue of a decree of the General Congress of the 8th of the same month, and, by another decree of the Liberator President of the 7th, the Señor Don Manuel Torres has been appointed Secretary of State and Foreign Relations of the Government of Colombia.

I communicate this to you, sir, that you may be pleased to communicate it to the President of the United States.

I renew to you, [etc.].

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV, 835.*

*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

PHILADELPHIA, *January 2, 1822.*

SIR: In the official note which I addressed to you on the 20th of February of the last year, soliciting the recognition of the republic of Colombia on the part of the President of the United States, I represented how important it was to my government to know the determination of the United States respecting the said demand.

In that which I had the honor to transmit to you dated the 30th of November last, I repeated the substance of that of the 20th of February, and I suggested some additional powerful reasons which urgently required the positive knowledge of the decision of the President of the United States in regard to a question of so much importance to my Government in the present circumstances, for the regulation of its political and commercial relations with other nations.

I ought not to conceal, sir, my pain in being compelled to distract your attention by requesting once more an answer to my former notes. This course, under all circumstances an indispensable duty of my station, has been rendered the more urgent by the negotiations of peace between Colombia and Spain having lost all their importance in consequence of the Peninsular Government tenaciously persisting in its extravagant and unjust pretensions, at the very time of its most absolute incapacity and impotence to invade the territory of the republic, or to prevent the prosperity which its inhabitants now begin to enjoy—a blessing of the independence which they have gained by their arms, and of the liberty which their constitution secures to them.

The present state of my health does not yet permit me to visit the capital; but I shall do so as soon as I can undertake the journey without inconvenience.

Be pleased, sir, to accept [etc.].

*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

LA GUAYRA, *March 20, 1822.*

SIR: I had the honour of writing to the Department of State on the 13 Jany., and have not had matter of sufficient importance to trouble your attention since that time.

Coro is still in possession of the Royalists as well as the intermediate C from Puerto Cabello to that place. The Republican troops have been vided by this circumstance between Barquisimeto and Valencia, and a g degree of inactivity seems to have prevailed until the present mom There are now some small vessels fitting out here, with a view to coope with the flotilla, expected up from Carthagena in the Blockade of Pu Cabello. There has been an intention on the Part of this Government declare that place in a State of blockade some weeks ago, but I have recei no notice of it from any Branch of the Executive in this Province.

General Bolivar is now near Cucuta. It is not Known when he will v Venezuela, but the necessity of his presence to compleat the final expulsion the Spaniards, is felt and acknowledged.

By the present regulation of duties on Import, the European direct C merce to this Country, pays Five per Centum less than that of the Un States—this Constitutes a premium, which if not counteracted will pr very injurious to our trade. I am of opinion that the object in making distinction, was to call the attention of the Governmt. of the United Sta towards an earlier recognition of their Independence. The late motion Congress to that effect, has been translated into the Caracas Gazette dwelt on with peculiar complacency.

There has been much indifference shewn towards me in my official Sta since my arrival here, and whether it arises from a belief that my commis is imperfect; or from pique that the Agent of the Colombian Republic is recognized by the Govt. of the U. S.; I cannot take on me to say: but I a take the liberty of suggesting the propriety of forwarding to me a Com mission of more recent date, and one more particularly directed to the pres Government of Colombia. I would at the same time fain hope, that if t should be any inferior grade of Diplomacy, considered by the Presiden necessary towards this Government at present; the gratuitous services w I formerly rendered, might without presumption on my part, entitle m some preference, being with the utmost Respect [etc.].

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*Manuel Torres, Chargé d'Affaires of Colombia at Washington, to John Qu Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

PHILADELPHIA, April 6, 182

SIR: In your official letter of the 18th. of last January² you were please tell me, that as soon as I should receive advice of the occupation of the I

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 97.

mus and fortress of Panama by the troops of Colombia, I should communicate them to the Department. In compliance with your request, Sir, I have the honour to inform you, that the people of that place spontaneously and unanimously declared their independence on the 28th. of November last year, and at the same time were incorporated with the Republic of Colombia; the troops of which at present guard and garrison those important points.

I renew to you [etc.].

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Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

LA GUAYRA, April 16, 1822.

SIR: A reference to the letters which I have had the honour to address from time to time, since my arrival in this Country to the Department of State, will exhibit as far as my means of obtaining information have extended the course of events in this part of So. America. The doubtful situation in which I have stood as respects this Government, has no doubt prevented any communication to me on their part, as well as thrown a constraint over the means which I might have exercised to obtain information, had my mission partaken in the least degree of a Diplomatic Character. A former communication will shew, that the only instance wherein I have attempted to represent my Countrymen on a Subject where their interests were assailed in defiance of a promulgated law; the interference was viewed as an attempt on my part without authority, and repelled accordingly. I am therefore not backward in expressing my satisfaction at the probable recognition by the United States of the Republic of Colombia, in as much as it will rid my minor station of embarrassments which cannot but tend to make my efforts to be useful to my Government, inefficacious—

The general Consular instructions with which I was furnished before I left Washington, are inapplicable to many Situations which present themselves of late with regard to Citizens of the United States, and some extension of them may be deemed necessary under existing circumstances.

On board of Privateers under the flag of this Govt., are many Americans decoyed into their present unhappy situations, & in fact groaning under the heaviest tyranny. These men have been seduced at particular times and generally under the influence of intoxication enrolled on the lists of the Crews of the Privateers in question; their liberty enthralled by a pretended oath of allegiance to this Republic, administered without form, and recorded by the interested duplicity of the masters or owners of the Privateers to which they are attached, and under which plea the Commanders of them pretend to detain these men as Citizens or subjects of Colombia. That they may be the

better deprived of all means of redress, their Certificates of American Citizenship, are taken from them, and thus compleatly disfranchised, they are left to the mercy of men, who have in several instances, themselves forfeited their lives to the offended laws of their own Country.

Numerous applications have been made to me by Americans in this situation, & of a few whose liberation I have procured, it has been professed more as a matter of personal favor to myself, than as a right due to these unfortunate men as individuals and Americans, or to my character as agent of the Government of the United States.

I have thought it correct to place this matter before your view, that whatever communications may take place between the two Governments on a matter of such importance may not be lost sight of, and that in the mean time you may give me such instructions to act as may be deemed proper for an emergency—

Yesterday I received intelligence that the Brig Calypso of New York bound from this port with a valuable Cargo, American property has been captured and sent into Puerto Cabello by the Spanish Brig of War Hercules—We have now an extensive trade to this Coast which will make the Propriety of Convoy or protection more apparent, and I hope that the President will deem it correct to give a competent safeguard to so valuable a branch of our Commerce. I have no account of any other Capture.

With respect to the internal state of this country, there is little change since my last— The Royalists occupy Coro & Pto Cabello. Patriots have so far contented themselves with watching them from Quisimeto and Valencia. But there are now strenuous efforts making to raise a siege to Puerto Cabello, and in a few weeks that event will take place, what success remains to be seen. There are now two Brigs & As and two Schooners in this Harbour destined for this purpose, & their victualling and manning has been pushed with activity for some days past. Part of the Carthagena fleet is said to have arrived at Ocumare about 4 leagues to the westward of P. Cabello, for the same purpose. The country in general is in a tranquil, and such are the natural resources of this fine portion of the Globe, that the repose of even a few months has had the effect to restore the appearance of a prosperity, it has not known since the irruption of the Spaniards in 1795. Caracas now contains 20,000 inhabitants—

I have in a communication to you last month, ventured to recal the recollections of my former Services in this Country (unremunerated) when I was sent out in 1810. Perhaps on consideration thereof, the President might be pleased to employ me in some one of the inferior Diplomatic appointments in this Country, for which perhaps my Knowledge of the language, Customs, and people of the Country, may render me more fit than Some other persons who tenders to the distinction

*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

LA GUAYRA, *July 9, 1822.*

SIR: I inclose a copy of a letter published in the Santa Fé Gazette on the subject of my recognition by this Government in my Consular Functions. This of course was prior to the acknowledgement of their Independence by the government of the United States— Still my residence is a matter of Sufferance, and hardly one of right as respects my public Situation, and is therefore attended with a variety of inconveniences. As suggested in a former letter, I respectfully submit to you the propriety, of sending me a Commission of more recent date and addressed to the Government of Columbia. . . .

There has been a Slight reverse of fortune lately to the Patriot Cause in this Province, but I believe its effects are already done away; and Moralez who Commended the Royalists, has been obliged to send for Ships to embark his troops from Coro—

Our Commerce in these Seas is rather in danger of late from a number of small Privateers fitted out in Puerto Rico— A Single Brig or well armed Schooner would be Sufficient for its protection—

I remain [etc.].

*Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

LA GUAYRA, *September 22, 1822.*

SIR: Under the weekly & daily expectation of the arrival of a Diplomatic Agent from the United States, I have not addressed the Departmt, of State Since April ² and June last. Various enquiries have, in this interval, been made of me by the Intendant of the Province, relative to the expected mission, which it has not been in my power to answer. I need not observe, that the defect of the Commission under which I have been partially accredited; Joined to the total Silence observed towards me Since I left Washington, have rather tended to place me in an awkward Situation with respect to this Government, which altho' a Departamental one, no doubt takes its tone from

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 614. The June communication is not included in this print.

the Executive at Cucuta. And indeed it may alarm their vanity, which is excessive, when it is observed, that the only Agent the Government of the United States has in this Country, presents no credentials but a Commission dated in 1812, addressed 'to the Powers and authorities in and over the Province of Caracas'; and a simple certificate of a later date, that the same individual, is Marine & Commercial Agent for the Port of LaGuayra. None of these Instruments addressed to the actual government of the Country, although that Government, is recognized by the United States. I pray you also to observe that, my Commission of 1812, styles me *Consul* for LaGuayra and the Ports in the same allegiance that may be nearer to my residence than that of any other Consul or Vice Consul of the United States. Whilst the Certificate you were pleased to furnish me with in October last, reduces me to the rank of Agent for Commerce & Seamen. These circumstances appear of little consequence, but they have had the effect to reduce my standing & influence with these people; who appear to have granted me with reluctance even the limited powers I now exercise. You will I trust pardon my importunity on this subject. I am not so covetous of individual importance, as I am jealous, that the Government of the United States should receive no slight through me as their Agent.

In a former communication I have stated the grievances encountered by many unfortunate Bona fide Americans, pressed or inveigled into the service of what is called the Navy of this Country, and I now beg leave to recall this circumstance to your attention as one peculiarly worthy of a prompt & efficacious interference. The Colombian *Navy* if it may be styled such presents itself in a novel view. It is composed of private armed vessels, many of them owned by foreigners, both men and vessels pressed into the service. Some officers serving under the flag, some with rank of Commodore, who have no actual reliance on the Laws of other Countries— Whose reliance is on the service of Seamen, mostly under compulsory process; neither officers nor men paid except in promises— It has been the policy of such a Service to deprive the Seamen of any Documents they might possess, proving them to be Citizens of other Countries; whilst a pretended oath of fealty administered *on board* to men whilst in a state of intoxication, has been held sufficient to rivet on them a most odious & oppressive Servitude. I have known numbers of persons, who I had no doubt (Yet no proof) of their Being American Citizens, Seized by the Military on Shore, and with Shocking abuse of violence, forced to return on board of the vessels, in which with the want of reflection common to Sailors, they had embarked as Privateers-men for the term of a Cruise— In a few instances only, have I been able to rescue these persons.

Through the Medium of the Public Papers, you will no doubt have learned that the Government of the United States, has been informed of the

ture there; his late attempt to penetrate to Caracas by the side of Valencia and his failure in that attempt.

We now learn that he has attacked and taken the City of Maracaibo, but it is probable that with the present prompt & rather vigorous movements of the Republicans, he will find himself surrounded there and unable to escape—

It is something singular that this part of the Republic, should for such a length of time have been abandoned in a manner to its fate by the rest of the Confederation. With exhausted means, & but little talent to develop and employ to advantage the resources they do possess; it is obvious, that with any other enemy to contend against, the worst consequences might have taken place— A small effort from Spain, would be attended with mournful consequences for Venezuela, nor am I over confident that a majority of the people would not readily Submit to such a force as they might think could protect them. This Revolution like many other long continued conflicts, has left the mass of the people only desirous of Repose, and ready to sink with perfect apathy under the Yoke of any Government that will give them tranquility— It would be foreign to my duty to enter into any further details of the State of Public feeling— I shall content myself with saying that this People is ill prepared for the Rights of Civil Liberty, and that the leaven of Spanish Despotism, has infected their present Rulers, as much as it ever did their former masters. . . .

I hope it may not be considered presumptuous if I again place my pretensions before you, in case of the appointment of a Consul General to reside in Caracas, which would not be incompatible with my Consulate and Commercial views in this place— Being with the utmost Respect [etc.].

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Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACT]

CARACAS, October 15, 1822.

SIR: I have the honor, to report my arrival in this City on the 9th inst. having reached the port of La Guayra on the night of the 6th. Of my progress, from the time of the departure of the ship "John Adams" from the Capes of the Chesapeake, on the 20th of August, untill her arrival at Porto Rico on the 26th Sept. and departure for the Main on the 30th, the Government will have been advised by the communications of the Commander to the Navy Department.

On the 1st Oct. we met the U. States Brig. Spark in the Mona Passage as it was conceived to be of importance to the public interests, that Mr. sett should reach Mexico, at a period as early as practicable with a view to return to Washington before the next Session of Congress, I proposed the Brig. should be directed to convey me to La Guayra and the Ship proceed immediately to Vera Cruz. This arrangement was accordingly made in the hope the objects of the President were, in both respects, consulted.

While from the most obvious considerations, I could have no communications with the Authorities of Porto Rico, I feel it my duty to suggest to my conviction, that they possess no adequate powers to prevent or redress the depredations committed on our Commerce, on the pretext of enforcing Colonial regulations or illegitimate blockades. The government of the U. States may be compelled again to experience a protracted and irritating system of Negotiation, in which the spoliations may be acknowledged to be not remunerated, unless by a timely interposition of our Naval force. The sources of complaint by our Merchants shall be obviated. It is by no means a satisfactory assurance, by one Department of the Government at Porto Rico, that these obnoxious regulations or blockades are disapproved, if another Department grants Commissions, by virtue of which these outrages are repeated, and the Courts proceed to condemn the property thus captured. If, after due notice by the Government of the U. States of its opinion on the determination, with regard to these pretenses, Our Vessels of War shall be called on, to correct any future irregularities, all responsibility for the consequences will obviously attach to the Government of Spain. Of the principal officers at Porto Rico General La Torre late Commander on the Military Governor and Lisnanes one of the Commissioners sent by Morillo to Angostura is the Civil Governor.

In the reception which the Authorities of La Guayra and of this City have been pleased to give me, I had the satisfaction to recognise the very high regard they entertain for the Government of the United States; of their Gratitude for the generous interest always manifested in their welfare, and especially for the late act of acknowledging their Independence. Arrangements have been previously made by General Soublette, Intendente or Governor General of the Department of Venezuela, providing apartments for my accommodation during my residence in each place. I shall have the honor by the conveyance, of transmitting a more particular account of the proceedings which they demonstrated their grateful feelings towards our Government and their admiration of our Institutions.

Robert K. Lowry, United States Consul at La Guayra, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACTS]

LA GUAYRA, *December 24, 1822.*

SIR: Col. Todd left Caracas for Bogota on or about the 7 Novr., and I have had no communication from him since his departure. I have in the meanwhile forwarded the several packets directed to my care from the Department of State to his address. The arrival of this gentleman has I presume superceded the necessity of any correspondence on my part, more particularly as there has been no intimation at any time since my return to this Country, either directly or indirectly, that any communications were either expected or desired from me; but the great distance from this place to Bogota; the difficulty of communicating with Col Todd at that place; the consequent delay which must arise in communicating through him, circumstances which should reach you Speedily; induce me to address you.

Since my respects of the 22 Sept^r.² various difficulties have arisen in the discharge of my official duty, which may be partly attributed to the imperfectness of the commission under which I act; partly I am sorry to believe to the want of a conciliatory Spirit on the part of this branch of the Colombian Governmt. towards the United States. I do not pretend to say, that the same Spirit would not be displayed towards any other Government. This Departmental administration is very distant from the seat of Power, and there is a leaven of despotism inherent with its Rulers, which views with the utmost jealousy everything that is foreign—anything that can in the least degree interfere with their own power. Hence the appearance of any claims of jurisdiction among them, which may in the smallest item question their right to act as they please; is viewed by them with a repugnance, which causes a resistance on their part subversive of any right which may be attached to the Consulate by the Customs of other Countries or the Laws of nations. Perhaps the expositions I shall now place before you, will fully explain the grounds of this assertion. . . .

With respect to the Situation of Venezuela, there is but little alteration since my letter of the 22 Sept^r.— If anything, disaffection has been increased by the success of Gen. Moralez, and by the despotic conduct of the rulers here. Bands of Robbers acting in the name of the King of Spain infest one of the principal Roads to Caracas, and approaching to within 5 Leagues of the City have almost devastated the District towards the River Zuy in the South. Still I do not believe that the means of Moralez, are sufficient to make any permanent impression, although we have been in a great State of alarm since the beginning of October.

Permit me to remind you of the great necessity there is that mission as Consul should be forwarded as soon as possible as w authorities here are furnished with a Pretext which virtually d the power of being useful in my Station.

I have the Honour [etc.].

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*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia,
Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia*

BOGOTA, Decemb

SIR: I have been directed by the President of the U. States to City, the seat of Government of the Republic of Colombia; a authority heretofore given me, of which a Certified Copy was t the Vice President then at Angostura in my letter of the 2nd from Margarita, to Communicate to you, for the information of Government, that Mr. Manuel Torres has been received by the the character of its Charge de Affaires.

With regard to the diplomatic intercourse between the two C the wish of the President to place it on the footing most agr Republic of Colombia itself. Mr. Torres suggested to the Secr his belief that a Minister Plenipotentiary would shortly be appo Government to the U. States and that he would be authorized Treaty of Amity and Commerce founded upon principles of entir He was informed, that the Minister would be received with pleas proposition of negotiation with the most attentive and friendly c

I have been authorized, also, to make known to the Colom ment, that a Minister of equal rank will be sent from the U. S event of the arrival there, of a Minister from that Republic; and the rank of Charge de Affaires, corresponding with that held by the U. States, would have been extended to me, but that it w quired the sanction of the Senate, who were not in session, at th instructions on the 2nd July last.

Allow me, Sir, to unite with you, in sentiments of unfeigned loss sustained by both Republics, in the death of Mr. Torres. ancny of this event, is mitigated, however, by the Consolitary that his eminent services and enlightened principles, had secur imperishable fame in both Americas.

The hope, in which I indulged in my letter of the 13th Feby.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II, enclosed with Todd to Adams, J, which see below, pt. VI, doc. 621.

Thomas, has been, in a great degree, accomplished In returning again, to renew my duties as the representative of the U. States, I feel not less pride than pleasure, in the opportunity it affords me, of congratulating you on a signal Act of my government, which, in recognizing the Independence of Colombia, bestowed a just tribute of respect to its own principles, as well as, to the persevering patriotism of the people of your interesting Country.

In this felicitation, I have, at the same time, the peculiar satisfaction of saluting you, on the anniversary of the adoption of the Fundamental Law of Colombia, which, under the sanction of the General Congress at Cucuta, constituted as a Representative Republic, free and indivisible, all the people in the vast Territory embraced within the limits of the late Vice Royalty of New Granada and Captain Generalship of Venezuela.

The deep sense, I entertain, of the importance to both Governments, of an early conference on the subjects noticed in this communication, must be my apology for addressing you on the political interests of the State, during a period of Festival, dedicated to religious, worship and the glory of the Nation.

Accompanying this dispatch, I have the honor to enclose a letter from the Secretary of State of the U. States, and avail myself of the occasion to tender you assurances [etc.].

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*Pedro Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, to Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia*¹

BOGOTA, *January 2, 1823.*

SIR: I have had the honour to receive, and lay before His Excellency the Vice president of the Republic, charged with the executive power, your Communication of the 26th Decr.² last, informing me amongst other matters of your Arrival in this City as Agent of the United States of America, accredited by Letter of His Excellency the Secretary of State in Date of the 2d July last Year, and which you have been pleased to enclose me.

The Government had been already instructed by our Chargé d'Affaires in the City of Washington of the various Acts by which your Government, had solemnly acknowledged the Sovereignty, and Independence of this Republic. The Executive was also informed, that subsequent to that Mr. Manuel Torres had been received in the publick Character confer'd on him by this Country for his distinguished Services and exalted Patriotism. Both these Circumstances have gratified the wishes of the Government of Colombia, which never doubted that their Brethren of the United States would be

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II, enclosed with Todd to Adams of the same date, which see below, pt. VI, doc. 621.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 619.

the first to render Justice to a People, which left, to its own Resources, to overcome all the Difficulties of a ruinous War of more than twelve Years Duration. Divine Providence in whose Hands rests the Fate of Empires, has at last been graciously pleased to crown our Efforts with a fortunate Issue, and grant us an Opportunity of presenting our Feelings of Gratitude to a Nation situated in the Hemispheres of Columbus, that undertook the same Career as we have done, and by its publick Virtue is now raised to an extraordinary Pitch of Prosperity.

The Combination of so many Circumstances ever cherished the Cordials and Desire in my government of establishing intimate Relations of Friendship and good Understanding with the United States and, for this End it was intended to employ the Information and Experience of Mr. Torres, whose melancholy Intelligence of his Decease reached Columbia. An Event which occasioned the deepest Sorrow to the Government, and people of this Country, who are fully sensible of the Honour you pay his Memory. To replace him His Excellency the Vice President has nominated the Honl. José María Salazar, President of the Superior Court of Justice of the District of Columbia North, with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary; & pursuant to his Instructions he would have set out immediately had not his Journey been suspended until your Arrival in this City, which was given to expect by Advices from the Intendent of Venezuela and the civil and military authorities on your Route.

The friendly Dispositions of the Government of the United States manifested in your Communication, to which I have the Honour to reply, have induced the Executive to renew orders to Mr. Salazar for his departure as speedily as possible. For the present Mr. Salazar's mission will be limited to the presenting to the illustrious president of those States the Sentiments of Columbia on this occasion, and to other points in which the interest of our Country may accidentally come in Contact. If you should wish to communicate to your Government by this Opportunity, I shall have the greatest pleasure in transmitting your Dispatches by the Secretary of Legation, who will set out in a few days from Cucuta for Caracas.

Until I can have the Honour of conferring with you on the other points of your Communication of the 26th Decr., permit me to express in the Name of my Government the Satisfaction received by your safe Arrival in this City, and the Esteem entertained of your personal Qualifications, remaining in the Interim with the most profound Respect [etc.].

Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, January 2, 1823.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you of my arrival in this City on the 24th December.

On the morning of the 25th I addressed a note to Dr. Gual Sec^y of State for foreign affairs of which the enclosed No 1 is a copy. He was absent from the City at his seat in the vicinity, in consequence of which I did not receive untill the 26th his reply of which No. 2 is a Copy. I had the honor of a personal conference with him at the time and place specified in his note. He expressed the pleasure he felt on meeting me and congratulated his country on my Mission and arrival. He adverted to the publications in the U. S. announcing my mission in some official capacity, but added he had not seen it in the N. Int. I suggested the reason to be, a want of power in the President, to appoint in the recess of the Senate, and after giving the substance of my instructions on this subject, remarked, that the late period of the session when the bill, authorizing an appropriation for missions to the new Governments in the South had passed, did not enable the President to nominate to the Senate; and that subsequently the mission to Colombia had been delayed, from the supposed necessity of Mr. Torres being first presented and received. He assured me that Colombia entertained the most friendly feelings towards the U. States and was anxious to establish and maintain the most cordial relations, that, as yet, they were weak and must temporize, not only with Europe but with the other Nations in South America, where there were differences of opinion as to the proper form of Govt. to establish; In a few years, however, it would be in the power of this Govt. to draw much closer the bonds of Union with the U. S. I stated to him in reply that my Govt. had always reciprocated the kind feelings of this Country. but that we asked no exclusive privileges in our negociations with other powers, the basis of which was sincerity & entire reciprocity; that we had no secrets. He remarked, that in the intercourse, between two Republics particularly, there should be no other feeling, although, it was unfortunately otherwise in the transactions between the different Govts. of Europe. I suggested to him the reasons inducing me, to reach the capitol by the route through the Interior and to postpone untill my arrival the communication indicated in my note of the 25th. He said that Dr. Salazar had been appointed the Minister but he would not embark untill he received the instructions, which would be for-

¹MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II. His enclosures numbers one and two are not printed since they merely arranged for the conference. For his enclosures three and four,

ed to him after my arrival in the Capital; that it was the wish of this
. to adopt the grade most agreeable to the U. S. and that he, would with
ure, receive the written communication I proposed to make, a copy of
n is enclosed (marked No. 3).

had the honor of a visit from Dr Gual on the 28th. He informed me,
he should have called sooner, for the purpose of introducing me to the
resident but he had just learned that I had removed into the suburbs;
on the preceding day, the V. Prest. had been engaged with the public
ral and the next day, being the Sabbath, he proposed that we should visit
on Monday the 30th.

He entered into general conversation. He mentioned the sudden death of
Echeverria their Minister to Rome before he had reached his destination.
General San Martin had returned to Chili; that, the Council of Govt. at
had appointed Alvarado General in Chief, and it was believed that the
ish force was inconsiderable. A general Congress had been summoned
was probably in session at this time; that they were destitute of Arms,
g received only about 2000 stand & those from the U. S. He intimated
there were some difficulties between this Govt. and that of Peru, as to
precise boundaries between them and this, among other causes, had in-
d Genl. Bolivar to visit the southern provinces of Quito.

He asked, if the establishment of an imperial regime and the coronation of
aide, in Mexico, had not excited great surprise and dissatisfaction in the
? He observed that their Minister Santa Maria had been deputed to
country during the regency, but that since the coronation of Iturbide,
owers had been suspended and would not be renewed until the meeting
ngress; that this Govt. would pause and see the stability of things in
ico before they would recognize an Emperor, who may be deposed to-
row; adverted to the peculiar manner in which he had been first pro-
ned and stated that he had, a few days since, received some interesting
from Santa Maria. He continued his remarks by expressing his con-
on, that an Imperial Govt. could not long exist on this Continent. That
Govt. desired the independence of every other and although they did not
ider it their duty or their policy to interfere in the internal institutions,
h any of them, might wish to establish, it was, nevertheless, necessary to
to the fact and examine into the probability of the continuance of the
ing Govt. I communicated then, as far as I knew, the object of the
ident in requesting Mr. Poinsett to visit Mexico.

He visited the V. Prest on the 30th who received me very respectfully as
public Agent of the U. S.; expressed the satisfaction he experienced on
ing me and on learning that on the route every attention had been shown
that he hoped I would represent to my Govt. the public spirit of this
le towards the U. States; and after congratulating his country on my
intment & arrival, assured me, he would with pleasure receive any com-

cation from me on behalf of the U. S. and that the most respectful con-
tion would be given it. I informed him that I had already on the route,
ould again represent to my Govt. the kind terms in which I had been
ed and that while I was reporting the friendly feelings towards my
ry, I should be able to speak of the order of the internal administration
ne general tranquillity that prevailed on the whole route from Caraccas
gota; that personally and as the representative of the U. S., I had al-
cherished a deep solicitude for the welfare of Colombia; that I had been
half years travelling to this point, and that I had made great domestic
ces, to be the instrument of cultivating the most cordial relations be-
our respective Countries. In the course of a previous conversation
Dr. Gual, he informed me that Commissioners had arrived at P. Cavello
Spain, with full powers to make the best treaty they could, even should
necessary to recognize the Independence of this country—that he
ht there would be peace in the course of this year and conceived that
ief difficulty in the negociations would arise out of an arrangement as to
nfiscated property. I referred him to the negociations of Messrs.
lin & Adams at Paris. He approved of the doctrines maintained by
Illustrious statesmen and expressed his hope and belef that Dr. Salazar
reach Washington before the adjournment of Congress. that he might
ss to our Nation the kind feelings of this for our manly conduct. He
e was already prepared with the projet of a Treaty and in a few days
d be arranged. I replied to him, that I had no authority to enter into
negociation, but that I would take pleasure in transmitting to my Govt.
ver might be the views of Colombia on that subject: at the same time,
was not made acquainted with the wish of my Govt; as to the theatre
ich the Treaty would be formed. He intimated distinctly the wish of
ovt to enter into the negociations at this place. He stated that Gen.
ar would arrive in 20 or 30 days. he had been detained by some disturb-
at Pasto a Town always hostile to the revolution & situated between
an & Quito. A Spanish officer with 40 followers retired into the Moun-
after the battles which terminated in a general capitulation, and being
by some of those who had been paroled, entered Pasto & seized a large
at of property. The direct communication with Quito was interrupted.
s necessary now to pass from Popayan to B. Ventura on the Pacific,
by sea to Esmeralda an important port at the mouth of the river which
ts source near Quito. & thence up that river to the Capital of that De-
ent. He concluded the conversation by expressing some very liberal
nlightened sentiments, with regard to the deleterious influence of
craft here and Kingcraft in Europe.

loss of Maracaibo will, I fear, be urged as an objection, to the adoption
ay judicious laws, which were to have been proposed during the present
a of Congress, and I am induced to apprehend, that the Revolutionary

gle in Peru is yet destined to various vicissitudes. It is the general impression here, that the Army of La Serna & Canterac is imposing without, internal discord embarrasses the operations of the provisional Govt. and deprived them of the Military services of San Martin, however, propitious such a measure may have been to their political institutions. . . . I have the honor to enclose duplicates of Nos. 38 and 39 together with a citation (No. 4) of the reply of the Secy of State for Foreign Affairs to my letter of the 26th Dec. and remain [etc.].

*es S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to Pedro Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, January 4, 1823.

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 2nd Inst. in reply to my communication I had been directed by the Government of the U. States, to submit to you on the 26th December, and I shall have the satisfaction of transmitting the views of your Government contained in it, by the first conveyance which may offer to the U. States.

I take great pleasure in assuring you that the friendly dispositions towards the U. States manifested in these views, will find a reciprocal feeling in the sentiments of my government, and that the offering of grateful sensibility to Mr. Salazar has been directed to tender to the Chief Magistrate of the U. States (the Unanimous choice of its free Citizens), will be received by him, as a symbol of sincere and lasting affection between the people and Governments of the first Representative Republics of the New World.

I am equally gratified in the opportunity of assuring you, that the U. States will use the full force, of the responsibility attached to the example they have presented to the World and of the compliment bestowed on their career, by the imitation which Colombia has exhibited, as well in defence of her sacred rights, as in the mode she has selected to establish and confirm those rights by a Constitutional Government, on the liberal basis and under the vivifying influence of the Representative principle. The Government of Colombia will do justice to the views which have ever animated the U. States when it is not doubted that they would be the first to award the meed of justice to the brave struggles of their brethren of the South. From the commencement of the struggle, as early as the Congress of 1811, down to the period of public

¹ Dispatches from Colombia, II, enclosed with Todd to Adams, January 8, 1823, see below, pt. VI, doc. 623. For his note of December 26 and Gual's reply of January 4, see above pt. VI, docs. 619 and 620.

sources than their own, they will view with equal pride and satisfaction, every increase of their power and prosperity.

I beg you to present to your Government, the grateful feelings with which¹ I receive the favorable opinion of me, you have been pleased to express in the conclusion of your remarks.— it will animate and invigorate my exertions for the promotion of the welfare of both Republics.

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, *January 8, 1823.*

SIR: I had the honor of a conference with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the evening of the 4th inst, conformably to the intimation contained in his reply to my letter of the 26th December.

He commenced the conversation by requesting, that the views which he was about to suggest, as well in relation to the formation of a Treaty with the U. States, as to the negotiations with the other Nations on this Continent and the information communicated to me as received from their Ministers near those Governments, might be transmitted to you in the strictest confidence; and on this account, declined the proposition I made to him, of submitting those views in a written reply.

He referred to that part of my letter, stating that Mr. Torres had suggested to you his belief, that a Minister with full powers would shortly be appointed by this Government to negotiate a Treaty, and said that this was the arrangement contemplated at that time; but the Government had since changed its views; and presuming on the generous disposition of the Government of the U. States, entertained now, the hope, that it would consult the wishes of this, in consenting to the formation of a Treaty in this Capital. I took occasion to repeat to him, that I was not honored with the wishes of my Government on this subject; but that I would promptly and with pleasure, forward to you, whatever he might desire to communicate as to the views of his Government; and could assure him, that the U. States did not entertain a

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II. For his note of December 26 and Gual's reply of January 2 referred to in the first paragraph, and his reply of January 4 to Gual mentioned in the last paragraph, see above, pt. VI, docs. 619, 620 and 622.

negociate upon any other terms than those of entire reciprocity. He by giving the most explicit assurances, that, in requesting the Treaty formed here, no distrust whatever, was entertained of the views of the States; they were already known to the world and justly appreciated; that diplomatic Course was distinctly delineated and in no event, could our interests be committed in its negotiations with Colombia or any other

wished me to impress you with the fact, that their situation was new and embarrassing; that measures were, now, in progress for negotiations, not with the powers of Europe but with the other Nations on this Continent; in many respects, the different Governments in what had been denominated Spanish America, might be considered as Allies, speaking a common language, with common customs, a common religion and contending for Independence against a Common Enemy; that the attitude in which Colombia was placed, rendered great circumspection necessary—but that the motive in inducing a wish to have the Treaty formed here had referred to the state of their negotiations in Europe.— If the U. States would take for example, the Governments of Europe would have no pretext for referring their negotiations to be held in Europe.— This Government wished, however, to avoid the necessity of negotiating in London or Paris: its interests and rights would be best guarded by a negotiation in this Capital: for ever confidence they might repose in the Ministers they might depute to Europe, it was nevertheless possible, from the known intrigues and corruptions of those Courts, that they might be influenced to abandon in some degree an important charge committed to them; the consequences of a refusal to form a Treaty, would be most perplexing to a young Government in the infancy of its career.

He added, that the example of revolutionary and of republican Governments was viewed with jealousy by the crowned heads of Europe and in some of the new Nations springing up in the South, there were great differences of opinion with the people as to the form of Government best adapted to the promotion of their happiness; and although, he did not distinctly intimate any preference to be collected from these suggestions, I could clearly perceive, that it was the wish of this Government, to avoid any measure which might excite jealousy in Europe or America, the slightest suspicion of their being under any undue influence of the U. States. At the same time, he declared expressly that there was no distrust of our views; that it was the policy of both Governments, for the present, not to arrest the particular attention of the Governments of Europe, and that in a few years, the U. States would be invited to enter in An American Confederacy for the protection and Management of America's interests; that Colombia had achieved her Independence single handed; she was under no particular obligations to any Government. He alluded especially to G. Britain, who had never aided or countenanced their

struggle, and expressed his apprehensions that, in consequence of the convulsed state of Spain and the probable measures which would engage the attention of the Congress in Italy, Ferdinand might make an arrangement with G. Britain, to propose a mediation in consideration of certain political or commercial advantages and in the profits of which they would participate. He had no particular information on which to found this apprehension, but as it was possible, this Government had already positively instructed its agents to accept no Mediation connected with any other condition than that of peace and absolute Independence.

He advised me of the arrival at Carthagena, in a French corvette, of five Agents from the French Government—one for Colombia, one to Mexico, and the others had applied for passports across the Isthmus to proceed to Peru, Chile, and B. Ayres. Mr. Molier, the Agent deputed to this Government, had announced to the Intendente in a conference, the most friendly feelings on the part of his Government, with a desire to form commercial relations, and had applied for a passport to reach this City. He is expected in a few weeks—but the Secretary remarked that he did not know officially what was his commission or object,—he would be received but his movements would be narrowly watched. The Head of the French Government was merely an instrument in the hands of the Allied powers and although the people of France entertained friendly dispositions, this Government had never received any countenance from a King whose power was, by no means, permanently established. He intimated his belief that these Agents were dispatched for the purpose of examining into the actual state of Affairs and it was, possible, among other objects to foment intrigues with a view to the political or Commercial advantages of their country:

He added a few remarks in relation to Mexico, stating that Mr. Santa Maria had declined further official intercourse with that Government, in consequence of the change of dynasty, necessarily suspending his powers; that he resided in the vicinity of that Capital and was a vigilant observer of passing and probable events; that there were divisions in the Army and Clergy as to the Nature of their Government and this Government would pause before they countenanced, by a recognition, an Imperial establishment on this Continent. He informed me, that on the arrival of their Minister Mosquera in Lima, there was an universal disposition to establish an Imperial Government, but that, after an examination of the Constitution and Laws of Colombia in their own language, there was, now, through the prudent address of Mosquera, a general and decided sentiment in favor of a similar Government, and the Secretary entertained, no doubt, that by this time, it had been adopted. M. Mosquera had been directed, on the close of his mission at Lima, to leave a Charge de Affaires and proceed across the Andes to B. Ayres.

He continued his remarks by suggesting the wish of this Government to

tain the grade of Minister Plenipotentiary during the pendency of negotiations for a Treaty and afterwards it was their desire to establish only a grade of Charge de Affaires—this arrangement, he conceived, would best correspond with the finances and republican principles of both Governments. Being asked whether Dr. Salazar would be authorized and prepared to enter into a Treaty at Washington, in the event of the U. States preferring that theatre for its negotiation, he replied that he would provide for that contingency and send him a full projet, embracing, as far as practicable, every possible case, in the hope that the Treaty might continue for half a Century. It still renewed the earnest and anxious wish of this Government to continue the negotiation in this Capital.

I enquired whether he expected the Spanish Commissioners shortly; he replied that they would wait the issue of the operations against Maracaibo. Should Morales be repulsed, they would come immediately to this Capital, and I entertained the most favorable expectations from the character and principles of the Commissioners; two of them were former residents and in the case of Venezuela and had large estates in the neighborhood of Caracas and Valencia, the other was an officer of the Navy and known to possess the most liberal feelings. He informed me that their vessels were admitted into the ports of Holland, and a formal recognition of their Independence was expected to be announced in a short time.; that such had already been the case of the Government of Portugal, by a letter he had received from the Secretary of State at Lisbon, though, from the present condition of that country, he did not expect, that a Minister would be dispatched immediately. He concluded by remarking, that it was their great object to husband their resources and mature their Institutions; not to excite unnecessarily the jealousies of the European Governments, nor to evince too much solicitude to conclude Treaties with them and adverted to the embarrassing condition, in which the Government had been placed, by the monied negotiations of Mr. Calhoun indulging at the same time, in the hope, that the present Congress would adopt a plan for consolidating the public debt, which, by pledging certain securities for the payment of the interest and a gradual extinguishment of the principal, would give renewed confidence to the Capitalists in the U. States and Europe. . . .

I have the honor to enclose a copy of my letter to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs on the 4th Inst. and another of the 6th in relation to reclamation, and in [etc.].

*dro Gual, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, to Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, *January 29, 1823.*

I have the honor to enclose to you, at the same time, two copies of the decree expedited by the Executive on the 20th Inst. prohibiting the introduction of the natural fruits or produce of the manufactures of Spain, her colonies or dependencies. A sincere desire of putting a speedy end to the calamities of the present War, reducing the Enemy to the situation of suing for Peace, is what prompted the adoption of this measure, which I beg you to place to the notice of your Government.

I renew, [etc.].

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, *February 5, 1823.*

I had the honor of a further Conference on the 30th January and commenced the conversation, by saying that I would avail myself of his proposal made on the other day, to confer frankly about the present state of Affairs, promising at the same time, that whatever I might suggest or receive from him, should be considered as entirely confidential. He immediately referred to the great solicitude this Government felt that the U. States should continue their good offices, within the bounds of Neutrality by negotiation &c. in strengthening the cause of Colombia in Europe and he hoped I would communicate to my Government fully upon this subject, as well what he now said, as what he had remarked in former conferences, that Dr. Salazar had been instructed to press this consideration on our Government. I took occasion to assure him, that I had already transmitted the substance of former conferences, and would, with pleasure, address my Government on this particular point, entertaining, as I did, no doubt they would persevere in every effort that they could consistently adopt, especially by negotiation, of inducing the powers of Europe, to recognize their Independence. I seized the opportunity of delivering an extract from Commodore Perry's instructions, detailing an account of the Measures proposed for a Mediation at Aix la Chapelle, referred to in my letter to Dr. Roscio from Margarita 2d August 1822, and added, also, what the President had communicated to me, as

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 592.

the reasons inducing the King of Spain to delay the ratification of the
ceding the Floridas—that about the time of the negociations for this
y, the U. States renewed to G. Britain alone, the proposition made to
European powers, to unite in a simultaneous recognition— The
Government not only declined it but informed Spain of the proposi-
n consequence of which Spain sent out General Vives to make explana-
and demand conditions, one of which was the extraordinary and inad-
le requisition that the U. States should form no political or other
ns; with the new Governments in Spanish America. I mentioned also,
t this period, the public prints of G. Britain were filled with essays to
the necessity and propriety of their having Cuba as an offset to our
ase of the Floridas. Dr. Gual told me, that in consequence of the long
Dr. Roscio from Angostura to Cucuta and his death immediately
is arrival, many of the public documents had been lost or mislaid and
g them, the letter referred to. I promised to furnish a copy. He animad-
l on the perfidious conduct of the British Government in disclosing
opposition to Spain and asked if the U. States had not noticed it.
renewed, again, the great desire of his Government that I should im-
the U. States, with the necessity and advantages of advocating their
in Europe; that this Government was solid and stable and the recog-
of it in Europe would give weight to its influence and negociations
the other Governments in Spanish America, most of which, were not
ttled; that it was through the influence of this Government, that the
ates would be enabled to extend the principles of its own throughout
erica. He had received late and Confidential Accounts from Europe;
their affairs were in a critical situation as it regarded those powers. He
part of a letter from a Colombian now in London announcing the ter-
tion of the Congress at Verona and that the views of the Continental
rs against Spain, Portugal and Italy had been opposed by G. Britain; in
quence of which, no positive measures had been adopted; that G. Brit-
as regarded as the Protector of Spain, between whose Cabinets a most
e communication was now held. Indeed, I collected from the general
ort of his Conversation, that there was little prospect of their Independ-
being yet recognized by Spain or any other of the European powers, in
quence, as he intimated, of the movements by G. Britain— He spoke
feelings of the other powers— Russia was indifferent on the subject—
nd, Denmark and Sweden had admitted their vessels and had inti-
d an intention to follow the example of G. Britain, as soon as she should
nowledge the Independence of S. America. Portugal had already recog-
and always took care to remind this Government of their being the
n the adoption of that measure, and claiming peculiar credit as the first
pean Government that had assumed the responsibility of interfering
the views of the other Continental powers.

He spoke, again, of the importance of the kind offices of the U. States in Europe, and dwelt particularly on the influence which the example of recognition by the U. States and G. Britain would have on the other Governments and of the more immediate interest they had in the friendship and commerce of Spanish America. I repeated assurances of my belief, that the U. States would omit no proper occasion of advancing their views; that since the commencement of the contest, our Presidents had noticed, in the Messages to Congress, the progress of the Revolution, thus officially informing the World, of events, which the Head of no other Nation had deemed worthy of attention; and I might have added, though I did not, that besides the political and commercial effects which would flow from a general recognition, our pride was concerned in causing other Governments to follow and approve our example.

I enquired as to the state of the War.— He remarked that the enemy had 12 or 1300 men between Truxillo and Merida—but that Morales had returned to Maracaibo. Urdañeta was disciplining his troops, 800 or 1000 of whom were in good condition. Paez was advancing towards Merida— It is since ascertained that the whole Spanish force has returned to Maracaibo, where great distress is experienced for the want of provisions. 700 of Morales's followers have abandoned his standard. Montilla would be in Sta. Martha in ten days by which time complete tranquillity would be restored in that quarter. One squadron of their fleet was blockading Maracaibo—the other, P. Cavello— The Spanish Frigate "*Legeria*" was lost near St. Iago de Cuba and Captain Daniels had taken the Corvette sent to relieve that vessel. He concluded on this subject by remarking that the enemy could make no impression on the country.

He said that they had formed treaties with Peru and Chile, which would be submitted to this Congress and in two months, another would be concluded with B. Ayres. Mr. Mosquera set out across the Andes from St. Iago de Chili immediately after his last letter dated on the 3d November. The Convention of Chili had formed a popular representative Government corresponding with that noticed in the review of Montesquiea. There were three great departments, a President for 5 years, an Annual Congress and a Supreme Court of Justice. He promised to send me a copy of the provisional Constitution. He had received a letter from the Secretary of State at Lisbon, proposing a sort of Confederacy between Portugal, Brazil, Spain and the Americas, to guard against the views and projects of the other European powers. Brazil to have a qualified sovereignty as to its internal connection with Portugal, though as to its foreign relations to be considered independent; but the propositions had been rejected on account of its European aspect. He presumed the Government of the U. States had received and treated it in like manner,—that Colombia was willing to cultivate with Brazil and other Governments friendly relations, but they had positively

and no doubt was entertained but that the other Governments in America, especially those under the influence of Colombia, would project, which would have the effect to involve them in the Wars and of the European powers.

ferred, again, to the apprehension excited by the movements of the Government, whose object and policy it might be, to produce such affairs in Spain as well as Spanish America, that by placing herself in a middle ground, she could protect and control both; an influence which he deprecated as highly injurious in its tendency to the interests of all Spanish America; that in all her negotiations and transactions from the commencement of the struggle, Colombia had managed to place all nations on an equality and that she was under no particular obligations to any; that she would continue to be her policy and he had been advised that the other Governments in Spanish America, would concur with this, in refusing to enter into any treaty or negotiations for a peace, connected with conditions—such as were presented here particularly to a question similar to that which had been discussed at Paris in the course of our Revolution, with regard to the confiscation of the property of Loyalists.

Those the three last numbers of the Newspaper published here, under the sanction of Government, which, with an account of the several conferences noticed in this and former dispatches, though rendered more prolix than could have wished, will put you in possession of the *probable* aspect of the military and political affairs of the Republic. General Bolivar has returned from Pasto to Quito, in consequence I presume of the condition of the Republic in Peru;—it is, however, circulated with confidence, that he will reach Lima in all March. A sufficient number of the Members of the House of Representatives have arrived and by the 20th Inst. a quorum of the Senate was formed out of the adjacent supernumeraries.

It is understood that the views of Spain, as developed in the dispatches intercepted, indicate the fixed purpose and confident hope of being able to regain the former ascendancy in this Country; and adverting to the increasing obstinacy which has ever characterised the Councils of the Peninsular Government, I am inclined to think, the Government of Colombia, apprehends that the prospect of peace is not yet susceptible of being precisely ascertained; perhaps, disappointment has followed what they hoped and supposed, and the effect of our Example, in producing a general recognition in Europe, that they had always believed that a just consideration of our political and commercial interests would secure to them the friendship and Countenance of our Government and in our late recognition, they did not fail to permit among other causes of congratulation, the prospect, that this example would have its influence in Europe, particularly with Spain and G. Britain. Indeed, the whole aspect of circumstance around me, indicates the strong desire of this Country to be recognized by the Governments of Europe,

more especially by that of G. Britain.— Our acknowledgment was, as they believe, the natural operation of things and was to have been expected from the Head and elder Member of the American Confederacy—but the belief is entitled to great weight, that this, as well as all the new Governments in Spanish America, have been led to regard the countenance of the European powers as of much more importance and as having a greater tendency to bring them, the Comforts of peace and Commerce.— It is a part of their Spanish education, which they cannot at once forget.— To effect commercial, and, probably political, purposes of her own, unconnected with the interests of the Colonies, G. Britain first incited them to Revolution; the hope, therefore, of receiving aid and countenance from that Government has long been cherished in this Country and the particular influence which the progress of political events in Europe had given G. Britain over Spain, had necessarily excited the anxious hope of its being exerted in their behalf.— But the present aspect of affairs in Europe and the decided friendship G. Britain has manifested towards Spain, appears, however, to have weakened in the minds of the people here, the expectations in which they had indulged of the favorable dispositions of that Government.— the next Parliament is looked to, therefore, with great solicitude and no doubt, this is one of the chief sources of the particular anxiety, at this time, manifested by this Government, to have the aid and influence of the U. States in its negotiations with the Governments of Europe.

In forming a just estimate of the motives which induced the Congress of Colombia, to adopt the laws of the 25th and 27th September 1821, it will readily occur to you, that, in addition to the reasons mentioned in the reply of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, it was an object of importance to legislate in such mode with regard to their Commerce, as to afford the strongest inducements to Foreign Governments to recognize their Independence; and as I have already intimated my belief, that the countenance was more highly estimated by them, it was to be expected, the details of those Laws would necessarily favor their intercourse with its different Governments.— You may rely, however, on my constant and zealous efforts to endeavor to secure to our commercial relations, an equality with those of the most favored nation, though I shall not be surprised, if from various Causes, the negotiations on this point, as well as in regard to claims, should not terminate favorably before the close of the approaching Congress. I shall transmit the substance of the principles adopted in the Treaties formed with Peru & Chile; as soon as they can be procured—

A faithful narrative of this struggle can never be published—and for the sake of humanity and civilization, it is well that it cannot—a detail will thus be saved to the world, of savage barbarities and oppressions, infinitely more disgraceful than that which Dr. Franklin proposed to introduce into our Negotiations at Paris— The progress of this war had been so destructive in

portion of the Country whether occupied by friends or foes, that peace be obtained in a short time, or a development of its resources may be postponed for ages. There is a general determination to maintain their Independence of Spain—but the Revolution is not yet complete— Although there has been effected in favor of human liberty and liberal principles, nevertheless, most of the customs, manners, police and municipal regulations of former times continue, to impede the moral march of the country. It may be necessary that the progress of the Revolution, to be effectual in these respects, should be gradual and in some cases imperceptible—yet peace, in all wars, is absolutely essential, or there may be ground to apprehend that, as in the French Revolution, the people will suppose their Rulers were in the war, solely, to preserve their own authority, and on this supposition may compel a degrading peace or become like France, the victims of insatiable ambition, rendered here less difficult by the connection between the power of the Military and Ecclesiastical establishments—

War has not only desolated the Country, by impairing its present natural resources, the due organization of which is essential to the existence, of regular Governments; but it has been its peculiar fate, to experience the ascendancy of the Royal Armies, the loss by execution in cold blood of all the individuals in their power, from whom the slightest apprehensions might have been entertained on account of their intelligence or education.— This dreadful effect of the War is felt most sensibly at this period, in the difficulty of filling the most important Military and Civil offices, especially in the Legislative Department. The Revolution, however, is daily displaying its advantages, in an increasing foreign commerce; in the display of a more liberal system of Government established and in the reasonable expectation, that a few years will gradually give full effect to the benign influence of the representative principle, the liberty of the press and trial by jury, which, though at present in very limited operation, it is hoped, may be in this, as they have invariably proved to be in other countries, the basis of public prosperity and of individual security.—
[Give the honor [etc.].]

6. I take great pleasure in recommending Alfred Seton Esq. of N. York for the consulate at Angostura. His intelligence, integrity and commercial habits eminently qualify him to discharge the duties of that office.—

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, February 28, 1823.

I have had the honor of a conference with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in relation to this subject. He entered fully into the substance of what is contained in his letter on this point addressed about a year since to the Intendente at Caracas and which you have probably seen; that Colombia could not admit the exercise of *Consular* powers without regular appointments; otherwise, the European Governments, perceiving in such case, a sufficient opportunity for the protection of their trade, might stop there and decline a formal recognition of their Independence; that Mr. Lowry's commission was merely addressed to the Citizens of the U. States in that port, for whom he was counsellor in the representation of their cases.—

I proposed a sort of compromise, to be adopted until the regular commission of Mr. Lowry should be received; that since the Government of the U. States had formally recognized the Independence of Colombia, and would, no doubt, complete at this session of Congress, the consular as well as Diplomatic relations, I suggested as a matter of courtesy and Conciliation, in anticipation of Treaty provisions, that Mr. Lowry might be permitted to exercise the powers of Consul.—He replied by remarking, that attention would be given to whatever I would represent on this subject, provided, I conceived my instructions would enable me to say that the Government of the U. States considered Mr. Lowry to be Consul at this time, or would appoint him to be such; or that if I was made Minister, this Government would respect my appointment of Vice Consuls, but as yet I had no diplomatic Character &C. I informed him, that the Government of the U. States had been desirous of obtaining information of the proper ports within which to establish consulates; probably with a view to bring the entire subject before the present Congress; that I had no wish to interfere in this case or request this Government to adopt any measure which might have an injurious effect on their intercourse with other Governments, and that I should consider, until the arrival of the next mail, on the proper course to be pursued, if I, should deem the subject, worthy in this mode, of further attention—

I have abstained from further interference on this point, as well from an expectation that Mr. Lowry's regular commission would shortly arrive, as from the conviction that any application in the present aspect of the case, would be ineffectual— The distinction assumed in the letter of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Intendente at Caracas, between the powers of an Agent for Seamen directed merely to Citizens of the U. States, and those

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

Minister directed to the Government, however just and proper it may be, of a system, connected with the Legislative acts as to duties upon imports, adopted at the time and now persevered in, for the purpose of inducing the Governments of Europe to recognize their Independence—The reason of the system, if ever well founded, has, in each case, ceased to apply as to the U. States; and I regret to be compelled to intimate my perception that they were adopted and are now adhered to, from an unworthy jealousy towards our Country, instead of being the result of those elevated principles which should distinguish the policy of a young State just rearing its head at the front of Nations. . . .

Molier, the French Agent, who touched in the U. States in the Frigate "Arcturion" and whom I have already mentioned as being at Carthagena; arrived in this Capital on the 20th. Inst. and on the 22nd. the Chevalier Lönnersten, General to the U. States from Sweden, reached this City by the steamer Caracas, and the plains of Varinas and Casanare. I shall be enabled, by next dispatch, to communicate whatever maybe ascertained as to the objects of their visit. They are, no doubt, missions of observation, preliminary to a recognition of the Independence of the Country, at such a time as may be deemed most politic.— It remains to be seen, whether they will have in view some exclusive commercial advantages, in which, however, they will be disappointed.

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*S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, March 6, 1823.

I have received a memorandum, containing the heads of such information as I am to send to my Government as to the resources of this, by Mr. Adams, who is to return to the U. States in a few weeks. The request was made on the supposition, that the desired information would be a powerful weapon in the hands of the Ministers of the U. States in Europe, in promoting their commercial negotiation.— He intimated that the reports from the Departments of Commerce and Agriculture would give the necessary information.— I answered that the information was now made, from an apprehension, Mr. Adams might set out before these reports would be published—

In the course of his remarks, he alluded to the Treaties with Peru and Colombia, which he said were almost alliances.— I had intended to introduce the subject and immediately embraced the occasion to enquire whether by

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

their provisions, the U. States would be precluded from having their commercial intercourse placed on an equal footing with (that of) the most favored Nation; that it was our policy with all powers to ask no exclusive privileges—but at the same time, we would expect that none would be granted to others, to our prejudice— He remarked that the Treaties, when approved by the Congress, would be published—in the mean time, he could say that they were of a political character and would not embarrass the negotiations for commercial arrangements with the U. States, nor preclude our commerce from the advantages of the most favored Nation; that these Treaties developed the Continental policy of America and when published, would produce much discussion in the U. States as to the course we should adopt; that the different Governments in Spanish America, *Colombia, Peru, Chili & B. Ayres*), had agreed to meet and confer together on their General Interests, somewhat on the plan of the Holy Alliance and it would be a question with the U. States to unite or not as she may deem proper.

He noticed the arrival of the French and Swedish Agents—the first had no letters or avowed powers, though he had intimated he was here by authority.— He was considered merely as a Spy on behalf of a Faction in France.— He had insinuated that the U. States were influenced by interested views, in recognizing the new Governments in S. America; that our influence in Europe, had been impaired by a measure which was considered premature, and that he supposed, we were now endeavoring to procure exclusive advantages, for having been the first to recognize— The Dr. assured me that he had defended the U. States from these imputations, by referring to our uniform policy and to the circumstance of our being neighbors on the same Continent— He concurred with me in the remark that if we had suffered in the estimation of Europe by the recognition, we should be more than compensated if we had gained a corresponding American influence— He said Mr. Molier undertook to give him some advice as to our Views— Mr. Lorch Came with authority; had proposed a grant of some exclusive privileges—but it would be rejected—this Government was determined to grant none to any Nation—the negotiation was, at present, in an incipient stage, but before Mr. Adams should go, he would confer fully with me on this subject, as well as to the general principles of the Treaties with Peru and Chili— I said the sooner the U. States had possession of these views, the better, that she might begin to consult as to the course, which her duty and her interests would suggest.— I enquired whether Dr. Salazar had been furnished with a copy or the principles of those Treaties— He said he had—to be used as occasion might require— The Secretary had just received a letter from London representing the present Ministry to be more favorably inclined towards S. America and he noticed a paragraph in the “London Courier” animadverting on Morales’s conduct at Maracaibo.

*es S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, March 29, 1823.

referring to the State of this Revolution, even as late as 1819, it is gratifying to notice the consistence which the new Government has already assumed; the efforts towards Independence have succeeded and reached a maturity beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine—the consequences of these events, however, upon the individuals whom they have placed in power, are as unfortunate, as they have always been in Countries, where the people were not intelligent, nor the rulers disinterested in their patriotism. The eminence to which they have advanced here, has had the firmly intoxicating influence of sudden and unexpected prosperity. Consequently many schemes are indulged, having their foundation in the vision and prospective resources of the Republic; and an opinion too exalted, entertained of the value of their commerce and of the imposing destinies of the country. . . .

I have additional reason to believe that the Swedish Consul General here, endeavoring to procure some exclusive commercial advantages and shall be surprised if he has been sent, with the connivance of the British Government, for the purpose of preparing the way for a system of privileges in the Country. With respect to the proposed recognition of the Independence of Colombia, the minor powers, of Holland, Denmark, Sweden and Portugal, will be considered as mere pioneers for G. Britain; who will sanction the measure or abandon them, according to the pulse of the Holy Alliance— It is understood that the authority of Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, is guaranteed by France and the Holy Alliance, in consequence of the very *legitimate* measure he adopted to effect a separation from Portugal, with a view to a more permanent establishment of An Imperial system on this Continent; but aside, having prematurely dissolved the Connection with Europe and being, moreover, no hereditary claims to Royalty, will be abandoned to his resources and the secret aid of G. Britain, an influence, which, however, a magnanimous policy may lead us to disregard, is not the less palpable in the Councils of all the new Governments in Spanish America.

The composition of the present administration is singularly heterogeneous. Three of the Secretaries, whatever they may be now, were formerly inveterate enemies of General Bolivar; another was, also formerly, opposed to the Union with Venezuela and the other is a protegee of the President; while the President was selected on account of his supposed popularity in New Granada, and with the view of defeating General Narino, his predecessor,

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

those talents and opinions rendered him an object of jealousy— It is satisfying however, to be assured, that the Vice President has evinced more ability in his administration than his own friends had anticipated.

The attention of this Government is constantly arrested by the various claims on it, for supplies furnished in the Course of the War; and there is a general Complaint by the parties, of tardiness not only satisfying them, but in bringing them to settlement.— Instances have occurred, of claimants having applied, without effect, for several years to procure an acknowledgment, of their unquestioned debts, in such shape, as would render them negotiable— The objection to this process, on the part of the Government, may be traced to its probable effect on their credit in Europe. It is obvious they cannot redeem their bonds in the present state of the Treasury, though these could circulate to a certain extent in Europe—but while the accounts remain unliquidated, their ability to pay and the character of the transaction is known only in Bogota—thus a false sense of national pride disposes them, whilst they can maintain their power, to disregard a measure so eminently calculated to promote the internal advancement of the Republic, as well as its reputation abroad—

It is a matter of serious concern, that, though they act as if the state of affairs here was sufficiently stable not to require the good opinion of our Government and people, they are really apprehensive, such is far from being the case—they entertain, however, a favorable opinion of their own wisdom and are jealous of foreigners as well as of their advice. . . .

The reverses at Pasto, Maracaibo, Truxillo, Merida, and St. Martha, connected with the impecunity with which Morales conducts marauding expeditions on the Coast, and thus interrupting the greater portion of their Commerce, indicate imbecility or want of union or both, in the Government and officers of the Republic, and may retard the recognition by the powers of Europe— Morales seems to be acting under a Carte blanche if indeed, he recognizes the authority of Spain.— the Commissioners will not, probably, be permitted to leave the Coast, since they might conclude a Treaty of Peace—

There is an evident jealousy entertained here with regard to the establishment of any settlement of Foreigners, particularly of English or German, though there would be less objection to those of N. Americans, Irish or French.— Of the latter, one is proposed to be established in the province of Antioquia on the Magdalena and a purchase was made some years since by a North Briton, who is supposed to possess influence here, of the missions of Aroni, on a river of that name, which empties into the Orinoco on the South side below Angostura— The establishment of a Colony there is still in contemplation by the purchaser, though this Government positively avows a determination not to sanction it. You are already aware of the designs of the British Government on the Isthmus of Panama in 1820, having been defeated; and you will see, by the enclosed extract of a pamphlet published

in London, what may be the probable views on the Musquito — An extract, also, of the enclosed letter to the Intendente at as, will develop the project committed to Captain Rowley, of the e Frigate, with regard to the capture and detention of Maracaibo. I not be surprised if there shall be a direct proposition to acquire sion of Guayana, as the British have already occupied the County to uth of it, formerly belonging to the Dutch.

will require no extraordinary perception to foresee that, if the British ossession of the Musquito Shore, Maracaibo, and the South bank of inoco, Colombia must necessarily become a British Colony— The ry, political and commercial advantages to the Republic, of the great of the Orinoco, are fully illustrated by the opinion of Morillo in 1816 y the enterprising movements of General Bolivar in 1819, who, by of this lever, entered Venezuela and New Granada and rescuscitated erties of his Country. The remarks in the enclosed extract of the n "Chronicle" imply, that some privilege has been ceded by Peru hili; else why should the "Footing of the most favored Nation" be ered a *privilege*.—

onsiderable portion of the powers granted by Congress to the Executive exercised during its recess, have been delegated to General Soublette, dent General, of the three departments of Sulia, Orinoco & Venezuela, ing the late Captain Generalship of Caracas, and to General Sucre, dent of the two Departments of Quito and Guayaquil.— Very few of the ors or Representatives from these two extremities of the Republic have d and the delay or refusal to appear, may be ascribed, probably to the nsion they may entertain that the Congress may abridge these powers local Governments, or they may postpone any participation in its pro- gs until there may be a reasonable hope of establishing a system of nment more federal in its character— Whatever may be the motives rcumstances conspiring to produce this delay, the baneful consequences re obvious to all, but those who believe the Congress should meet and ncreasing the power of the Executive Arm, should content themselves eturning to their homes and preaching patriotism for the residue of the

s probable, that with regard to the efficacy of the Federal system, the delusion may prevail, as seems to infatuate them as to the contem- l benefits of the new Amphycionnic Council at Panama. But it is, by ans, certain, that an adequate foundation has been erected for the es- hment of either project. In both cases, the effort may be compared to f attempting to rear a Temple without the necessary pillars to sustain ill eventuate, as it regards the general Confederacy, in the tempests rchy and in relation to the Federative system, the calm of a consoli- despotism— To render either institution permanent, it should con-

sist of substantial materials and until public virtue in the leaders, intelligence in the Mass and more liberal sentiments in all, shall distinguish the immediate provinces or States, it is vain to expect that any Confederacy, however comprehensive, will bring to the homes of the people, the practical benefits of free and enlightened Government.

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, April 17, 1823.

. . . I am, every day, the more confirmed in the persuasion heretofore communicated to you, that a temper really exists here, altogether Contradictory to the professions of particular regard which have been made towards our Government and Country.

The enclosed No. (78) of the Gazette of Colombia will advise you of the proceedings by which the first Constitutional Congress convened on the 8th Inst. and the report from the Department of Foreign Affairs, while it presents a cursory view of the condition of the Republic, serves to elucidate more clearly the character of the feeling towards the U. States and the Governments of Europe— You will not fail to recognize in it a portrait completely filled up, of what I have merely sketched as an outline;—the devotion to G. Britain is clearly developed and the paper verifies the predictions which I ventured most painfully to indulge even in the midst of professions and declarations to the contrary. It is possible, this report may be intended as a finesse, to operate on the proposed loan in G. Britain—but such a supposition is not to be entertained, without imputing to this Government a degree of insincerity and double dealing totally unworthy the character of a just and republican people—

It is to be apprehended the European powers will draw unfavorable inferences with regard to the Union, capacity and stability of this Government, when they observe that Morales with 300 men is permitted to retain P. Cavello and with 1500 or 2000 at Maracaibo, invades at pleasure every part of the Coast from that point to the Magdalena; while this Government professes to have in its service 8 or 10.000 regular Troops.— May there not be some plausibility in the suggestion that those in authority, countenance this procrastination of the War, as the only means of preserving their places or of maintaining Union among the people? If this inconsiderable force under Morales, without succour from Spain, is enabled to annoy the whole Coast,

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

Commerce alone, is an object with other Governments, may not the serious fears be entertained, that the Allied Powers, in their Crusade against Revolutionary principles, will extend their views beyond Spain, with a hope not only of repressing the struggle on this Continent, but of parceling it out among the descendants of the legitimate sovereigns, under a more systematic system of colonization? G. Britain seems to anticipate such a result, and is already appropriating her share by the occupation of Cuba, P. Rico, Cavello, the Poyais and ultimately of Panama and whatever she can of Mexico.

It is intimated here that Ferdinand has repeatedly offered, in consideration of certain equivalents, to transfer P. Rico to France; and this may be among the indemnities to Louis for the expence incurred in the present war to reimburse him to his former rights in Spain. It is probable, also, that the British Government may have had this project in view, when their fleet was dispatched to take possession of P. Rico and P. Cavello. But the declarations made by the British Minister at Madrid on this subject are not credited by this Government and they affect even not to place confidence in the rumor of G. Britain having procured a cession of Cuba. With the possession of this Gibraltar of America, it is not to be doubted, that Grt. B. will extend her empire to Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama. In that event, the safety of the valuable and vulnerable portion of the U. States dependent on the Gulf of Mexico will be exposed, and its commerce subject to whatever impositions, France already sufficiently jealous of our increasing navigation and Manufactures, may see fit to prescribe. To your enlightened experience of British History it is needless to suggest what would be, in such case, the inevitable consequences to us; and I congratulate my country, even, on the newspaper rumor, of General Jackson having been selected for a station, where his distinguished personal address, not less than his energy and Military fame, will exert a proper influence on the measures of the Revolution, and at least counteract any European intrigues to our prejudice.

It should suppose it probable, France will be sacrificed in this crusading war, and that such is the object of the two principal powers, did we not believe that she is necessary as a barrier against the designs of the great Autocrat, whose power is now more dreaded by G. Britain than that of Napoleon when in the zenith of his ambition and glory. At all events, Louis the 18th will suffer by the contest; especially if the constitutionalists of Spain and France should eventually unite. Russia, from her position, cannot be affected by the result; while G. Britain has managed, by her assumed neutrality, to countenance the maintenance of *Legitimacy* on one side, and of free trade and liberal Government on the other and in the mean time, has a direct influence on the trade and prosperity of both Spain and her late colonies. It is impossible, the people of Prussia may seize the occasion to renew their demands on the King for the long promised Constitution; and the revolu-

tionary symptoms of France, Italy and Austria may not allow the Emperor of the latter to aid in the prostration of Spain.

But to return from the tedious digression into the field of speculative opinion whither I have been led by the exciting events of the times. When General Bolivar commenced his operations against Quito, it was his intention also, eventually, to move on Peru. He communicated with O'Higgins, President of Chile, and represented the very unfavorable opinion he entertained of the patriotism of San Martin; declaring that Colombia or Peru could not be considered safe, whilst the individual should be at the head of the Government there, who had granted the capitulation of Callao, where he appropriated to his own use \$2,000,000 which, with his family, he has since shipped to England. San Martin had previously levied a heavy contribution on the people of Guayaquil, in consequence of which, Bolivar demanded the Conference which occurred in July last and the proceeds of that contribution have been restored to Colombia. It appears by a letter from General Bolivar, that the Government of Peru has invited him to enter that country—but he has suggested to the Government here, doubts whether he can constitutionally leave this Territory. In the mean time, 4000 stand of arms have been ordered and 8000 will be actually sent from Carthagena by Panama to Guayaquil, though from the present impressions of this Congress, it is believed that they are averse to his leaving the limits of the Republic.— These arms arrived lately from England, being part of the Loan by Mr. Zea, which though this Government does not recognize, still, in most cases, the proceeds of it have been appropriated to their use. I cannot suppose, after the experience of the difficulties attending the Government even of the present territory of the Republic, that the President or Congress can cherish any serious design of including Peru in its limits, yet such apprehensions are entertained.

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*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, May 8, 1823.

. . . The Secretary of Foreign Relations developed the leading principles introduced into the Treaties with Peru and Chile, destined to constitute the bases of the new Amphyctionic Council at Panama, the citizens of each Government in the Confederacy to enjoy in the ports and territories of the other, all the rights and privileges of citizens of the respective countries in

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

they may sojourn.— This Council will have no political power to bind
eral states, each being sovereign as to all external and internal affairs—
ect seems to be confined merely to a Conference, by which the views
erests of all may be understood and concentrated. The report indi-
n intention not to ratify the engagements of Mr. Zea and in this
it may have been an injudicious step to dispatch it so promptly to Lon-
ore especially should it be found hereafter to be better policy to recog-
s Loan—a result to which, I am persuaded, the Government will be
their desire to conciliate the monied and political interests of G. Brit-
d to avoid the consequences of the injunction lately granted in this
The report is very full with regard to a history of the ineffectual at-
to negotiate with Spain and affords no intimation of what may be
ed from the Commissioners who were stated to be at P. Cavello. It
the fact of G. Britain, Sweden, Denmark and Holland having opened
ports to the Flag of Colombia and seems to attach as much consequence
measure, as it does to our recognition of their political Independence.
latter respect, Portugal occupies a more prominent attitude in their
s of gratitude; and after a long and overweening display of solicitude
influence and good opinion of G. Britain, the report ventures on the
and unfounded declaration, that they found friends in the British
nts when they found none elsewhere. In the notice taken of the U.
the Secretary appears to forget that our ports have been open, even
r privateers from the commencement of the struggle, whilst the whole
aph does credit to their character for cautious reserve.

en we consider the length and sacrifices of the contest, we are surprised
that the domestic debt forms so small a part of the burdens incurred
We should, however, recollect, that in this country, even at this day,
e portion of the public requisitions are borne by individual service and
ropriation of individual property, belonging to persons who make no
on the public Treasury. If all the actual sacrifices of time, of service,
estate were estimated, the domestic debt would equal that incurred in
ar of our Revolution, and I might appeal, in support of this opinion, to
esent dilapidated state of the country.

e is an evident dread on the part of the Executive with regard to the
ling influence of the Clergy; an influence to which they have partially
uctantly yielded. The petition presented lately to Congress by some
s and Nuns, praying to be released from confinement and the obligation
r vows, will necessarily bring that Department in immediate contact
he clergy, if they resolve to interfere in a case, heretofore deemed to be
d the sacrilegious touch of human power. Accustomed as we are to
religious freedom of opinion and of worship, as sacredly as those of
nd political, we are sometimes misled in the application of abstract
bles to the actual state of society. Here, it is evidently necessary to

prepare the rising Generation by a more liberal system of education or the Priests may obtain the same blighting influence over them, as they have already acquired over their Ancestors; and it may, also, be considered as a necessary provision to enable them, to preserve order and govern themselves after the Church is put aside. It is feared, however, that if the sanctions of the forms and prejudices of the Church were abandoned, anarchy or a counter revolution would prevail and eventuate in placing some Military despot at the Head over the ruins of a Government of Laws.

In every respect, then, it may be considered the better policy to proceed gradually in the work of reformation; because a convulsion might bring them back to the Mother Country or some other European Government, an event under all circumstances to be deprecated.

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, May 20, 1823.

A Conference was had sometime since by the principal Members of both Houses, to consult upon the leading Measures to be introduced at this session; and among others, it was proposed, as a compliment to the U. States for the recognition, to offer them for 5 years certain exclusive advantages—but though the measure was approved by the other Members of the Government, it was defeated by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs. It is probable, now, that there will be no formal notice taken of the U. States by Congress, though I have great satisfaction in assuring you of my belief that they entertain the most favorable feelings towards us. I was not apprised of the proceeding until lately, and should have stated on that as I have on every other occasion that the U. States did not before, nor have they since, the recognition, expected any peculiar advantages to follow that measure in their intercourse with South America. I might add, indeed, that they would compromise for justice and equality in their commercial relations— It was intimated that this project, besides the compliment it would convey to the U. States, was intended also to operate on the Government of Europe, in procuring a recognition of their Independence. . . .

It is since ascertained that the Senate declined acceding to the propositions of the Swedish Consul General submitted by the Executive, on the ground that it would be inexpedient to grant commercial advantages to any nation, especially to one not recognizing their political Independence.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

*S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, May 29, 1823.

conversation the other day with a Member of the present Supreme who was a distinguished Member of the Congress at Cucuta, he can-
 acknowledged that, among the motives inducing an adoption of the 5
 in the Tariff, an unfriendly feeling towards the U. States was not the
 influential, arising as he said from a belief in the Congress of a similar
 ion on the part of the U. States towards this Country. He adverted
 particular influence of the opinion inculcated through British prints
 the Treaty concerning the Floridas, the U. States had secretly en-
 not to acknowledge the Independence of the South American Govern-
 — I availed myself of the occasion to express the surprize I felt on re-
 this information and that such an impression should prevail after a
 dge of my mission & correspondence in 1820 & 1821, and when my let-
 the 2nd Augt. 1820² received by the Government at Angostura, af-
 official evidence of no such stipulation having been adopted. He then
 sed an equal degree of astonishment on learning that the U. States had
 commenced, prior to the formal recognition, any official relations with
 untry; assured me, that he did not, and he was persuaded the Congress
 uta did not know that I had been deputed to this country in 1820, nor
 they apprized of the correspondence to which I alluded; and concluded
 his firm conviction, that if these circumstances had been communicated
 n, the U. States would not have been excluded from the operation of
 p. ct. On the next day he met me by appointment and I communi-
 to him the entire correspondence, which had been delivered to Gen-
 arino then Vice President at Cucuta; with the knowledge of the pres-
 cretary of Foreign Affairs who was then a member of that Congress and
 rovisional charge of the Foreign Department and who, as my inform-
 ted, was the projector of the Law. The Conference appeared to give
 eat satisfaction and the most positive assurances were made that he
 lose no time or opportunity in making known to all of his friends, the
 n under which they acted. Through his agency on yesterday, I und-
 d personally from the President and Secretary of the House, that the
 cation of the Law in relation to the 5 p. ct. which has already passed
 nate, would receive the most prompt attention.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 592.

*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to Francisco de Paula Santander, Vice President and Acting President of Colombia*¹

BOGOTA, June 1, 1823.

The Undersigned, Col. C. S. Todd, presents his most respectful compliments to his Excellency General Santander, and begs leave, informally and unofficially, as a citizen of the first Republic of the North, animated by the most anxious solicitude, to omit no occasion of promoting a frank and cordial intercourse between Colombia and the U. States and to avoid every measure calculated in the slightest degree, to interrupt the most perfect harmony between them, to submit to a distinguished citizen of the first Republic of the South, the following statement and correspondence in the firm persuasion, that he addresses himself to an individual whose character may be found in the great qualities of valor in the field, uniform and patriotic devotion to the best interests of his country, a display of practical wisdom in the civil administration and who loving "Colombia first and Colombia last," has been signalized by the maintenance of feelings of justice and impartiality towards all Nations.

The enclosed Document No. 1, consists of a translation of the Commission granted to the Undersigned by the Government of the U. States, on the 20th April 1820, of the correspondence which, by virtue of that instrument and of his instructions, he had the honor of instituting with the authorities of Colombia from the 2 Aug. 1820 to the 15 Feby. 1821 and of sundry extracts. These papers are communicated, now, in consequence of the Undersigned having lately received information from a most respectable source, that they were not made known to the Congress at Cucuta, and therefore, they may, possibly, be still unknown to his Excellency General Santander. The undersigned has been further informed, on the same authority, of the great probability, that the discrimination in the Law of the 25 Sept. 1821, unfavorable to the commerce of the United States, would not have been adopted, if the views, acts and feelings of the Government of the U. States conveyed in these documents, had been communicated to that Congress. The Undersigned positively states that his letter of the 2nd Augt. 1820² was received by the Government at Angostura in the following September and that his letter of the 15th February 1821³ with its enclosures, was delivered prior to the 3 May thereafter to General Narino then at Cucuta and Vice President of Colombia. He is greatly concerned to be obliged from a sense of duty to the U. States, to state his belief that the existence, of the mission with which he was entrusted by his Government and of his letter of the 15th Feby. 1821,

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II, enclosed with Todd to Adams, July 4, 1823, which see below, pt. VI, doc. 635.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 592.

³ See above, pt. VI, doc. 601.

known to the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who was a member of that Congress, and one of the projectors and supporters of the particular article in the Law of the 25 Sept. not less prejudicial to the real interests of Colombia than those of the U. States. If, as is positively asserted to have been the case, papers transmitting intelligence of events and circumstances so interesting to the Congress and people of Colombia were withheld from the Executive and the particular Department charged with Foreign Affairs, at a period when false representations were industriously circulated to the injury of the U. States concerning their Acts and feelings and whilst a Law was enacted, imposing a discrimination unfavorable to their Commerce, His Excellency General Santander cannot be surprised that the Undersigned should suspect him to be still unadvised of these proceedings, as well as of the necessity of the import of other transactions to which the Undersigned will have occasion, presently, to refer.

It is respectfully submitted to the enlightened judgment and honorable consideration of his Excellency General Santander to say, what would be the impression produced on his mind, if under such circumstances, the Congress of any Foreign Nation were to proceed from unfriendly opinions to hostile legislative acts towards Colombia, at the precise period when the Executive or one of his subordinate officers withheld from their knowledge official documents which would have removed these unfavorable feelings and consequently the foundation on them. In this case, an impression generally prevailed among the members of the Congress at Cucuta, that in the late Treaty respecting the possession of the Floridas, the U. States had agreed not to recognize the independence of any of the New Governments in South America; whilst the examination of the letter of the Undersigned with its enclosures dated on the 10th Aug. 1820, would have shown what had been previously published to the World, that the Government of the U. States, so far from acceding to so base a stipulation, considered it impossible to discuss a proposition so incompatible with their honor and Independence.

Truly as the Undersigned regretted at the time, the necessity which the declining state of his health imposed on him of returning to the U. States in the month of Oct. 1821; the knowledge lately acquired of the extraordinary direction given to his correspondence, and the numerous baneful impressions which were then falsely and maliciously suggested and permitted, respecting the Acts and feelings of a Sister Republic, induce him, now, to lament that his absence afforded an opportunity for the enemies of both Republics, to infuse false prejudices into the minds of the members of that Congress; and if, in the course of his present mission, he shall be enabled, by removing the effects of misrepresentation, to place the relations of the two Countries where they should be, on a footing of the most intimate and unreserved cordiality, he will regard the effort with the fondest recollection.

The Undersigned regrets that any combination of circumstances should

impose on him the painful necessity of appearing to give explanations with regard to the Acts and Views of his Government, whose attitude towards this Country is so pure and magnanimous; but the sincere desire he cherishes for the preservation of perpetual harmony between the two Republics, requires of him to contribute his efforts towards removing the seeds of future collisions between them. The conduct of the U. States has been open to the world and cannot be misunderstood but through the machinations of those whose passions and interests may lead them to misrepresent it. With regard to the struggle for Independence in the South, their course has been that of deep sympathy in favor of their oppressed brethren; and although they have not participated directly in the War, their system of Neutrality has entirely satisfied the wishes of the true friends of both Countries.

The Misrepresentations of this conduct which have been circulated for several years in Colombia, chiefly for the want of correct information, will be a sufficient apology for the Undersigned in claiming the attention of his Excellency General Santander, whilst he briefly reviews the several acts and declarations of his Government in relation to the interesting struggle in S. America. He has the honor of referring to an Extract of the Message of the President of the U. States in Dec. 1811 and the report of the Committee of that Congress, translations of which are herewith enclosed, containing a beautiful and enlightened allusion to the interest the Government and people of the U. States should feel in the welfare of their Southern brethren. During that session a very generous and timely supply of \$100,000 in provisions was voted to relieve the distresses of the people of Venezuela, occasioned by the Earthquakes of March 1812, a supply denied them by the authorities of the adjacent Islands. The War which the rights and honor of the U. States compelled that Congress to declare against the same Power whose cruelties, and oppressions led to the War of the Revolution and made them Free and Independent States, necessarily engaged the exclusive attention of the Government and people of the U. States and it was not, therefore, to be expected that, in the midst of its difficulties, any particular notice could be taken of the South American contest.

It may be, perhaps, deemed unnecessary here, to remind his Excellency General Santander of the distinguished reputation acquired by the U. States in that portentous struggle for the preservation of their Liberties; But the Undersigned cannot resist the suggestions of a just pride in stating, that every portion of the civilized world has resounded with the imposing and animating facts, that a handful of Republicans after a peace of 30 years, triumphed in a War of less than 3, over the veteran forces of an Empire which claimed dominion in every quarter of the Globe; that though G. Britain had all the influence of the Moral power of the states, with the exception of France, composing the present "Holy Alliance" aided by that of Spain and Portugal, the U. States came out of the contest, with their rights asserted,

National resources developed, and their National Character exalted; the sacrifices encountered and the energies successfully displayed, promise a long Harvest of Peace, the natural state and essential policy of all Republics; that in the course of this momentous struggle, that gallant Navy, which had been contemptuously styled "a few fir built frigates with a piece of red bunting at the Masthead" by its daring, chivalric deeds and with superior force, repeatedly humbled the pride of the "Leviathen of the deep," after a 1000 victories over the Fleets of Europe, had arrogantly assumed the "Mistress of the Seas"; that this same valorous spirit led to the capture with inferior force, of whole squadrons on the Inland seas which skirt Frontiers; that our Armies, as if inspired with the energy and sublimity of the Mighty Cataract in their vicinity, had routed British Veteran Troops in combat at the point of the bayonet; and that, finally, on the plains of Orleans, a few undisciplined freemen with the impetuosity of the floods of their own Mississippi, proudly repelled the barbarian invasion of the "Conquerors of the Conquerors of Europe." It is these moral energies of a free people in a just Cause which the Tyrants of Europe so much dread and the way of which gives us, for the present, the blessings of peace.

The Undersigned begs leave to refer to the enclosed translations of extracts of the Messages of the President of the U. States on the opening of the Sessions in Dec. 1817, 1818, 1819 & 1820, and to state that whilst the Executive Department was evincing its lively interest in the course of events in South America by these public declarations and the appointment of the Undersigned on the 20 April 1820 to maintain informally commercial and political relations with the Government of Colombia, the popular branch of the Legislative Department solemnly avowed in 1820 & 1821, its wishes in behalf of their struggling brethren and its readiness to unite with the Executive in instituting with the new Governments in South America, all the relations incident to Free and Independent States. It is thus seen that long ere 1822 the applications of the Government of Colombia to be practically recognized by the U. States, had been acceded to by the adoption of the public acts and declarations just referred to; and the records of the Supreme Court of the U. States will shew, also, that the Flag of B. Ayres and of Cartagena was regarded as legal, as early as 1815, in consequence of the declarations made by the President in his Messages that the Government of the U. States viewed the contest, not as a Rebellion or insurrection, but as a Civil War entitling each party to equal rights in their ports. And here, the Undersigned would beg leave most respectfully to enquire whether, until the last year, the Head or Supreme Authority of any other Nation has considered the Government of Colombia to be of such importance, as to induce them by their public acts and declarations to proclaim to the World, the existence of a struggle for Liberty on this Continent? So far from adopting a Course so unanimous and so animating to the "Moral March of its Affairs" that if it

has, ever been noticed, it has been merely to refer to their wishes for the restoration of the authority of Spain over her rebellious and insurgent subjects; nor can it be doubted, that the formal recognition by the U. States of the Government of Colombia in April 1822 had a powerful influence in causing its flag to be subsequently acknowledged in the ports of France, G. Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and Portugal.

In illustration of the acts and views of the U. States in 1818 and 1819, the Undersigned encloses, also, extracts of the instructions to Com. Perry dated in May 1819 and made part of his instructions; and as an evidence of his frank and confiding disposition in the kind feelings of his Excellency General Santander, he communicates an extract of a confidential conversation with the President of the U. States after the return of the Undersigned to the U. States in 1821.

The Undersigned, having no information of an official translator being employed in this Capital and to avoid the consequences which might flow from possible misconception of his acts and correspondence, has the honor of submitting in Document No. 2 a translation of all the communications he has addressed to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs since his arrival in this City, on the several subjects noticed in his instructions and in the enclosed letter from the Secretary of State of the U. States.

In the note of the Undersigned on the 28th May last, His Excellency General Santander will find a review of the ineffectual efforts made by him to procure an adjustment of those cases of claims acknowledged to be due or not controverted. The omission of the Secretary even to notice these applications, renders it improper, under the present circumstances, for the Undersigned to renew the subject to this Government through that channel. A sense of self respect, as well as of the regard due to the dignity of the U. States will not permit him to adopt a measure of such condescension.

In addressing himself thus informally and unofficially, though in direct terms to His Excellency General Santander, the Undersigned is persuaded that he appeals to a Common friend of North and South America, who will unite with him, in removing those impressions which, under the influence of evil persons, equally hostile to the best interests of both Republics, might eventually ripen into jealousies and disturb the harmony which a thousand interesting considerations at this period, make it the duty of both Governments to preserve.

The Undersigned, in requesting his Excellency General Santander to interpose his influence in relieving him from the painful dilemma to which the most extraordinary and unjustifiable views have reduced his official relations with this Government, might appeal to the Kindred blood which has flowed in this cause, in the sacrifice of Macauley, Donohue and a hundred other gallant Americans; to the enterprising efforts of American Merchants at the most critical periods of the Revolution, among which cases incidentally known

Undersigned as constituting claims still unsatisfied for upwards of 500,000, may be estimated the fortunate supplies lately furnished at Carthagena and La Guaira in the acquisition of the Ship "Bolivar" proudly regarded as a trophy to her enemies and more especially to the timely supply made to Bolivar at Angostura in 1819 when it is believed he had not more than 5 muskets, with which supply he restored this capital and New Granada to the Republic, and covered himself and all concerned, particularly his Excellency General Santander with immortal glory in the memorable battle of Boyaca. But the Undersigned appeals to still higher motives, to those of reason and the uniform and manly course of the U. States, whose Government he scrupulously regards the rights of other nations, firmly repels all injuries upon its own and seeks to preserve peace by acting on the holy rule "do unto others what they would that others should do unto them;" a Government which proceeds, in its intercourse with other Nations, on the principle of extending in its ports, the privileges of native citizens to individuals of all those Governments who may have extended in their ports the like privileges to citizens of the U. States, a provision already granted by Prussia, the Netherlands & the Free & Hanseatic towns of Bremen and Hamburg; a Government which does not require a Colombian or the citizen of any other nation to consign to a citizen of the U. States the goods he imports, but on paying the duties or securing them to be paid, may sell them when, where and to whom he may please without the necessity of a passport; He appeals to the common principles on which the two Republics have been erected on the same Continent after a similar struggle to maintain sacred rights; to the common interests which, as neighbours, unite them in the bonds of reciprocal commerce, and more especially to the critical moment which make it the imperious duty of all the Governments on the Continent of America, to cultivate the best understanding, that they may be able to counteract the designs of that foul Confederacy of Kings in Europe, and for the purpose of sacrificing the rights of the many to the aggrandizement of the few, which, prostrating in its march of desolation, every vestige of civilization and of human rights in the Old World, may seek in the New to crush those generous displays which have signalized the people of South America in their imitation of the "First" successful effort of democratic principle in the North.

Presenting himself thus frankly and fully to his Excellency General Santander, the Undersigned indulges in the pleasing hope that he affords positive evidence of his deep solicitude for the prosperity of both Republics; a solicitude, which, in the midst of domestic sacrifices and exposures of property that can never be remunerated, has induced him to persevere for the last 15 years in the most faithful efforts to bring the two Governments into a mutual appreciation of their mutual friendship and interests.

Undersigned avails himself of the occasion to tender assurances [etc.].

P. S. *June 14, 1823.* Whilst translations of the preceding statement and documents were preparing, the Undersigned received on the 5th Inst. a letter from the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in relation to the claims, noticed in his notes of the 12th and 28th May. This reply would seem, on first impression, to obviate the necessity, in part, of resorting to the measure deemed indispensable to a right understanding of all the circumstances connected with an harmonious intercourse between the two Countries. But without adverting to the possibility that the conversation between the Undersigned and his distinguished informant already referred to, may have hastened the receipt of this reply by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, the Undersigned on mature consideration, has concluded to persevere in his original purpose of presenting to his Excellency General Santander, the statements and documents in the precise shape in which they were prepared; persuaded as he is, that his Excellency General Santander will concur in the hope and belief that full, free and frank explanations cannot fail to have the happy tendency of removing *radically* all courses of future misunderstanding and of laying the foundation of the most unreserved cordiality in the future intercourse between the two Republics.

To effectuate such a high and permanent object, the Undersigned disregards all personal considerations, in the firm conviction that he will be sustained in his course by the enlightened and liberal feelings of both Governments. He is not less assured of the probability that no combination of circumstances will hereafter occur, to render necessary a recurrence to a similar alternative and this entire exposition is made, now, with the view of advising his Excellency General Santander of the crisis to which these circumstances were rapidly precipitating the official relations between the two Countries.—it will thus stand as a beacon to warn the Agents of both Governments against the baneful consequences likely to flow from a similar controversy.—In this gratifying hope and that this statement may be received in the same spirit of liberal friendship in which it is transmitted, the Undersigned dismisses the subject by forwarding a translation of his reply of this date to the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and repeating the assurance [etc.].

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*Substance of a conference between Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, and Francisco de Paula Santander, Vice President and Acting President of Colombia, June 16, 1823*¹

Present Dr. Miguel Pena, a Judge of the Supreme Court, and President of the late Congress at Cucuta in 1821.

¹ Memorandum accompanying letter of July 4, 1823, from Mr. Todd to Mr. Adams, which see below, pt. VI, doc. 635.

ferred to the documents in my hand to apologize for the liberty I had of requesting this unofficial interview and that I had solicited the services of Dr. Pena because I had, in the first instance, received from him, information which made this measure indispensable. He alluded to the propriety of my considering this as a private conference and that whatever he might say, must not be considered as the opinions of the Govt. I repeated what he had said in the statement with a compliment to him as a friend to South America and commenced a statement of the Case as at Cucuta. He seemed to understand me as referring to the present Congress and said the Congress could not be responsible for their conduct—but went very fully and fully into the opinions of himself and all with respect to the former Congress of the U. S.; that they expected we would have acted the part of elders and that our Neutrality would have been impartial, instead of favoring Spain—he alluded to some of our Laws &c. I thanked him for his statement and stated that it was the object of the statement and documents to show that we had justified all their reasonable wishes &c. as elder brothers and that our Neutrality was in their favor. I then noticed the Map which he had given very courteously; also the circumstances attending my arrival on the previous evening; noticed the refusal of General Jackson—opinion of Mr. Adams on the delay in appointing a successor—the necessity of a good understanding with the two Republics to watch the Empire between them. Mr. Anderson and Dr. Salazar had not sailed—referred to the statement in the N. Y. Intelligencer of 5 Dec. last as to Cuba.— the comparative view of Spanish and British expences—he seemed to be much gratified—also, at the expenses shewn in my sketch of the U. S. Suggested Mr. Rush or Col. Aspinwall as proper persons to be Commissioners on Mr. Zea's loan; not to concede exclusive steam privileges below Angostura on the Orinoco.— the policy of the British Government on the Mosquito shore.— related what Mr. Adams had communicated from Carthagenas as stated by Col. Wood. He referred to the opinion of the President U. S. as to the Holy Alliance; that the U. S. were aware that the Governments in Europe had designs on a partition of America, and that we were resolved, and wished the other Governments in America to pursue the same policy, not to permit any European Government to obtain a further footing on this Continent. He stated apprehensions that the Holy Alliance would, after regulating Spain, aid her in dividing this Country and divide the spoil; that the French would attack Guayaquil, P. Cavello and Maracaibo in the name of Ferdinand 7th. after he should be restored to his former prerogative—and then enquired whether the United States would be willing to unite in a Continental Confederacy against the monarchies, of constitutional against anticonstitutional Governments; that the Emperor, as a sort of Usurper or Upstart, would not be supported by the Holy Alliance, but that if they recognized Pedro of Brazil, this country would be in danger from that quarter. I agreed with him as to their probable

pinion of Iturbide but that they might countenance Pedro as he had some Royal blood—that the U. States did not enquire into, or interfere in, the right of the people of every Government to make their own Constitutions; though they would prefer that in all America particularly, they should be Republican but that if Mexico, Brazil or Peru preferred a settled Monarchy, we should still feel it our interest to unite in support of constitutional Government in America against the designs of the Holy Alliance of Europe and that, for my part, I believed in a few years, all America would have to contend against them.

I referred to the documents, just delivered to him, to shew that he would find a state of things there which I was convinced, did not correspond with the opinions of the Executive, the Congress nor of the people of Colombia,—that what I had said in conference was confidential but that the documents were at his discretion. I stated what had been said to Dr. Gual in Feby. as to an officer in our Navy and added a suggestion about the 2 Frigates. I concluded with an expression of my acknowledgments for the honor and patience of the Conference.

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*Charles S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, July 4, 1823.

It gives me great pleasure to repeat the assurance of a friendly feeling towards us, pervading the Mass, of the people, of the Congress and a Majority of the Executive; and if they have ever entertained the prejudices which still influence the Conduct of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, they have forgotten them so far, as not to suffer them to interfere with their duty to both countries. Unfortunately, however, for the U. States, the leading men of this country have formed their opinions upon certain assumed facts and principles not justified by the real attitude between the two Countries. They have undertaken to suppose that there was a perfect identity in the causes and consequences of the two struggles and have proceeded on the unwarrantable inference from this supposition that the U. States, as their elder brothers on the same Continent, were bound to unite their destinies with them and thus, not only involve their own peace and safety but encounter the general hostility of the powers of Europe. In the indulgence of these unreasonable expectations, they appear to have forgotten that the U. States, as Sovereign and Independent, were the sole judges of their duty and of the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II. See above, pt. VI, doc. 633, Todd to Santander, June 1, 1823, which was enclosed in this.

ons on which it might be considered proper, if ever, to "abandon their
to stand on foreign ground." The justice and prudence of their Coun-
avoiding any measure which might involve them in the War; will
arily impose on them, the propriety of mature consideration before
form any other than commercial relations with this country. Indeed,
necessity of their deriving certain benefit against any possible designs by
European Powers would alone justify any political connexion with it.

th respect to the propriety of having conferred with the Vice President
e aid of one of the Judges of the Supreme Court¹—rather than that of
ecretary of Foreign Affairs, I might content myself with the remark,
s it was an unofficial interview, I was not only not required to maintain
ough the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, but having received information
the Judge, of some of the circumstances rendering it necessary, there
d to be a peculiar fitness in making the explanations through that chan-

But I had, notwithstanding, abundant evidence of the indelicacy and
edieney of committing it to the Agency of the Secretary of Foreign
s. The depreciating allusion in his letter of the 10th May; the want of
ality in his personal intercourse; his notorious unfriendliness towards the
ates; the circumstances in my statement implicating his sincerity; a
ure of the most extraordinary nature adopted by him whilst in the U.
s; his general character and the breach of confidence in causing his let-
to me to be translated by a Foreigner who is distinguished for the jeal-
and malignity with which he regards the U. States and the rights and
ests of their citizens, although I had, with a view to avoid this circum-
e, previously requested them to be translated by a Colombian, as there
no citizens of the U. States in this Capital; all these circumstances pre-
d the hope of obtaining justice and conciliation through his Agency and
sed on me the imperious duty of avoiding any measure which might
d him the opportunity of further deception or of widening the
h. . . .

will have observed an obvious negligence on the part of the Executive
ving failed, even from a regard to their own professions, to press the
d of the 5 p. cent and the very reasons assigned by Congress, contradict,
ference, the opinion, so confidently urged in the accompanying letter
Secretary of Foreign Affairs, of the Government entertaining the most
ly feelings towards the U. States. In this view of the subject, it may
sidered highly impolitic in this Government to regard the sense of
ude towards the U. States for the recognition, instead of the immutable
ples of justice, as a reason for the repeal of a Law which is indirectly
nowledged to have originated in the desire of cultivating sentiments,
er of peace nor friendship towards the *Government*, whatever may have
their feelings towards the *virtuous people*, of the U. States.
ave the honor [etc.].

¹See above, p. 6.

that would propose and effect such an arrangement. The communication of it, however, to G. Britain will necessarily defeat it by arousing her commercial jealousy; unless it may be previously conceded that, for her interest in the negotiation, she may participate in the advantages of it. A third revolt has occurred at Pasto, where the people, in consequence of erroneous impressions that General Bolivar had gone to Peru and that General Calzada from Maracaibo had landed at Buena Ventura with a large body of troops, proceeded to organize the attempt at a Counter revolution, the appointment of a Vice Roy for New Granada, a Captain General for Venezuela and Governors for the several Provinces. The arrival on yesterday of an Aid de Camp of General Bolivar brings information, however, that he is in Quito and would advance to Pasto, after having dispatched General Bolivar to Peru.

of S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, October 5, 1823.

Among the causes assigned by the Duke of Angoulême in his address to the Spaniards, for his entry into their Territory, is the inefficiency of a Constitutional Government to give peace to the Colonies. But the remedy in this respect so much deprecated with regard to the State of Spain in the Peninsula, may be terminated at once by recognition of the New Governments; if we did not suppose, as appears to be clearly intimated, that the intention to effect this object, by the use of force in restoring them the authority of Ferdinand 7th. No apprehensions of this kind, however, are to be anticipated by this Government, relying as they do in such event on the assistance, as General Bolivar has lately declared, on the intervening ocean and the protection of G. Britain, against any possible designs by the Holy See.

The Government has been, for some time, in possession of intelligence that a French frigate entered Lima in June, the Patriot Army having retired to Callao and the Congress to Truxillo; but information of it was not generally known until the successes of Pasto and Maracaibo had defeated the designs of a formidable conspiracy which the Government here acknowledges to have been planned and the execution of which, but for these events, would have been attempted by two factions, the one actuated by the hope of restoring the Spanish Authority, the other disaffected towards those immediately in power,

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

though equally jealous of Foreign control. It was, and may still be, one of the objects of this latter party, to subvert the present constitution as too liberal for the actual condition of the country and the degree of intelligence in the people; and invest General Bolivar with more extensive powers until the restoration of peace. I am inclined to think this project will be more clearly developed on the return of the Liberator from Peru; fortified as he will be, probably, by an increased halo of glory attending the course of events on that interesting theatre. If he should not survive that campaign, a more portentous convulsion would follow that disastrous event. The agreeable intelligence, however, has just been received of Canterac having abandoned Lima, in consequence of the movements on his flank and rear by Sucre in Upper Peru, though, in the meantime, he realized \$5,000,000 by contribution and the robbery of the rich churches in that Capital. General Bolivar would set out on the succeeding day for Callao and entertained the most sanguine prospects of success. . . .

The observations I have been enabled to make here, of the real disposition towards the U. States, has confirmed the opinion suggested during my residence on Margarita, that the members of this Government and the principal individuals have proceeded on the supposition that the feelings of our *people* were so completely enlisted in their behalf, and that we ourselves considered the Causes and Consequences of the two Revolutions so identified, that we should, thus, be reluctant in feeling or acting, in the slightest degree, unfavorably to their wishes or interests and relying, therefore, on these circumstances, they have permitted and countenanced many individual acts of injustice towards our citizens which they would have regarded as impolitic towards the subjects of other powers. The freedom to act on this belief is increased by our recognition, in what they sometimes make a discrimination between the *people* and what is emphatically *their Government*; we are pledged, in some measure, for their good Conduct and they are aware, with what propriety I shall not pretend to say, that they may commit numerous outrages apparently unimportant in their Consequences, before our Government could be induced to notice them and thus unmask them to the world.

It is vain to expect that they would themselves redress petty aggressions the injustice of which, however onerous to the individual sufferers, a sense of conceited pride and of their selfish interests would not permit them to acknowledge. A system of energetic remonstrance, followed, if necessary, by reprisal, will alone prevent, in the future, the loss of vast sums to our citizens in the progress of this vexatious and demoralizing intercourse.

I have the honor [etc.].

*S. Todd, Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, November 18, 1823.

Under the imposing aspect of a Representative Republic, all the passions, prejudices and caprices of the Spanish System really prevail; and the people shall be prepared by a radical reformation in their habits and of intelligence, it cannot be expected that they can realize an efficient government emanating from the periodical Will of the Mass of the Community. In proportion, too, as it is found and acknowledged by the more enlightened, that the actual condition of the people does not fit them, for the people to enjoy our system, in the same degree do they regard it with indifference, instead of being stimulated to increased efforts to attain this attainable gradual and progressive improvements. In the meantime, it is to be expected, they will look to Europe where the more analogous habits and condition of the people will furnish a more ready countenance to their present degraded state; and I regret to add that the impressions communicated in my dispatches, with regard to the indifference entertained by the Government here towards the U. States and their strong solicitude for the good of G. Britain, continue to receive confirmation from passing events. I am fully fortified in the opinion, previously suggested, of their disposition to put an end to the War by the grant of some exclusive Commercial privileges to Spain.

I will readily suppose that I shall be required, not less by a sense of duty than of individual reputation, to make a full representation to the Government of all the considerations which have regulated my conduct and in relation to this country; and I flatter myself with the persuasion, that my explanation will be at least ample and candid, if not satisfactory.

*C. Anderson, Jr., United States Minister to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, January 4, 1824.

Doctor Gual lately waited on me for the purpose, as he declared, of having a conversation regarding the unpleasant relations which had subsisted between Mr. Todd and himself, for several months preceding the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

² *Ibid.*, III.

retirement of that Gentleman from the Country, and he coupled this declaration with the expression of his regret that the agent of the United States should have supposed that any circumstances had occurred which rendered proper the suspension of all public communication between them.

He said that so far as the causes of that suspension grew out of their official correspondence he should make no observation, on them, as he supposed that his letters had been submitted to you, and that he relied on them as showing the absence of everything from which could be inferred the existence of any unfriendly feeling towards the U. States; and also as showing that no adequate reason existed (in them) for that suspension; that so far as any personal reasons had contributed to that event, he gave the positive assurance that nothing had been displayed or designed by him failing in respect to the U. States or its Agent.

That nothing could be more mortifying to the Republic of Colombia, than the existence of a belief in the U. States or elsewhere that the individual who had been selected as the organ of communicating to it, the official and most gratifying intelligence of its recognition, should be the object of any harsh or disrespectful treatment; or that the intelligence was not received with all the kind feelings, which it ought to inspire; and he said that this conversation was held for the purpose of dispelling any belief so unfounded.

He then desired me particularly to understand that this conversation was not had from any personal consideration or held in the language of complaint, but that he considered it due to his Government to give the assurance that no feeling was entertained towards the U. States, either by this Government or by himself, the organ of its foreign relations, which was not of the most friendly character; and he said that he thought proper to give this assurance now, as he inferred from the last correspondence and deportment of Mr. Todd that he entertained a different opinion, and that it might be fairly inferred that he had made representations to his government founded on that opinion.

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*Richard C. Anderson, Jr., United States Minister to Colombia, to Pedro Gual,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia*¹

BOGOTA, January 8, 1824.

SIR: One of the first duties which I had the honour of executing after my arrival in this Capital was to make known to you, the solicitude which the President of the United States had always felt for the prosperity of this Republic; and for the purpose of displaying the true feeling with which the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, III, enclosed with Anderson to Adams, February 7, 1824. which see below, pt. VI, doc. 643.

nt and Government of the U. States have ever been animated, I will very succinctly to the circumstances attending the recognition of this ic. The course of my Government (ever friendly to Colombia) an- o that period, has been made known to you, by the correspondence o addressed to your department.

the month of March 1822, the President yielding alike to his own feel- d to the just claims of the New Governments of America, transmitted House of Representatives a Message, declaring his conviction that olitical condition had announced the arrival of that period, when their aims to recognition were complete, & recommended the adoption of gislative measures as might be deemed properly consequent on such nowledge ment. In this recommendation both Houses of Congress ed with an unanimity almost unexampled, by making the appropria- necessary for diplomatic missions; a mode of recognition, which, while lieved that it must be the most gratifying to this Republic, was best ed to render essential service to this Country, not only by the effect it would have on our own relations, but especially by the effect, it have on the conduct of European powers.

the day after the President's Message was transmitted, the Spanish er at Washington addressed to the department of State, a remon- e against the measure, which it recommended and a solemn protest t the recognition of the Governments mentioned; And again on the f April, which the proceeding refered to, was still in progress before ss, the same minister with a view of sustaining his previous protest, nicated the information that the Spanish Government had disavowed ty in Mexico between the Captain General and Iturbide and had the authority of the former to conclude it. This protest was an- from the department of State, by a letter recapitulating the "circum- s, under which the Government had yielded to an obligation of the t order, by recognizing as Independent, Nations, which after deliber- sserting their right to that character, had maintained and established st all the resistance, which had been, or could be brought to oppose it."

known to you that in February 1822, the Spanish Extraordinary , adopted the report of a Committee, declaring that all the treaties fore made, with any of the American provinces, by Spanish Commis- , implying any acknowledgement of their Independence, were null and and no doubt it is recollected that on the next day, a series of resolu- was passed, the second of which declared that "the Spanish Govern- by a declaration to all others, with which it has friendly relations, known to them, that the Spanish Nation, will regard at any epoch, as a n of the Treaties, the recognition either partial or absolute of the endence of the Spanish provinces of Ultramar, so long as the dissen- which exist between some of them and the Metropolis, *are not termi-*

nated, with whatever else may serve to convince foreign Governments, that Spain has not yet renounced any of the rights belonging to it in those countries."

The documents containing these facts were laid before Congress during the progress of the bill on which the subsequent missions to the new Governments were instituted; But so deeply was the determination felt to concede to those Governments, the acknowledgement due to their real political condition, that Congress mindful alone of their just claims, and regardless of the perils, which the declarations of the Spanish Cortes seemed to indicate, did not hesitate to fulfil the high but pleasing obligation.

In a few weeks afterwards Mr. Torres was received in the character, with which his Country had invested him; And that a transaction so magnanimous in all its parts, might not be left incomplete in any of its results, that its consequences might be as fortunate as its design was just, the present mission has been instituted and whatever may flow from it, you cannot fail to see that the President has done every thing in his power to ensure the happiest results.

I am farther authorized by the President to make known to you, that at a very early period of the struggles on this Continent, all the Ministers of the United States at foreign Courts, were directed to promote the cause of Independence, by every mode, which should be deemed respectful and best adapted to the end, and that especially and recently Mr. Rush in London has been instructed to promote the same cause by giving all the aid in his power to procure the admission of the Colombian Minister; of these instructions Mr. Rush had given assurances to his Government that he is constantly mindful.

This recital is not made with a view of drawing any harsh or unkind contrast between the conduct of the United States and other Governments and least of all to sustain any claim to an undue or improper advantage in the relations of our two countries (for none are even desired) but to show with distinctness the disinterested motives, on which my Government had always acted, and to show that while the acknowledgement of the just claim of this Republic, was given without price, so it was not refused even under the menace promulgated by the Spanish Extraordinary Cortes. And I have the pleasure of being able to add, that the policy of the United States as manifested in the instructions given to all their Ministers at the different Courts of Europe, will be pursued, through all the changes of affairs to be foreseen.

I have the honour [etc.].

*C. Anderson, Jr., United States Minister to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, January 19, 1824.

The accompanying papers were delivered to me by Doctor Gual the Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the purpose of being transmitted to you. To you to understand distinctly their nature and the sources, whence I will give to you the statement with which he accompanied their delivery to me. The Government here having been informed in the autumn of the arrival of the French Corvette le Tark, at Carthagena having heard several gentlemen whom report declared to be invested with some authority, or to be possessed of the views and wishes of their government so far as to make their arrival in this Country, a subject of great solicitude to the administration, a French Gentleman in whose fidelity and intelligence the requisite reliance could be placed, was employed to ascertain their objects. The paper marked (A.)² is an extract from the report of that person from which it appears that the French Gentlemen, were Count Lantier, brother in law of the Duke de Montmorenci, a Mr. Mollien, who subsequently came to this City, and two others, who went soon afterwards to Bogota. The paper No. (3)³ referred to in the report, is a project for the re-union of Spanish America, which was once under consideration in France, and which it is believed was published in some of the European and American Gazettes. The paper (in fragments) and written partially in cipher;⁴ and No. 4,⁵ also delivered by Count Landos to the Agent, is, as Doctor Gual states, a Duplicate of a letter written by Mr. Ravenga at Madrid by him through France and addressed to the Secretary of State here, which, it now seems, was intercepted and opened by order of the Authorities; he says that the letter of which this was a duplicate was sent by another channel and arrived in due time.

He stated that the communication was made to put the Government of the United States in possession of the designs, which were at that time certainly retained at the Court of France, and of the means, which were used to execute these designs. He then expressed a strong wish that the Government of the U. States should find some proper and early mode of communicating the facts disclosed by these papers to the British Government, and that, of course, he had been in possession of them for a considerable time,

Dispatches from Colombia, III.

Below, page 1276, confidential letter written at Cartagena in December, 1822.

Below, page 1274.

printed. A postscript to Anderson's letter explains that no key to the cipher was given. The portions not in cipher are, alone, unintelligible.

He refers to the paper in fragments which bears the number 4. "No." should have been "numbered".

ished should pass through the U. States, he said that of course the possession of the original paper now sent and (most of it) in the hand writing of Mr. Lavenga, was the most authentic voucher of the verity of the transaction; & that he thought proper to deliver that to the U. States; and farther observed that the representatives of Colombia in London found great difficulty in obtaining immediate access to the heads of the Departments, that they were compelled to hold communications through indirect and subaltern channels. Count Landos intended to proceed by the way of Panama to Lima and Chili and thence to return to Colombia; he however died on his route on an island near Quito; Mr. Mollien came to this City and remained several months; from him no additional information could be procured, he was a man of reserved manners and ostensibly a naturalist; he went hence to a port on the Pacific and sailed for Europe. The two other Gentlemen, it is believed, went to Vera Cruz, and no certain information has been received of their subsequent movements.

In the course of the conversation, Doctor Gual observed that many minor circumstances had come to his knowledge, which tended to create a suspicion that the favourite arrangement at the French Court, for the permanent settlement of this Country, was not one, which should leave it in its late Colonial form, but one which should make a royal provision for a member or members of the Bourbon family; and that probably the alterations in the project referred to by the Count Landos, contemplated such a scheme, and the object of the deputation, to ascertain by visiting the different Governments of America, how far it was feasible; he said moreover that there had been at different times in South America individuals, representing essentially different interests in Europe; all endeavouring to ascertain how far their several schemes were practicable, and all hostile to the establishment of Independent Governments under a republican form.

On this occasion and more than once before, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs expressed to me the conviction of his mind that England would exert her influence, even to war, to prevent the interference on the part of the great powers of Europe in the settlement of the affairs of this Country, in any way which did not lead to Independence; he has always however connected this declaration with the expression of his belief that this Country was indebted for that favourable state of intention entirely to a sense of the manufacturing and commercial interests of that Kingdom; that in truth the republican Institutions on this Continent were regarded with no favour in England beyond that which was necessarily produced by a calculating sense of interest.

in the real aspect of affairs in Europe and the unaffected sensibility, seems to be excited here regarding the future movements on that point, I do not doubt the sincerity of the apprehensions so frequently expressed by the Secretary of foreign affairs here, but it is very manifest that I am very anxious to infuse into me, and of course into my Government a sense of his own apprehensions, and to impress the belief, that there is between our respective Countries, a community of interest resulting from a community of danger.

[ENCLOSURES; TRANSLATION]

3. PROJECT FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SPANISH AMERICA

There shall be three divisions (secciones) of the Cortes in America; One in the North, and two in the South. The first shall be composed of Deputies from the whole of New Spain, the internal provinces and Guatimala, being included— The two divisions of South America shall be composed, the one of the New Kingdom of Granada and the provinces of Tierra Firme, and the other of Peru, Buenos Ayres, and Chili—

These Divisions shall assemble at the times appointed by the Constitution for the ordinary Cortes, being governed in every respect, conformably to what has been prescribed for them; and they shall have in their territories the same legal representation, and all the powers which these (ordinary Cortes) have, excepting the second, fourth, fifth and sixth, which are reserved to the general Cortes— The part of the seventh, which relates to the ratification of Treaties of Alliance, offensive, and the second part of the twenty-first power—

The Capitals, where for the present, these divisions are to meet, shall be the following: the section of New Spain, at Mexico; that of the new kingdom of Granada and Tierra Firme, at Santa Fé; and that of Peru, Buenos Ayres, and Chili, at Lima— If the Sections, agreeing with the Executive of these countries, shall find it convenient to change the seat of the government, they shall have power to select the location, which may appear to them to be most suitable—

There shall be in each one of these three Sections, a Delegation, which shall exercise in the name of the King, the Executive power—

Each one of these delegations, shall be committed to one individual, appointed, at liberty, by His Majesty, among those most distinguished for their excellent qualities, without excluding the persons of the Royal Family— A Delegate shall be removed at the pleasure of His Majesty; shall be incapable, in respect of the Cortes of those countries; and shall only answer for his conduct, to His Majesty, and the General Cortes— The Ministers of the Delegations, shall be responsible to their respective Sections of Cortes, conformably with the Constitution—

There shall be four Executive Offices: of Government; Revenue; Grace

and Justice; and of War and Marine; any of which may be united, as may seem fit, by means of a Law—

VII. There shall be three divisions (secciones) of the Supreme Tribunal of Justice, composed of a president, eight ministers (judges) and a fiscal (minister; i. e. *fisci procurator*)—

VIII. There shall be three Sections of the Counsel of State, each composed of seven individuals; but the legislative Sections may reduce their number to five—

IX. The commerce between the peninsula and the Americas, shall be considered as interior, from one province of the Monarchy to another; and consequently; the Spaniards of both Hemispheres shall enjoy in them respectively, the same advantages as their own citizens.

X. In the same manner, they shall have reciprocally in them, the same civil rights, and the same eligibility to public trusts and offices, as their respective citizens (*naturales*).

XI. New Spain, and the other countries which are comprehended in the territory of their Legislative Division, are obliged to deliver to the Peninsula, the sum of two hundred millions of Reals vellon, within the term of six years, to be counted from the 1st day of January 1823; for the purpose of contributing to the payment of the foreign debt, the revenues of the State serving as security, and also the mortgages which do, or may belong to it, in the same New Spain and territory defined— These two millions shall be paid at appointed times; first, on the 1st day of January 1823; and so successively, in the six following years, untill its full payment; which shall be completed in the year 1828— In each of the 4 first years, there shall be paid thirty millions of Reals; and in each of two last, forty millions. This may be reduced by agreement with the Legislative Section, which may be established in New Spain—

XII. Also, New Spain and the other countries embraced in the territory of its Legislative Section, are subject to contribute to the expenses of the Peninsula, to be applied to the marine, in the annual sum of forty millions of Reals— The said sum shall commence to be paid, from the first year of the Session (or meeting) of the Legislative Section, and the payment may be delayed, till the conclusion of the year of the first session of the Legislative Section— This sum shall be augmented, the moment, the condition of New Spain will admit of it— This sum, as well as those included in the former Article, shall be placed at the disposition of the peninsula, in one of those negotiations, which New Spain holds in the Gulf of Mexico—

XIII. The other countries of America, comprehended by the other two Legislative Sections, shall contribute to the peninsula, in such manner as shall be hereafter arranged, and as their circumstances may permit—

XIV. New Spain charges itself with the payment of the public debt, contracted in its territory, for the government, by its Agents duly authorized:

ing in its favor the Mortgages (finças) duties, & rights of the State, of whatever nature they may be, without the prejudice of what is determined in the fourth Article, directing them to serve as securities of the sums stipulated in the same Article—

The Deputies of the Respective Sections, at the time of taking the oath to guard and to cause to be guarded the Constitution of the Monarchy, shall do this, of executing and causing to be executed, this Law.

CONFIDENTIAL LETTER WRITTEN AT CARTAGENA, IN DECEMBER, 1822
The third, is a document which I possess, of the Count of Landos, who embarked at this place in the French Corvette, the *Farn*, Captain Begue, and sailed in the same vessel for Porto-bello; thence to proceed to Panama, then to Lima and Chili; and afterwards, to return by Bogota—

The fourth, is composed of two fragments of sheets of paper, written, in letters of agreement—(convention)—

The fifth, is a letter of credit,¹ which the Count sent me, to be given to your Excellency—

The Count of Landos, as will be already known to your Excellency, is the son-in-law to the Duke of Montmorency, who is, at present, the Minister of Foreign Relations in France— The true object of the diplomatic mission of the Count, is secret; and should be concealed under the appearance of being charged to make observations on the state of the country, and the wants of commercial interchange,² and to open secret political, and preparatory relations & & &: preliminary, indispensable; he should say, to the recognition of South American independence by the French government, and to the conclusion of commercial treaties, consequent thereon.

My colleagues of the Count, to wit: Colonel Schmalt, of engineers, (du Colonel) the Chevalier Lamotte, and the Chevalier Mollien, who also arrived aboard the same Corvette, have, as it appears, the same instructions, and the same commission as the Count of Landos himself; but they are destined, the two first for Mexico, and the third for Colombia— Those of Mexico, at the return of the Corvette from Porto-bello, to embark in her for Vera-Cruz— Mr. Mollien, at the time of his arrival, said, that he was going to Mexico; afterwards, as if by a sudden change of his intention, he said, that he was desirous of going to Bogota—

Messrs. Schmalt, Lamotte, and Mollien, have less genius, brilliancy, and influence, than the Count of Landos; but he is perhaps less reserved than they— It is true, that without authorization, I have not wished to proceed far, and to use in reference to them, the grand political measures and even police (police), which I shall be able to employ, for ascertaining the true objects of their mission; and to see, if that which they have told me, be in accordance with what the Count of Landos has confided to me, who appears to

¹ verite.

² commerce d'exchanges.

have some misunderstanding with them: I know not, whether this misunderstanding be false or sincere.

I return to the Count of Landos: having inspired him with a certain confidence, without becoming too intimate with him, he had the appearance of confiding to me, that there was a question of a great project agitated in Europe, for South America, that all the governments had consented thereto: that they would recognise the independence of the Republics, or States, which are there formed, without, however, destroying the grand principle of legitimacy; and that he could only assure the principal leaders of the said States, of their offices and their fortunes; and that all those who would aid the execution of the said project, would be assured of a splendid ¹ fortune and great reward— He seemed to discover to me, that the difficulty which he feared, was, to dispose the Chiefs of the Republic to follow this project; but that nevertheless, if they would not consent thereto, politic means could be employed to prepare public opinion, and then force, to reduce them— Having said this, and wishing to give me an idea of the project, he drew from among his papers the accompanying document (No. B.)— I read it with attention, and thinking it would be useful to have a copy of it, I suggested to him, that I should be pleased to have liberty to make an extract: he hesitated some moments, and then replied: “stay! I leave you that original; remarking to you however, that there are some alterations to be made, some articles to be added; yet, that is nearly the basis of the system”—

The detail of my conversation with the Count, would be too long in this place; and I confine myself to the most important points— He asked of me, if I knew the manner in which the correspondence of the government with agents, was carried on: I replied to him, that I did not—but that it would be easy to assure myself of it, when I should be at Bogota. He then said to me, “that is an essential point, you must study it: take this paper (he gave me the two papers No. 4) and try to find out the key to that manner of writing. On my journey to St.—fé, you can give it me, and then we also may agree upon a cypher between ourselves, and take measures for correspondence. Finally added he, if you would act a good part, you have nothing to do, but to prepare to second me, and await my arrival at Bogota; take your measures adroitly; endeavor to make the project in question acceptable, and try to ascertain, what military leaders would support it—

This small detail, will give an exact idea of my interview with the Count; and your Excellency will be able to judge from it, of the importance of the Affair—

If your Excellency wishes to authorize me, I will seek opportunity of insinuating myself with Mr. Mollien, and even if you desire it, I will endeavor to accompany him to Bogota. In this case, I pray your Excellency to give me some instructions, or to leave me the choice of means.

¹ condition.

les S. Todd, *Confidential Agent of the United States to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, *January 28, 1824.*

. . . In descending the Magdalena, I met two commissioners from the Spanish Government, on their way to Bogota, with reputed powers to examine the nature and probable stability of the existing Government preparatory to a formal recognition of its Independence. A Consul has already arrived at Carthagena and other Commissioners have been dispatched to the Isthmus of Panama to Peru & Chile.

ard C. Anderson, Jr., *United States Minister to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, *February 7, 1824.*

much of that solicitude, to which I have recently referred in my letters to you in relation to the public affairs of this Country as connected with the designs of certain European Powers, is still felt by the persons in Authority and indeed by all others; but great and I believe unaffected joy was expressed on the arrival of the President's Message, at the views therein communicated to Congress, regarding the feelings and policy of the U. States in the event of European interference in the political affairs of this Continent. We declared that it would have the salutary effect of repressing the designs, averting the calamity so much deprecated, while others less sanguine in opinion of its preventive tendencies, seemed to derive their joy from the contemplation of the actual aid, which the course indicated might give in the event of contingency; but all declared that the views assume the true American ground.

S. Dispatches from Colombia, II.

S. Dispatches from Colombia, III, enclosed with this was Anderson to Gual, January 1824, which see above, pt. VI, doc. 640.

*Richard C. Anderson, Jr., United States Minister to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, March 18, 1824.

SIR: The British commissioners Colonels Hamilton and Campbell arrived this place on the first inst. Much solicitude is felt here to know with precision, the extent of their object, as it is generally believed, that their mission is not restricted to an examination of the political state of the Country, but that they have also authority to propose some commercial arrangement. Before their arrival, the Secretary of State had informed me that he had information on which he perfectly relied, that they had with them a treaty to be proposed to this Government; and since their arrival he has confirmed this assurance.

As yet however no communication of that character has been made by them; and no credential has been presented, other than a letter from Mr. Canning, in which they are denominated "Confidential Agents or Commissioners;" and in which the authorities here are requested to give full faith, to whatever they shall represent on behalf of his Britannic Majesty.

Doctor Gual has frequently mentioned to me of late his apprehension, that some proposition, would soon be made to him of an embarrassing character by these Gentlemen. He freely acknowledges the great anxiety of this Government to obtain from England a recognition of the most public and formal kind; he apprehends however that a proposition to treat on commercial subjects will be made, before that recognition is given; and moreover that the terms proposed may be such that his government cannot accede to them. He has expressed to me his very great unwillingness to enter on a commercial negotiation, although the completion of that negotiation might be considered as an acknowledgement of Independence, until England had placed the negotiating parties on an equality by a previous and gratuitous recognition. However I have observed that he has never stated with positiveness, that he would make such a declaration an indispensable prerequisite.

In a recent interview, he stated that a request had been made by the Commissioners, that the British Consuls, lately arrived, should be permitted to enter on the discharge of their ordinary functions without the formality of presenting their commissions or receiving an Exequatur. The application was not acceded to. From this request connected with other circumstances we inferred, that the policy of England was, to put in operation at once, all her commercial machinery and indeed to enjoy all the advantages of a most intimate connection, without incurring the responsibility of a formal recognition; or that the recognition if given was not to be necessarily consequent on the report of the Commissioners, as had been expected here, but that the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, III.

rt must be accompanied by commercial stipulations favorable to Eng-

enclose to you a newspaper No. 126, containing the observations of Colo:
nilton to the Vice President on his introduction. His allusion there, is
plain to an early alliance; and his observation with regard to France was
satisfactory, that an application was made to him for a written statement
the language, which he had addressed to the V. President; this was fur-
red and I saw it in the original.

n all these conversations, which have been frequent and apparently frank,
e I have guardedly restricted my observations to such as the friendly
tions existing between the U. States and Great Britain would alone ren-
proper, I have not failed to treat as wholly improper any concession or
ngement with any power, which would prevent this Government from
ing the United States on a footing with the most favored nation; and the
rance has always been given to me that no situation, to which this coun-
would be reduced, should ever impel it to make such a concession. I

indeed expressed to the Secretary my hope and almost my belief, that
uch exaction would ever be made of him; and that as it regarded the time
anner of negotiating with England or any other power, it was a matter
ly for the consideration of this government, whether its honour, or the
insic propriety of the thing, demanded any other recognition, than that
ch was implied in the negotiation itself. However to an interrogatory,
ch seemed with some earnestness to solicit an answer did not hesitate to
, that my opinion agreed with his own, so far as that a proposition to
at here, while England refused to receive the Colombian Minister in Lon-
a, seemed to have the aspect of demanding a price for that, which should
given without price; but, that the propositions themselves when made,
uld furnish the best standard for measuring the motive.

The subject of an "alliance" has again been touched by Doctor Gual, and
urged the propriety of this position, that considering the present imbecil-
of Spain, the U. States should consider any expedition apparently fitted
by her, as *in truth* sustained by the means, and covered by the auspices of
ne one of the Continental powers; and that no farther evidence should
required of that kind of interference contemplated by the President's
essage. I observed to him that the President would of course form his
gment of the nature of such an attempt, by all the attending circum-
nces, and that the magnitude of the Expedition would constitute a feature,
ch would assist him in forming that judgement; & that as the interest
ich the U. States would feel in any such movement, resulted mainly from
siderations of her own security, he might rest assured that any conduct
nancing that security, however remotely or indirectly, would be watched
h an eye as vigilant, as the utmost anxieties of this Country could wish.
thought however from his language that he would have been much pleased

to receive some assurance, that the U. States would consider any effort on the part of Spain, as in truth an effort of the Allies, stronger than any I felt myself authorized to give him; and he referred more than once to the importance of mutual stipulations on a subject which he considered so interesting to both countries.

The indisposition of my family, and the illness and death of Mr. Bullett my secretary, have prevented me from making any advances of late in the negotiation of a treaty of Commerce.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*José Maria Salazar, Colombian Minister to the United States, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, July 2, 1824.

SIR: After having had the honour of giving you an informal verbal account of the present political state of the Republic of Colombia, I am about to lay before you agreeably to your desire, in this confidential Note, the explanations which my Government wishes to be given to that of the United States.

I said in our conference that the Republic has gone on ameliorating in all the branches of its administration, and for this I refer to the Message of the Executive of which I enclose you a copy: every thing has revived under the influence of free institutions, and if peace shall perfect the benefit which they produce, the progress of the public prosperity would be very rapid.

Colombia, however, does not flatter herself with this hope, in the present state of affairs of the Governments of Europe, and her fears are founded on the obstinacy of Spain in not recognizing her independence, on the language of the Ministerial papers of France, particularly the Journal of Debates of Paris of the months of October and November last in which the ancient Colonial system is warmly advocated, or to substitute another in a different form; and on the well known views of the Holy Alliance: nothing induces the opinion that she has renounced the direful principle of interference in the domestic concerns of other states, a principle derogatory to its Sovereignty, and contrary to international law.

There does not appear to be so great an objection on the part of the Holy Alliance to the independence of the new American States as to the principles which they profess, and to the republican form: the attempt to place a Bourbon Prince over Buenos Ayres is well known; French emissaries made a similar suggestion in Mexico, and ultimately a gentleman named Chaserieux

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

just arrived at Caraccas who calls himself the envoy of His Christian Majesty near the Government of Colombia, who has used the same language have read in the public papers of that City; he says that his Government is disposed to recognize Colombia but on rational terms, and by which he understands, leaving it a Republic.

Colombia is resolved to defend at every hazard its independence and liberty against every foreign influence and power; for this purpose it augments its army and its marine, it puts in a good state its forts and internal fortifications, and reposes on the devotion of its sons and on the justice of its cause. It has likewise concluded Treaties of Alliance with the other Republics of America formerly Spanish to ensure the issue of their present contest, and the Government is striving to convene an assembly of Plenipotentiaries to represent it and to agree upon its defence.

My Government has seen with the greatest pleasure the Message of the President of the United States, a work very worthy of its author, and which expresses the public sentiments of the people over whom he presides: it cannot be doubted, in virtue of this document, that the Government of the United-States endeavours to oppose the policy and ultimate views of the Holy Alliance, and such appears to be the decision of Great Britain from the voice of the Nation, some acts of the Ministry, and the language of her Commissioners in Bogota.

In such circumstances the Government of Colombia is desirous to know in what manner the Government of the United-States intends to resist on its part any interference of the Holy Alliance for the purpose of subjugating the Republics or interfering in their political forms: if it will enter into a Treaty of Alliance with the Republic of Colombia to save America in general

from the calamities of a despotic system; and finally if the Government of Washington understands by foreign interference the employment of Spanish troops against America at the time when Spain is occupied by a French Army, and its Government under the influence of France and her Allies.

It appears that it is already in the situation intended by this declaration, since it [is] generally asserted that an expedition has sailed from Cadiz destined for the coasts of Peru composed of the Ship Asia and of some frigates and brigs; there is no doubt that Spain does not furnish this force by herself alone in her present state of despotism and anarchy, without an army, without a marine and without money. This Nation notwithstanding its spirit of extermination would have ere now decided for peace had it not been assisted for

in the name of my Government therefore, and reposing on the sympathy of the United States, I request the said explanations which may serve for its Government in its policy and in its system of defence.

I pray you, Sir, to accept [etc.].

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*Richard C. Anderson, Jr., United States Minister to Colombia, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, *August 18, 1824.*

There is no subject to which the officers in administration here, more frequently advert, none to which they refer as being so likely to produce beneficial consequences to the prosperous progress of the Spanish American states, as to the Confederation, which is produced by their late treaties with those States. They always refer to it in a manner which indicates a wish that the United States should in some way become connected with it; although the manner in which that connection should be formed, or the extent to which she should be engaged does not seem yet to have been the subject of any very precise consideration with them. I think it is very probable that the United States will be invited to attend the meeting at Panama, under the plea (which I have heard expressed) that her presence through her representative, would have the effect in some degree of assimilating the politics and identifying the views and interests of all the republican states of America. I have the honour [etc.].

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*José Maria Salazar, Colombian Minister to the United States, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, *May 5, 1825.*

The Undersigned has the honour of submitting some brief observations to the better judgment of the Hon. Henry Clay respecting the peace of Spain and South America, desirous of concurring in some manner with the good policies which the Government of the United-States may interpose in so important a matter, and with the philanthropic powers of their Secretary of State.

Although the reciprocal advantage of peace to both the belligerent Nations is self evident, after an obstinate and sanguinary war which has destroyed the antient ties which united them, there are particular circumstances which increase said advantage, and which ought not to be omitted in a mediation of peace.

It is unnecessary to speak of the innumerable advantages which result to

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, III.

² MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

America from the termination of the war; because they are well known, is sufficient to calculate them by analogy with the example of the United States, whose circumstances are similar, and whose increase of prosperity will be only strange to those who do not know all the influence of institutions, of the love of labour, and the morality which they inspire. by the good effects of independence, and in the midst of the horrors of the condition of South America appears ameliorated in all the branches which constitute the physical and moral force of a Nation, how beneficent are the consequences be in a pacific state in which mankind are solely occupied in ameliorating their lot? But it is not superfluous to observe that the Republics maintain in actual Service great permanent armies, and that the marine is daily augmenting: that Colombia keeps on foot fifty thousand men agreeably to the law of Congress of the 6th May 1824; that the total of Mexico, in different armies, which is not yet complete; but which in a state of completion amounts to sixty two thousand five hundred and thirty men, according to the memorial of the Secretary of War of the present year; and that the armies of the other Republics are in the same proportion, precisely calculated to their natural means but with a view to secure independence from any foreign attack whatever: that consequently the maintenance of these enormous military masses, which destroy the countries which they defend, to the small number which a state of peace requires, will not only be advantageous to the Republics themselves, but also to all the nations that trade with them, by enabling them to turn the capitals and industry, to enterprizes of agriculture and mining, which are the two principal sources of the riches of South America.

It is less to that than to Spain that the reflections in favour of peace ought to be made, since her Government is obstinate in believing that it is proper for her in the only way which she can obtain it which is by the annihilation of the new independent Republics. In the first place she ought to be convinced of some truths, which if they are bitter to her do not by this to have an evident character. One of them is that the cause of the Americans is founded in the public opinion, and universal sentiment, because otherwise it would be impossible that all the country from Cape Horn to Cape Vela could be in the power of the independents without foreign aid, after a war so obstinate on the part of the Mother Country. It is no certain that the chiefs of the revolution in all America have been almost all persons of the most respectable character, the first families, and rich, informed men, with a few exceptions, and not factious for the amelioration of their fortune as has been falsely stated in the Spanish papers; it is evident to read the lists of the actual military chiefs and civil functionaries to be convinced of this truth, observing that a great part of them have been employed from the commencement of the revolution. From these observations from the complete success of the arms, and from the progress of knowl-

ge is deduced the impossibility of the reconquest of South America, because if it could not have been effected when the circumstances were favourable to this project, how can it now be proved that they are entirely contrary to it? And if when the independents were reduced to the most difficult situation they rejected, with indignation, every proposal which was not founded upon the basis of the recognition of the independence, is it not madness to think that now they should be converted from Conquerors to subjects and voluntary slaves? Let the Spanish Government then dismiss the fallacious insinuations of flatterers, the informations of some Spaniards who have been in America generally the ignorant and angry discourses of a few degraded Americans, and the acts of some public bodies, which have been the work of fear and of the violence of arms, only good for complicating the Archives of the Secretaryship of Ultramar; but of no practical effect.

The continuance of the war will accelerate the total ruin of Spain. South America is the principal market, and almost the exclusive one for her productions and works of art, and the American Governments have shut their ports to all the trade of the Peninsula, which is liable to confiscation by the effect of its introduction: the Spanish commerce is almost destroyed by the independent privateers, and it is enough to see what Cadiz was before the war, and what it is at present; it may be said that there only remains the skeleton of a robust body, because the war has caused the riches accumulated by the monopoly to disappear. The state of Spain may be seen in its public credit, and may be compared with that of the new Republics, as this is the best thermometer to graduate their respective force, and say if there is a condition more lamentable than that of the Peninsula, and on which side is the advantage.

Spain would change her aspect by recognizing the independence of South America; she would reanimate her agricultural, manufacturing and mercantile industry by negotiating with the new States treaties of Commerce which might give vent to her products before the taste for them, which is fast approaching, be extinguished; would save the remains of the capitals which are left for commerce with the extinction of privateering; she would not, in this case, give place to the barbarous system of piracy, which from the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico attack the subjects of all Nations, involving the honour of the Spanish Government, which has not force to repress it; would cause to return to the bosom of their families and their extensive properties a great number of Spaniards who have been driven from South America as enemies of its cause, and who are uselessly wasting a part of their fortunes in foreign countries, because they do not wish to return to Spain, the other being sequestered, until their return to the country, which cannot be unless after a Treaty of peace. And finally the Peninsula would have in its relations with the Americans the advantages of common origin, of religion, and of language, by endeavouring to cicatrize, by a reciprocal exchange of bene-

deep wounds which humanity has received in a war as cruel as use-

evidence of the matter, and the notoriety of the facts render other
ations superfluous, and if it is necessary to attest with precise dates
of the foregoing it will not be difficult to procure it.

Undersigned avails himself of the present opportunity to renew [etc.].

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*María Salazar, Colombian Minister to the United States, to Henry Clay,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

WASHINGTON, November 2, 1825.

Undersigned has the honor to communicate to the Honble Henry Clay,
information of his Government, and the attainment of the objects
ed,—that the Assembly of American plenipotentiaries in relation to
the Minister from Mexico and the Undersigned have held some verbal
ances with the Secretary of State, at their previous request, will shortly
nized; as the plenipotentiaries from Peru are already at the isthmus
ama, the place appointed for the Congress, and those from Colombia
ner American republics are on their way to this Assembly, which they
rovided for by public treaties.

Honble Secretary having intimated in the name of his government,
ne United States, if formally invited by Mexico and Colombia, and
ed of the subjects to be discussed, would on their part, appoint a per-
represent them, if these subjects should be approved by the United
the Undersigned is accordingly authorized by his government, to
s this invitation, which he now makes by this note, in all due form.
also assured, that the Minister from Mexico will present the same invi-
on the part of his government; and the Minister from Guatemala has
ceived similar instructions from his government.

ne points which will be under discussion by the Assembly of Panama,
ndersigned is unable to give a minute enumeration; as they will evi-
arise out of the deliberations of the Congress. He is however author-
his government to assure the United States, that these points have no
cy to violate their professed principles of neutrality. The Under-
has also been instructed to suggest some subjects that will form useful
of discussion in the Congress.

se subjects constitute two classes:

1. Matters, peculiarly and exclusively concerning the belligerents.
2. Matters between the belligerents and neutrals.

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

first description, we will confine ourselves to the latter.

At Panama, the best and most opportune occasion is offered to the United States, to fix some principles of international law, the unsettled state of which, has caused much evil to humanity. It is to be presumed, that this government possesses more light upon the subject, than the other States of our Hemisphere, both from its experience during the wars that succeeded the French revolution, and from its negotiations now on foot with Great-Britain and other nations, relative to these principles. It belongs to each of the concurring parties to propose their views, but the voice of the United States will be heard with the respect and deference, which its early labors in a work of such importance, will merit.

The manner in which all colonization of European powers on the American continent shall be resisted, and their interference in the present contest between Spain and her former colonies prevented, are other points of great interest. Were it proper, an eventual alliance, in case these events should occur, which is within the range of possibilities, and the treaty, of which no use should be made until the *casus foederis* should happen, to remain secret; or, if this should seem premature, a convention so anticipated, would be different means, to secure the same end of preventing foreign influence. This is a matter of immediate utility to the American states that are at war with Spain, and is in accordance with the repeated declarations and protests of the Cabinet at Washington. The conferences held on this subject being confidential, would increase mutual friendship, and promote the respective interests of the parties.

The consideration of the means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave trade, is a subject sacred to humanity, and interesting to the policy of the American States. To effect it, their energetic, general and uniform, co-operation is desirable. At the proposition of the United States, Colombia made a convention with them on this subject, which has not been ratified by the government of the United States. Would, that America which does not think politic what is unjust, would contribute in union, and with common consent, to the good of Africa!

The descendants of this portion of the globe, have succeeded in founding an independent Republic, whose government is now recognized by its ancient Metropolis. On what basis the relations of Hayti, and of other parts of our Hemisphere that shall hereafter be in like circumstances, are to be placed, is a question simple at first view, but attended with serious difficulties when closely examined. These arise from the different manner of regarding Africans, and from their different rights in Hayti, the United States, and in other American States. This question will be determined at the Isthmus, and if possible, a uniform rule of conduct adopted in regard to it, or those modifications that may be demanded by circumstances.

The Undersigned merely makes these suggestions, by way of example; it is left to the wisdom of the Governments, and the judgments of their Representatives, to propose whatever may be esteemed of common good to the New Hemisphere. Inviting the United States, in the name of Colombia, to Congress, the mere Assembling of which, will increase the political importance of America, and shew the facility with which she can combine her resources in defence of common rights, when necessary, the Undersigned hopes, that the United States will make an early appointment of a person or persons to represent them in this Assembly, as the conditions that were required, have been fulfilled.

The Undersigned has the honor to offer [etc.].

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*José Maria Salazar, Colombian Minister to the United States, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

NEW YORK, December 30, 1825.

I have the honour to inform you that I have received the note of the 20th. current,² in which you are pleased to communicate to me the hopes of a favourable result to the good offices of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia with the great powers of Europe and with Spain to put an end to the war of America. The Government of Colombia, being informed by me of the instructions given to the American Minister at St. Petersburg,³ which you had the goodness to read to me last Spring, has seen with the greatest satisfaction this measure of real friendship and love of humanity of the Government of the United States, and charged me to declare its gratitude, as well as its anxiety for the continuance of these good offices with the other powers of the Continent of Europe.

As to the views of the President of the United States, for suspending the invasion of the Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico until the result is obtained of the mediation of the great powers with Spain, I shall have the honour of transmitting them to my Government by the first opportunity. Being able

the meantime to assure you that neither by official communications nor by my private letters from Colombia have I any knowledge relative to the expedition which is preparing at Carthagena, I am consequently inclined to believe that what is said upon that matter is founded on vague conjectures or perhaps on the convenience and opportunity of invasion. I ought likewise

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 150.

³ See above, pt. I, doc. 141, under date May 10, 1825.

to add in confirmation of my private opinion, that, as I have been informed, there are at Carthagena only the troops necessary to garrison the place such as is requisite in these times when new expeditions have sailed from the ports of the Peninsula, and are announced against America, and when the Spanish army in the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico has been augmented. When the great facility is considered of acting against the territory of Colombia or Mexico by the advantageous situation of said islands, their great resources, and what is more important, the superiority of the Marine which has assembled there, it will not be denied that Colombia has sufficient causes of alarm. It is true in support of said conjectures on the approaching invasion of Cuba and Porto Rico, the necessity presents itself under which the Government of Colombia is of withdrawing the auxiliary forces from Peru by the way of Panama and Carthagena, which is the most convenient, ready and economical way to place them on the Atlantic in an attitude of giving immediate succour to any point of our territory or of that of our allies which may be invaded; but it is clear that this military operation is rather the necessary effect of the geographical situation of Colombia and Peru, than a meditated plan of an expedition without the Continent.

To these reasons which, in my private opinion and for want of official communications from my Government upon the subject, sufficiently explain the movements of troops which are going on in Colombia, permit me to repeat to you what I said upon another occasion, that this military attitude, extremely grievous to our people, is a necessary consequence of the obstinacy of the Spanish Government in prolonging a useless war and in declining every idea of treating with independent America, no less than the lamentably equivocal policy of the great continental powers, which notwithstanding they see our independence irrevocably established by force of arms, and upon the solid basis of general opinion and of just and moderate Governments, refuse the formal recognition of the new Republics, pretending to misunderstand what their own interest, justice, reason and humanity demand. In this situation of justly inspired doubt and inquietude, when the obstinacy of Spain and the indifference of the rest of Europe have convinced us that we are engaged in a question of fact, when the nations of America have displayed all the vigour of youth, and know the value of their forces and combined resources, and when our armies have gloriously terminated the campaign which has for ever secured the liberty of the South, it will not appear to many reasonable to renounce all these favourable circumstances to terminate at once the evils of war, and dictate conditions of peace with the manifest advantage of the American system in the absolute expulsion of one European nation from the important islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, which in the precarious and miserable situation of Spain are not without the possibility of falling into the power of some of the great powers of Europe.

It will appear even less reasonable that Colombia and her allies should

to continue in a state of inaction enduring the heavy expenses and
ous inconveniences which accompany the maintenance of the army and
marine upon a war footing, not being able to rely upon a guaranty of
ension from armaments and attacks on the part of Spain which in spite
nullity does not cease in its efforts to augment the army of America so
s to induce us to suspect that a foreign hand affords these aids which are
o means in harmony with the scantiness of the resources of the Penin-

an likewise assure you that my Government has always regarded with
ue circumspection the consequences which might result from an ill di-
d expedition against Cuba and Porto Rico, and notwithstanding the
at necessity which it has had to attack the headquarters, if I may so
g, of our enemies, and the opportunity which oftener than once has pre-
d itself for that purpose, it has preferred to suffer repeated invasions
those islands, waiting for the favourable moment to attack them with a
inty of success, by the greater forces which the alliance of all the sec-
of the South and Mexico will procure to us, and by the state, every day
cing, of the opinion for independence in the inhabitants of said islands,
have repeatedly implored our aid; by this prudent slowness it has wished
ve time to the Spanish Government to reflect upon its own interest and
equently to take the just resolution of recognizing the independence of
states of the Continent, to save the rest of her Colonies; but the time has
ed in vain, and Spain in spite of the repeated reverses which she had
red in the course of this year, shews herself as proud and indignant at
y idea of accommodation as at the commencement of the contest. Al-
y a plan of conciliation has been seen inadmissible by the independent
es, presented by the Minister Zea, in which were proposed some slight
fications of the antient colonial regimen, and which, however, were
ed by King Ferdinand, as too liberal.

fine by the same risks and lamentable consequences which would hap-
from the invasion of Cuba and Porto Rico, if the result is not secured by
combination of superior forces, at least of the nations most interested,
mbia and Mexico, and the plan of operations for this campaign be regu-
by common consent, I think that the fortune of said islands must be
led in the Congress of the Isthmus of Panama, which gives time sufficient
ceive positive accounts of the final result of the good offices of His Maj-
the Emperor of Russia, and I doubt not that in attention to the friend-
which His Imperial Majesty professes to the United States which have
ested his high mediation, and to the glory of contributing to the great
of peace, a boon so important will be obtained, or the recognition of our
cal existence by Russia and the other powers, which is the object of our
most ardent desires of the new Governments of America.
have the honour to offer you [etc.].

*Richard C. Anderson, Jr., United States Minister to Colombia, to Henry Clay,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, *February 7, 1826.*

SIR: Since my arrival here, I have had on several occasions, conversations with Mr. Ravenga on the subject of the present state of the war existing between Colombia and Spain, and particularly in reference to the political character, which the Spanish American Islands may assume during the continuance of that war, or on its conclusion. On every occasion he has stated in language very strong, his opinion that it is essential to the peace of Colombia and Mexico, that those Islands, particularly Cuba should be severed from Spain. He disavows all intention on the part of Colombia, of making any attempt to annex either that Island or Porto Rico to this Republic, and expresses his belief that Mexico entertains no such designs. He seemed to regard all apprehensions of danger to the establishment or maintenance of a declaration of Independence on the part of the Islands as unfounded, whether, those apprehensions arose from the moral character of the free, or the amount of the slave population.

A very few days after my arrival, I was impressed with the belief that no period more seasonable could occur, for putting in full possession of Colombia, the views of the Government of the United States on this interesting subject; and especially as I was enabled so fully to do it by your letter² of the 10th of May last to Mr. Middleton at St. Petersburg, and your leave to make use of it at discretion. And I hastened to execute this intention with the more promptness, because while the letter put it in my power to impart to this Government, the views of our own on this particular point, it enabled me also to represent (in the most authentic form) the great solicitude which the United States felt that the present war should have an early and happy termination, and the means she was still pursuing to attain an end so honourable and glorious to the Republican States of America. My first intention was to communicate orally to the Secretary, the substance of the letter, or to give him such extracts, as would enable him to comprehend its general design, but I ultimately determined to give him the entire letter, as being the surest mode of putting this Government in full possession of the sentiments of the President, without the danger of marring their force by the insufficiency of extracts, or an imperfect oral communication.

Although these conversations seemed to be perfectly frank to the extent, to which they went, still I did not ascertain with certainty what mode is now to be pursued by Colombia or the other Confederates to promote the independence of the Spanish Islands, or how far they are to contribute directly

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, III.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 141.

at end. The first object of the squadron now in the harbour of Cartha-
, was, as I understand according to an express stipulation with Mexico,
operate in reducing St. Juan de Ulloa. Its ulterior movement was not,
ieve, then settled.

ne disavowal of all design to annex Porto Rico to this Republic, indicates
e some recent change of policy, as I cannot be mistaken in the recollec-
of the fact that the former secretary of foreign affairs frequently stated
e, that he deemed the possession of that Island as important to Colombia,
that a descent upon it, would form one of her first enterprizes, after her
s were released from their engagements to Peru.

*ard C. Anderson, Jr., United States Minister to Colombia, to Henry Clay,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, March 9, 1826.

R: In the conversations, which I have recently had with the Secretary of
n affairs, he has expressed in a very lively manner, the sense enter-
ed by the Vice President, of the continued interest shown by the United
es in the welfare of Colombia and the other American Republics, and
icularly as displayed in the communication made through our Minister
t. Petersburg, to the Emperor of Russia. He has never however ex-
sed a conviction that the United States would succeed in her efforts of
ging Spain to terms of peace, even under the powerful cooperation which
has invoked in Russia. Indeed he observed on one occasion that he
w no political end, which the determined cooperation of the United
es and Russia could fail to effect, except to bring the councils of Spain to
nowledge the Independence of its former Colonies.

have not been able to ascertain with certainty how far the efforts of the
ed States on this subject, and their apparent success as manifested in
letter to Mr. Salazar (a copy of which has been furnished by me to the
etary,) together with my conversations in promotion of the views of the
ident, have had an effect in repressing or retarding the meditated attack
ne Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. I am not sure that it is designed to
me any distinct answer. From all the information, which I have been
to gather, my impression is decisive, that no attempt is to be made im-
ately on either of the Islands. How far this delay is produced by an
ility to fit out the necessary expedition at this time, and how far the late
ement of the United States and your letter have concurred in producing

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, III.

the end, it is impossible for me to state with exactness. It is most probable that both have had their influence.

I cannot however infer from anything in the language of Mr. Ravenga, or from anything, which I have heard here, that the desire of this Government to effect the independence of the Spanish Islands, has at all abated or that she will be diverted ultimately from the object, except by the restoration of peace or the intervention of some controlling external power. To all observations made by me on the probable difficulty and danger of an attempt to give independence to the islands and to maintain it tranquilly, on account of the character both of the white and black population, answers are given, founded on the supposed certain ability of the Confederates, particularly of Colombia and Mexico, to accomplish it. In answer to an enquiry from me, as to the manner in which tranquil independence was to be maintained in Cuba, after the enemy was expelled or captured, it was promptly replied by the Secretary, "The Island must be held by the troops of the invaders until the Government can go on without them."

In a late conversation I was told that the Colombian Commissioners went to Panama, with instructions to enforce on the other members of the Congress the necessity of destroying all Spanish dominion in the islands as well as on the Continent of America; and the last observation made by the Secretary in that interview, while it indicated that there would be no immediate attempt to effect the object, declared also that no change of instructions had been given or probably was contemplated. He said, "The commissioners of the United States will have ample opportunities to discuss this thing at Panama—"

The intelligence from Peru is only up to the last days of December; at that time there had been no change in the situation of the fortress of Callao. The President Bolivar was then in the new Republic of Bolivar and it is understood from letters lately received from him that he will not leave the interior for several months.

I have the honour [etc.].

*José Maria Salazar, Colombian Minister to the United States, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

NEW YORK, March 10, 1826.

SIR: I have just received the orders of my Government to communicate to that of the United States that His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil has accepted a formal invitation given by the Government of Colombia to come to

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation. I.

Congress of Panama, and it has been resolved to send Plenipotentiaries to part in the deliberations of general interest, and which may be compatible with the neutrality which Brazil has observed in the war of America with

The Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil near His Imperial Majesty has made this declaration to the Hon. Manl. José Hurtado, Minister of Colombia at the same Court, by a note dated 30 October 1825, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose.¹

The Government of Colombia has seen with the greatest pleasure this disposition of His Majesty the Emperor of Brazil to enter into relations of friendship with the new Republics and to labour in concert for the general prosperity of America, at the same time that he puts an end to the sinister interpretations which have been given in Europe to the objects of the Congress of Panama.

I avail myself of this occasion to renew [etc.].

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*R. Revenga, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, to Richard C. Anderson, Jr., United States Minister to Colombia*²

BOGOTA, March 17, 1826.

SIR: The answer due to the communication with which you honoured me by the 2nd Inst. has been delayed by the importance of the subject to which

The following letter from the Chevalier de Gameiro to Mr. Hurtado is a translation of the enclosure mentioned:

PARK CRESCENT, October 30, 1825.

SIR: I fulfil to day a very agreeable duty, in announcing to you that the Emperor my Master, to whom I made known the note which you addressed to me on the 7th. June last, has been pleased to accept the formal invitation which the Government of Colombia gave to him that Brazil should join the other States of America, about to assemble at Panama to arrange in common their mutual relations and fix their respective political and commercial system.

The policy of the Emperor is so generous and benevolent, that he will always be ready to contribute to the repose, the happiness and the glory of America. And as soon as the negotiation relative to the recognition of the Empire shall be honourably terminated at Rio de Janeiro, he will send a Plenipotentiary to the Congress to take part in the deliberations of general interest, which shall be compatible with the strict neutrality which he observes between the Belligerent States of America and Spain.

Such, Sir, is the answer which I am charged to make you, adding, that the Emperor appreciates the friendship of the Colombian Government, and it will give him pleasure to cultivate it.

Happy to be the organ of the sentiments of my August Master, I pray you to accept the renewed assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be your most humble and most obedient servant, The Chevalier de Gameiro. His Excellency Mr. Hurtado, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Colombia, London.

(S. Dispatches from Colombia, III, enclosed with Anderson to Clay, March 19, which follows, pt. vi, doc. 655.

it refers: for the Vice President has seen on the one hand the noble efforts by which the United States are endeavouring to perfect and maintain the general peace, and to facilitate to this Continent the means of healing its wounds; And, on the other, the treaties which bind Colombia to her Allies in the present war; the greater probability of putting an end to it by removing the enemy from all this hemisphere; and the guarantees of future tranquillity of which our Continent would debar itself if, in extending towards Spain the friendly hand which has been so many times repulsed, it did not assume an attitude corresponding to the Powers and forces now engaged in actual contest. The embarrassment was increased by the effect which, as the Hon. Mr. Clay was pleased to state to Mr. Salazar, would naturally be produced upon the dispositions of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia (whose good offices had been solicited) by the moderation which might be inferred from a suspension of all hostilities against Cuba and Puerto Rico, when our arm was already raised: This embarrassment was further increased, because all due consideration was given to the friendly efforts about to be made in favour of peace, while Colombia cannot be indifferent to the glory of granting it to a prostrate enemy; and because the fate of those islands, is, as you know, to be one of the subjects intended to engage the American Congress at the Isthmus.

Viewing the subject in this light, the Vice President, as he had the honour lately to state to you, hopes that these Islands never will, after their emancipation be exposed to the calamities which have befallen that situated between them; and he grounds this hope upon their present strength, by which they are enabled to maintain themselves, and to send to Spain their surplus revenue; upon the increase of that strength with their future prosperity; upon the sure pledge of their love of peace inferrible from their agricultural and commercial habits; and on the consideration that, should more ample means of defence, unfortunately, become necessary, it cannot be believed that they would be denied by those whose assistance had made them independent.

The delay experienced in obtaining an answer from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, which is inferred from the communication of the Hon. Mr. Clay, has not been calculated to alter that state of doubt. Many natural causes may have produced it; but the Vice President has since been informed that His Imperial Majesty would not, in this case, act upon principles different from those which have governed Spain in her negotiations on this subject with the allied Powers of Europe; nor would he take upon himself to give a final answer to the application for his good offices, until he could obtain positive information as to the ultimate views of Spain in relation to her late Colonies.

If, as the Vice President believes, such has been that answer, although it might be dictated by that deference with which His Imperial Majesty wishes to treat his Ally, it is evident that it leaves the question nearly where it was before; and this presumption is strengthened by the fact of the arrival at

Islands in September last, from Coruna, of a reinforcement of near men; and of the preparations which, it is known, are now making to another of equal or greater strength; and by the resistance opposed by Spanish Government as late as the end of November, to every conciliatory proposition. Were it possible for Colombia, under these circumstances to have her right to provide for her own safety by removing her enemy, and to use the power she possesses of compelling him to make peace by a vigorous prosecution of the war, it is evident that acting in this manner would soon give her cause to repent; and that for the sake of giving to the United States a new proof of the high estimation in which she holds their friendship, and of her entire confidence in the continuance of their good will, she would but supply them with additional means of convincing them of the obstinacy and imprudence of the enemy of our tranquillity.

Nevertheless, Colombia wishes to carry her deference towards the United States government of the United States as far as her own safety, the commitments which bind her to her allies, and the protection of her dearest interests permit; and, with this view, the Vice President commands me hereby to inform you that, for his part, he will not, without weighty reasons, accelerate the operation of great magnitude against the Spanish Islands, until the decision which the Hon: Mr. Clay was pleased to make to Mr. Salazar, and which was submitted to the judgment of the American Congress at the Isthmus, have been acted upon in concert by the Allies in the present war.

The Vice President cherishes the hope that, in communicating this to the Government of the United States, you will mention the regret His Excellency felt at seeing thus disappointed the hopes for peace which had been inspired by the note addressed to the American Envoy at St. Petersburg, of which you had the goodness to give me a copy. The recollection of past sufferings, and the incalculable sacrifices made during a sanguinary conflict of many years, sufficed in the opinion of my Government to have caused the adoption of more decided measures in favour of peace. It has not been done; could it be attained by the contest to which Mr. Clay refers in his address, the simile which compares our struggle to that between a giant and a pigmy.

Under such circumstances we cannot reduce ourselves to inaction without protracting the calamities of war. I beg to say you to accept [etc.].

[TRANSLATION]

NEW YORK, *March 19, 1826.*

SIR: The Government of Colombia animated with the same sentiments, which the United States and friendly nations have manifested relative to peace between Spain and the new Republics of America, and believing this to be the most proper time to negotiate a blessing so precious, either by the repeated victories which have established irrevocably the independence of the continent, or by the combination of the immense resources which the offensive and defensive alliance concluded between all the States of America, formerly Spanish, secure, the considerable increase of their maritime forces, the consolidation of their fundamental laws, the rapid progress of commerce which every day increases their riches, the friendship consecrated by public treaties with two powerful nations, and the repeated proofs of favourable dispositions to the acknowledgement of their independence which have been received on the part of France and other continental powers, has determined in these favourable circumstances to give to Spain one more proof of their sincere desire of an honourable reconciliation, which may free mankind from new disasters, and Christian nations from the afflicting spectacle of a horrid and protracted war.

The idea has been of no small weight in the mind of the Government of Colombia in determining it to take this step of reconciliation, that in the further operations of the belligerents, after having driven their enemies from the continent, the interests of other nations, with whom it is important and desirable to preserve the greatest harmony, may be more or less involved, and consequently the Government of Colombia has resolved, from the respect due to them, to make new attempts for the establishment of peace, engaging the good offices of those nations near the Cabinet of Madrid. To give greater force to this negotiation, instructions have been addressed to the Envoy of Colombia in London and to the Agent in Paris to interest those two Courts upon a subject so desirable: and I have now orders to intreat the Government of the United States to be pleased to employ their influence to induce Spain, if not to a definitive treaty of peace mutually advantageous, at least to a suspension of hostilities for the space of ten or twenty years, as that Court has already practised in similar cases, and necessarily extended to all the allies of Colombia, under the simple conditions of not augmenting the forces by sea and land in the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Marianas, Colombia obliging herself on her part, and her allies in case of their acceding to the armistice, not to promote the emancipation of said islands.

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

ombia hopes to receive this new proof of the friendship of the United States, and if the benefit of an armistice, which they may adjust, is of short duration, her gratitude will be infinite, as well as her pleasure in recording the will owe to them this short repose. I am, Sir, very respectfully, Sir, to accept [etc.].

Wm. C. Anderson, Jr., *United States Minister to Colombia, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, *March 19, 1826.*

Sir: At the date of my last letter, of the 9th of this month,² I was not aware that any more distinct answer would be given by this Government to the communication made by me under your instruction, regarding the course pursued by the United States with the Court of St. Petersburg, on the subject of a pacification between Spain and the new American States, than had been conveyed to me in the various conversations, which I had held with the Secretary of foreign affairs; the sum of which has been communicated to you heretofore. On yesterday however I received from Mr. Ravenga, the letter which a copy,³ is herewith transmitted. Although the result as it regards the actual delay in the meditated attack on the Spanish Islands, is such as I anticipated, still from the nature of the previous conversations I had not expected an engagement on that subject so specific as the letter to me now contains. You will see that while strong allusion is made to the embarrassment, which this Government is said to feel in suspending from its destined course "the uplifted arm," under circumstances in which she has no very great confidence in the success of the efforts of the United States for restoration, still in deference to those efforts, an assurance is given that unless other motives shall hasten it, no attempt "of great magnitude" will be made upon the Islands, until the subject shall have been considered and decided by the Congress at Panama; to which tribunal it seems, your letter to the Minister of Colombia in the United States is to be submitted. In my letters No. 37⁴ & 39⁵ I had given to you my opinion that no immediate attempt would be made to invade or attack either Cuba or Porto Rico; my opinion was founded on the information, which I had been enabled to derive from the state of the naval preparations of this country and of its resources. How long the existence of these forbidding causes would operate to prevent such an expedition, it was impossible to state with exactness, nor was it probably known with any certainty even to this Government; and

S. Dispatches from Colombia, III.

See above, Anderson to Clay, March 9, 1826, pt. VI, doc. 651.

See above, Ravenga to Anderson, March 17, 1826, pt. VI, doc. 653.

Not printed in this collection.

even now the time which is gained for the work of pacification, under the assurance contained in the Secretary's letter to me, is uncertain in duration, yet it cannot fail to be several months.

One effect of this letter seems to be, entirely to conclude the consideration of the subject in this Capital; indeed the language seems to imply, and all the late conversations have been in the same spirit, that no definitive answer could be given with respect to the future political state of the Spanish American Islands, by Colombia except upon reference to her allies and by concert with them. And I have been more than once reminded by Mr. Ravenga of the very favourable occasion, which would be offered to the Government of the United States for presenting and expounding the views of her policy on this subject by the Congress of the Confederates on the Isthmus, although he knows that I have received no certain information that my Government designs to be represented there—

Although it is probable that it has been long known to you, I had not known until a few days ago, that the British Government had been invited or was to be in any way represented at Panama. Colonel Campbell the British Charge des Affaires informed me that by the last mail he had received instructions to communicate to this Government the fact, that his own Government had accepted the invitation of Colombia and would in a few days thereafter, designate a representative to the Congress. No intimation had ever been made to me before, that any European Government had been invited to send Commissioners; and the Colombian Secretary gives the explanation that the Government of Great Britain has been invited to send an agent to be present at Panama, but not to participate in the deliberations or decisions of the Congress as a member—

The intelligence of the surrender of the fortress of Callao to the besieging army on the twenty third of January, and the articles of Capitulation arrived here a few days ago.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*John M. Foster, Vice Consul of the United States at La Guayra, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, May 15, 1826.

SIR: Mr. Enoch M. Lowry who was left in charge of this consulate by his deceased Uncle R. K. Lowry, being called to the United States in consequence of the ill Health of his Father, has given me charge of the Office by a Power of Attorney dated the 11th inst.

Of this change I deem it my duty to notify you & at the same time to in-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

you of some circumstances that have recently taken place here & which disturbed the tranquility of the Country. The enclosed Documents show you what has been done by the authorities of Caracas & Genl. — The Governor at Puerto Cabillo, Avendaño, holding his commission from the General Government has been displaced, & Col Cala a friend of Paez placed in command. Col Iribarra Governor of La Guayra, had been ordered to Maracai the Head Quarters of Genl Paez & the command was given to Major Torres Genl. Marino a General of Division acting under the orders of Genl. Paez is now in Caracas. Genl. Paez remains at Valencia, where the principal part of the Army is stationed say Four Thousand Men— De- & Col Carabano are the political advisers of Genl Paez. Those two are possessed of fine Talents, & are much disaffected towards the General Government. Some Murders were perpetrated at Valencia, when Genl. Paez surrendered up the command of the Army— A contribution of \$50,000 has been levied on the inhabitants of Caracas & La Guayra to support the Army. An Embargo was laid on all the Shipping in La Guayra for two months—it has been raised— The English Merchants residing in La Guayra sent a Memorial to Sir Robert Ker Porter the British Consul in Caracas praying that he would send to the nearest Naval Station a British force to protect them which he has done— I would suggest to the propriety of ordering a Naval force to this coast as soon as possible— The arrival of the President Bolivar is anxiously expected.

A British Frigate touched at La Guayra the day the news reached here of the arrival at Valencia. She had on board the English Ambassador for Bogota, and a special Messenger for Panama. She proceeded to Carthagen on the 6th

There is no doubt that the plan is to separate Venezuela from the General Government. Nothing but the timely arrival of the President will prevent it.

I beg that you will excuse the hurried manner with which this communication is penned. I will have the honor of addressing you again in a few days, if I may be enabled to give you a more correct account of what is passing

remain [etc.].

M. Foster, Vice Consul of the United States at La Guayra, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States¹

LA GUAYRA, July 2, 1826.

The foregoing is duplicate of my last respects, since then deputies from various parts of Venezuela have met in Congress at Valencia, that Body

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

assembly in General Convention to take into consideration the propriety of a separation or reform of Government— The country generally remains quiet— General Bermudez has placed himself in an attitude of defence, waiting the orders of the Government at Bogota, his forces and means however are small compared with those of Genl Paez— No hostile movement will be made by either party until they hear from Bogota— The Liberator Bolivar cannot be here for a long time, the last accounts left him in Upper Peru.

Contrary to an express law of Congress rescinding the Duties on Coffee from the 31st July—Genl Paez has issued an order to receive the Duty— Against this measure I shall formally protest and send a Copy of the same to Mr. Anderson at Bogota.

I remain [etc.].

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*John M. Foster, Vice Consul of the United States at La Guayra, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, August 2, 1826.

SIR: The foregoing is duplicate of my last respects. The Manifesto therein alluded to has been published & will be seen in the Public Papers of the United States— General Paez, with his Staff a short time after the publication of the Manifesto, arrived in Caracas—where he remained about 2 Weeks, during which time a decree was passed to the Intendente, suspending all orders given on the Custom House at La Guayra by the Government.— which had by a Law of the Supreme Government, been received in payment of Duties Import & Export throughout all the Custom Houses of the Republic— This decree is also in force at Puerto Cabello And has caused Serious Alarm to every Merchant in the Country—the Importers especially—who hold large amounts of Government Paper— In fact the measures pursued by the Existing Government, have caused great Commerical distress, and almost total stagnation of Business and consequently a great scarcity of Money—which is fast leaving the Country— A British Frigate arrived here about 10 days since & will remain until Something definite is known as to the result of these measures.

It is rumoured that Nuñez Caceres General Paez Principal Secretary—has demanded his Passport which has been denied— Genl. Paez & Genl.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

ino are now at Valencia— I trust that a Vessel of War will soon arrive from the United States to protect us—in case a civil War should break—which must inevitably take place, should the President not soon return Colombia.
have the honor [etc.].

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*Beaufort T. Watts, Acting Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota,
to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, November 7, 1826.

R: I have had the honor in my former numbers to apprise you of the
val of Bolivar from Peru, and his having assumed the supreme power of
government. Immediately thereon, he commenced a revision of the
ministration, and effected material alterations, of which, I mentioned to
in my last.

is now on his route to Caracas for the purpose of restoring tranquility
ne disaffected Departments— A devotion of the people, and the Author-
s, wherever he travels, are the offerings given.—

is with delicacy, Sir, I mention to you the subject of Opposition, which
r Administration has encountered in the magnanimous mission to the
gress of American States— And it is with sorrow I observe, perhaps all
distinguished friends in Congress, seem to have been not merely auxil-
es, but leaders in that opposition.— I will not presume to arraign their
ives, nor question their principles.— It would be unkind in me to do

From them, I have experienced the most disinterested, and valuable
ndships—friendships, which have placed me where I now am— But
n such men, I should on this question, have expected any other course but
osition.— Nay more, I should have counted on their eloquence, their
, and infatuation—for infatuation, and intemperate zeal, in support of
se new born States, and the creation of an American System, would be
donable, and worthy of the most distinguished and cautious statesman.—
, even Mr. Canning, has, in the language of Mr. Revenga, faithful to
friendship “continued to divert from us, the efforts with which we are
eaten,” by harrassing the means of Spain.— The intemperate and
generous expressions of Senator Berrien, & Mr. Randolph towards these
publics, have been seized by the English Editors at Caracas, and in

MS. Dispatches from Colombia, IV. Beaufort T. Watts, of South Carolina: Com-
missioned secretary of legation in Colombia, April 27, 1824; acted as charge d'affaires *ad*
rim from March 26, 1825, to January 20, 1826, and from June 7, 1826, until regularly
missioned as chargé d'affaires, March 3, 1827; took leave as chargé d'affaires, November
1827; appointed secretary of legation at St. Petersburg.

Bogota, to prejudice the government and people against our character. It has failed however.—

I assumed the responsibility of communicating the character of the opposition, to all the ministers of this Government.— Mr. Ravenga and Restrepo, of the foreign and Interior Departments, had fortunately visited the United States, and studied the character of our Government and people—and that opposition has had the affect to ennoble the acts of the present administration.—

In my address to the Liberator President, I seized the opportunity to dwell with emphasis upon the Congress of American States.— His reply was marked with dignity and respect— But in a private interview with his Excellency, I may in truth say, he opened the portals of his heart, and expressed his pride and gratitude for this distinguished act of the President—for the talent, the zeal and interest displayed in his message in favour of the South American States.

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*José Maria Salazar, Colombian Minister to the United States, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

WASHINGTON, *November 20, 1826.*

SIR: I have received an order from the Government of Colombia to communicate to that of the United States that the great American Assembly was installed on the 22d. of June last by the Plenipotentiaries of Peru, Mexico, Central America and Colombia. The necessity for the concurrence of the Legislature of Chile, which was not in Session, to the nomination of Plenipotentiaries had retarded their arrival at Panama.

The Assembly being installed, it was determined by lot in what order the confederated States should be named, and by common consent it was determined that the representatives of each should alternately hold the Presidency for the direction of the discussions. These were conducted with that perfect harmony and concord, which the great and important object in view should inspire; and the preparatory conferences and labours which preceded enabled the Plenipotentiaries, on the 15th of July last, to sign, 1st. A treaty of Union, league and perpetual confederation between the four States represented, to which the other powers of America might have an opportunity to accede within one year. 2dly. A Convention for the renewal of the great Assembly annually in time of common war, and biennially during peace. 3dly. A Convention which fixes the contingent which each confederate

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

ld contribute for the common defence. 4thly. An agreement concern-
he employment and direction of those contingents, and 5thly. Divers
arations that the treaties which Colombia had formerly concluded with
United Mexican States, Central America and Peru, should be included in
e treaties with certain reservations.

though the labours of the Congress were already so far advanced, the
ards occasioned by the climate of Panama to the Plenipotentiaries, ad-
ished them to resolve upon a removal of the Congress to the town of
baya near the City of Mexico, where they expect the Ministers whom
Government of the United States has resolved to send.
have the honour [etc.].

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*F. A. Williamson, United States Consul at La Guayra, to Henry Clay,
Secretary of State of the United States¹*

LA GUAYRA, November 25, 1826.

RR: I take the earliest opportunity after my arrival of giving you such in-
nation as I think should be known to the govmt. of the U. States, of the
nt movements in this place and neighbourhood; On my arrival I found
l. Paez here and in the occupancy of La Guayra & Caracas, and had been
ared, by what authority I do not know, except the municipality of Valen-
Supreme Civil & Military Chief of Venezuela— On Thursday evening
news reaching here that a revolution had taken place with the troops
ut 1000 strong at Puerto Cabello, headed by the Capt of the Port, im-
ning the commanding officer, and declared for the original constitution,
that he was determined to hold the place subject only to the authority of
l. Bolivar.

consequence of this Genl. Paez and aids left here early that night with a
ll body of troops for Caracas, with an intention as it was believed then of
asing his number and marching directly for Puerto Cabello, but I under-
d to day by news from Caracas that he is still there and has as yet neither
e on himself or sent his troops— It was believed in Caracas when my
rment left there, that Genl. Paez would offer to the two parties opposed
im at Cumana & Puerto Cabello, such conditions that Genl. Bermudez
uld retain his position at Cumana and the head of the party at Puerto
ello what they have in possession, and he himself, hold La Guayra &
acas, 'till the arrival of the Liberator; This it is hoped here by almost
men will be the case, and if accepted may prevent a civil war and the
ling of a great deal of blood— In consequence of these disturbances,

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

considerable interest is felt here among the citizens of the U. States for the want of that necessary protection which in the event of their growing more serious, they would require for their persons and their property— As yet no attempt has been made to infringe upon either, and the ordinary regulations of the Country under the Laws of the Congress are observed—

Since the death of my predecessor no acknowledged agent of our government has been admitted here, consequently we have partially lost that standing and influence which we have usually maintained at this place, and which from the importance of its commercial & political situation deserves the particular attention of the U. States.

I feel well assured from the unsettled state of affairs in this Country, and the great inactivity when, of [*sic*] the arrival of the Liberator that the Genl. Govt will at once perceive the necessity of sending out an armed vessel to look into the ports on the main, and to protect the persons and the property (which is considerable) of its citizens in the event, in close revolutionary movements, changes should take place, by which a lawless attempt might be made to trample upon both—

I have not yet presented my commission, having after a very long passage only arrived here on tuesday last, but shall leave here for Caracas tomorrow for that purpose.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*J. G. A. Williamson, United States Consul at La Guayra, to Henry Clay,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

LA GUAYRA, November 26, 1826.

SIR: The times are so eventful and changing in this section of the Colombian government that ever since mine to your department of yesterday by the Colombian which sail for the U. States last night, a very material change has been made in the civil department of this district, by the *Civil & Military* Chief Genl. Paez. By news which reached here this morning from Caracas we have intelligence that the Intendente Seignr. Mendoza has been removed from office and another substituted in his place; Consequently I conceive that as my commission is directed to the Colombian Govent. or such authorities as they may appoint in the different sections of that Govmt., my authority to act here cannot be acknowledged by any other power; And as that must be considered now, which I did not consider the case in my communication of the 25th inst. entirely superseded, I therefore without advices from my Govmt. cannot feel myself at liberty to offer my commission to any other, than the authorities to whom it is directed.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

the most of the troops have been and are marching from this place since news of the revolt of the troops at Puerto Cabello from the standard of Bolivar. Paez; And I have certain information he has marched from Caracas to Valencia with what men he had marched from here, After removing the Infante Mendoza and giving him a passport to leave there in so many days. It would be unnecessary for me to make any remarks on these events, and refer them to your department as coming from such a source as to be fully justified, nor will I pretend at this moment to say what may be the motives either of the contending parties, but I have stated as I conceive it to be my duty to merely the facts as they exist and have the Govt. of the U. States to draw their own Conclusions. Certainly great anarchy & confusion exists at this moment and without a general reconciliation of the contending parties a civil war appears inevitable.

But in conclusion I cannot than otherwise again suggest the propriety of the Govt. ordering on this station some of their minor vessels of war, to protect if necessary the rights of her citizens, and to give that importance to our Govmt. which she is entitled, in the eyes of which ever Party may be predominant. On the finishing the opposite side, I have received news from Caracas that a regiment stationed at Valencia have marched to Puerto Cabello with Col. Bolivar at their head to join the revolt there in behalf of Bolivar and the substitution, this perhaps as yet cannot be considered as official, tho it is nevertheless, believed by many here— And to this news I have to add that Martial Law has been proclaimed here, consequently you can perceive at once the situation of this part of Colombia.

But to all these evil forbodings we have likewise a report here that Genl. Bolivar has arrived at Bogota, and it is to be hoped if true he will arrive at Caracas early enough to prevent bloodshed, and to smooth with his authority and popularity the troubled waters of this section of the Colombian Govmt. and may have the honor [etc.].

F. A. Williamson, United States Consul at La Guayra, to Henry Clay,
Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACTS]

LA GUAYRA, December 17, 1826.

MR. CLAY: I had the honour of advising you under date of the 25 & 26 of last month,² the first by the Brig Colombian for Philadelphia and the last by the Brig of St. Thomas. Since which time nothing very material except what

was detailed in those communications has taken place in this part of the Colombian Govmt.

The Intendente of Caracas Mr. Mendoza embarked from this place for St. Thomas the 28th inst., and has been succeeded by Mr. Mariano Echezevica, appointed by the authority of the civil and military Chief Genl. Paez.

Under the existing state of affairs my situation is a peculiar and unpleasant one, if acknowledged by the Govmt. of Colombia, I think it questionable whether Genl. Paez or his officers would admit that acknowledgement, and allow me all the privileges usually attached to the situation— And if my commission should be acknowledged by Genl. Paez, which without advices from my Govmt. I cannot present to him nor his authorities, whether by a change of things in this department in favour of the Central Govt. at Bogota, they would permit his acknowledgement to continue me in the exercise of my official situation. I have however thought it unnecessary from the report we have had here of Bolivar having left Bogota for Venezuela, yet no positive confirmation of his arrival even at Bogota has been received, yet reported every day, to retain my commission than to hazzard it through the post office Department (seldom any other conveyance occurs) of this Country, for it is pretty well understood that all letters are intercepted and opened— I have informed Mr. B. T. Waters of my arrival here, requesting him to suggest under present circumstances the Course I should pursue, and to obtain instructions if consistent with the Govmt. at Bogota to have my commission acknowledged by their authorities of this department, upon the presentation of my commission. With no nation of people do I think it so essential as with the Spaniards, to have the authorities, privileges, Immunities of the stationary officers of foreign Govts. completely and unequivocally defined— otherwise in the discharge of the most ordinary duties pointed out by the authorities of their Govmt. they are liable to be athwarted, or some obstacle thrown in their way which among almost any other people would be permitted without any objection. . . .

This place and Caracas has been under martial Law for 20 days— There is so little to be depended upon in the various reports in circulation that it would be unnecessary to state any without they bear some marks of truth, at the same time we have at this moment a pretty authentic statement that Bolivar is in Colombia and will be at Valencia by the 1st of next month, and that Genl. Paez has withdrawn his forces from before Puerto Cabello— There has been no movements indicative of civil war but what I stated in my last communication, but indeed every thing looks threatening, the proclamation of Genl. Paez at Valencia of the 3rd instance declares civil war to have commenced in Venezuela; The Militia all drawn into service, the regular troops that garrisoned this place marched off and its now garrisoned by raw troops— Nothing but the arrival of Bolivar can prevent it, and if he should not arrive, foreigners & their property will be in the most eminent hazzard—

fiscal arrangement [*sic*] of the Country is much deranged, and in cases of necessity there would be no way for the parties to support themselves, but heavy levies of contributions on foreigners— There is great anxiety on the subject.

It is requested [required?] by the Laws of the United States to make semi-annual return of the Commerce arriving from the U. S. and departing thence here; I assure you it is well attended with serious inconvenience, if at all possible as I have been refused such information here already and without positive authority by the laws of the U. S., I shall be unable to give your Government that satisfaction on the subject which they require; The only remedy assigned is, "You may derive some advantage of a knowledge of my intentions" as you are a merchant. How far it would be necessary to correct the Law by rendering it imperative I leave to you to determine—for no Government I could render you under present feelings would be correct or should be depended upon—&c.

I have the honor [etc.].

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Am Wheelwright, United States Consul at Guayaquil, to Henry Clay,
Secretary of State of the United States¹

GUAYAQUIL, February 22, 1827.

I have the honor to inform you that the Intendente of this department has just received despatches from Peru announcing the intelligence of a revolution having taken place in Lima, which was effected by the United exertions of the Peruvian and Colombian forces.

The Constitution dictated by Bolivar had been thrown aside and a Peruvian Congress convoked to carry into effect the *Constitution Peruana*. Genl. La Cruz remained in command.

In Lara the commander in Chief of the Colombian forces together with his aids & principal officers had been arrested (and sent as prisoners to Bogotá by way of Buenavintura) by their own Soldiers and a Capt Bustamente remained in command of the Troops.

On an arrival from Valpo. yesterday we learn that a revolution had taken place in Chili but have recd. no particulars. In this section of the country the public mind in consequence of these late events is in a state of great fermentation and I am very apprehensive that this unfortunate country is still threatened to revolution and anarchy.

The United States Frigate Brandywine has arrived at Lima, & the Corvette *Ames* was at Intermedios.

The United States Ship Peacock has not yet made her appearance but will probably be here shortly.

I have the Honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters. Guayaquil. I.

*Beaufort T. Watts, Acting Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota,
to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, March 14, 1827.

SIR: Such is the fluctuating state of affairs from Peru to Venezuela, that I am discouraged from giving a relation of the actual state of things, or an opinion of what may eventually follow.

The last post brought intelligence that the Council of Government and Electoral College of Peru had adopted the constitution of Bolivia, and had chosen Bolivar President for life. In a few days after a courier arrived from Lima bringing despatches to the Vice President, who is charged with Executive powers in the absence of General Bolivar, stating that a revolution had taken place—that the adoption of the Bolivian constitution and the election of Bolivar as President has been precipitate, and contrary [to] the sentiments and wishes of the people.—

The council of Government recommend that delegates of the people immediately assemble for the purpose of forming a constitution and of choosing President and Vice President.

Whilst these commotions are passing in Peru, Bolivar is in Venezuela, by his moral force alone, allaying the angry passions of the discontents— And I regret to state, that such has been the mortification of this distinguished individual, in witnessing the ingratitude with which his service has been requited, that yesterday his resignation of the Presidency of Colombia, reached his Capital. What this act may lead to I know not.— Three members of the Senate are wanting to complete the Constitutional number, before Congress can be formed.— It will then be a question whether or not Congress will accept his resignation. It is to be hoped, it will not be accepted. Should the contrary be the case, it is impossible to foresee what lamentable consequences may follow.— The three nations Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia—nations which he alone has brought into being, almost from a mass of unyielding matter, may soon return to their original elements. If I am in error in the faith I repose in Bolivar's disinterested political virtues, let it be attributed to misjudgement. I am not fearful of hazarding an opinion on the event of his retiring from public duty— I despair then of the tranquility of the nations he has emancipated.— With all the calumnies and distrust that different partizans have raised against him—there is an intrinsic moral force in the man, that awes the disaffected and inspires courage in the patriot.

To recommend by encomium what has been acknowledged by the world, would be detracting from his worth.—

Enclosed is a translation of his resignation.²—

I have the Honor [etc.].

*Laufort T. Watts, Acting Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota, to Simón Bolívar, President of Columbia*¹

BOGOTA, March 15, 1827.

SIR: As the representative of my country I have the honor to address you. You will already have heard of the events in Peru—the nation which your Excellency had left in the possession of liberty and peace, when you were ordered to Colombia to suppress by your moral force the angry passions of the contents.

Let me request your Excellency, as the Representative of the Republic of Washington to hasten to this Capital and save your country.— All is lost without you.— The three nations which you alone have created & rescued from a mass of chaos will soon have returned to their original darkness without a continuation of your services to sustain.— I have the honor to be [etc.].

*G. A. Williamson, United States Consul at La Guayra, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

LA GUAYRA, April 3, 1827.

SIR: Since my last to your department the political face of Venezuela has assumed more order, and a greater security of person & property is felt by all classes of its citizens.

The Schooner Shark called here the 29th ulto., the Constellation lay off and on until Lnt. Comr. Norris communicated to me a despatch from Commr. Ridgely. It was uncertain when Lnt. Norris left the port, whether either of them would touch here again— I presume the Commr. has rejoined his West India station.

At this moment, there is no particular necessity of a vessel of war in this port—but sir I repeat what I have formerly stated to your department, there is a great necessity of frequent visits to this port of Colombia, for I cannot but otherwise think but what our commerce and our national Character and influence is greatly affected in the eyes of this Govnt, by visits of this kind being so seldom— I therefore respectfully suggest the propriety of our vessels of war on the West India station, being ordered to the main as often as

¹ MS. Dispatches from Columbia, IV, enclosed in Watts to Clay, June 27, 1827, which see below, pt. VI, doc. 677. Between that date and this, see several notes exchanged in consequence of his extraordinary conduct.

² MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, I.

compatible with the object of the Govmt. Tho all things are quiet, the death of Bolivar would rouse the sleeping factions of this department and to what extent their fury would carry them, cannot be conceived— But for my own part, treaties and Laws would be no barrier to the worst of excesses, and indeed such an event would realize the opinions of the opposition previous to the liberator's arrival, "that the Govmt. had resolved itself into first elements.—"

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*William Wheelwright, United States Consul at Guayaquil, to Henry Clay Secretary of State of the United States*¹

GUAYAQUIL, April 5, 1827.

I had the honor of addressing you a few lines on the 22d Feby.² announcing the recent political changes which have occurred in this vicinity.

This Govt is now making every preparation to resist the attack of 2800 Troops wh. sailed from Lima on the 19th past for the purpose of taking possession of this City. these troops are now in this vicinity and will commence their operations very shortly. Their object it is said is to defend the lawful Constitution of the country agt the inroads of Genl Bolivar.

There are at present three armed Brigs laying in the River to prevent the transports ascending.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*José R. Revenga, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, to Beaufort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota*³

[TRANSLATION]

CARACAS, April 21, 1827.

SIR: The Liberator has received with pleasure your note of the 15th March—and he has again seen a new proof of the interest which the Government of the United States of America takes in the prosperity of Colombia.

I am sorry to say that our troops in Lima have taken a step which is in contradiction to their whole military career. Notwithstanding the Liberator hopes with confidence that the good sense of the nation as well in Peru as

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Guayaquil, I.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 664.

³ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, IV, enclosed in Watts to Clay, June 27, 1827, which see below, pt. VI, doc. 677. For the note of March 15 from Watts to which this is a reply, see above, pt. VI, doc. 666.

mbia will know to appreciate and follow the way of social order and
business.—

do not mean to say by this that his Excellency has not duly estimated the
timed advice which you were pleased to give him: On the contrary, His
Excellency has thought the same worthy of the knowledge of the public, in as
much as its effects will be exclusively those of strengthening the relations of
friendship which happily exist between our respective Countries. From it
may be observed the proceedings of a sister nation.—

The Liberator therefore orders me to express to you these sentiments;—
in doing so it is very satisfactory to me to add my distinguished consid-
eration towards you, and the sincere regard with which,
I have the Honor [etc.].

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*Jefferson T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota, to Henry
Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, May 14, 1827.

MR. I have delayed writing until a short while before the departure of the
agent to communicate the result of Congress upon the resignation of President
Jackson.

On the 12th Inst. Congress constitutionally met and proceeded to business.
On this day by a joint resolution the subject of the President's resignation
was to be considered. On the question being called up, an animated debate
took place both in the Senate and Chamber of Representatives. By some he
was applauded, and by others declared an enemy and an apostate to free princi-

A motion was made however which happily prevailed in both Houses, that
an express should be immediately sent to the Liberator commanding him to
appear without delay before Congress, and take the oath of office, for the
next term, for which he has been elected. This I consider a most happy
termination of the question and virtually a rejection of his resignation.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, IV.

*Beaufort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota, to José Manuel Restrepo, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia*¹

BOGOTA, June 1, 1827.

SIR: I would be unworthy of the trust I have the honor to represent, if I could behold the passing political events which have agitated Colombia, with indifference.—

A spirit of disunion unhappily has seized the minds of too many of her distinguished citizens; and whilst the horizon to the north has been cleared with the sunshine of hope, a cloud to the south brings despair. The patriots of your revolution who mingled their valor and sufferings in the same conflict, are now divided by the demon of discord. The noble and generous sentiments of the heart are surrendered to the most vindictive passions.—Calumny with its baleful satellites, has been strewing its poison in the ranks of your Army, and in the circle of domestic peace. The mantle of glory that covers Bolivar has been sullied by its pestiferous breath—whilst the civic deeds of Santander, during an administration of danger and disaster has been wantonly profaned. Such a melancholy disunion can but be deplored by my Government, and in anticipation of its sympathies, I addressed a note to the Liberator President on the 15th of March last, a copy of which is herewith accompanied with the Secretary General's answer.

In appealing to the President of the Republic, I was alarmed at the seditious excitement that prevailed from Peru to Venezuela; and viewing Colombia as the great Republic, whose example should give character and sentiment to the other States of the South, my ardent desire is to see a co-operation of patriotism and talent between their Excellencies the President and Vice President, to restore the nation to its former tranquility and prospects of future greatness.—

I have the honor [etc.].

*José Manuel Restrepo, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, to Beaufort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota*¹

BOGOTA, June 7, 1827.

SIR: I have the honor and satisfaction to advise you by order of my government, that the two Chambers of Congress having yesterday reunited for the consideration of the resignations which had been made by the Liberator President, and General Santander Vice President of the Republic.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, IV, enclosed in Watts to Clay, June 27, 1827, which see below, pt. VI, doc. 677.

king first into consideration that of the President, it was discussed with propriety and freedom corresponding with the national representation, it having been reduced to a vote, was not admitted by a majority of votes against twenty four.—

In continuation of their proceedings, it was seen that the resignation of the President was not admitted by a majority of seventy votes against four. From the lively interest which your government takes in the welfare and prosperity of Colombia, it is very satisfactory to me to advise you of an event important, and which will have such influence in establishing the future business of Colombia.
I have the honor [etc.].

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*Esaufort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota, to José Manuel Restrepo, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia*¹

BOGOTA, June 7, 1827.

SIR: In answer to your note of this morning, I seize the earliest moment to convey to your Excellency my congratulations at the happy termination of the question yesterday discussed in a reunion of the two Chambers of Congress on the resignation's of the two chief magistrates of the Republic, and to congratulate your government upon the event.

This new manifestation given by the representatives of the people of the renewed confidence reposed in these distinguished individuals is auspicious for the future happiness of Colombia.—

Whatever may have been the different opinions and irritations of parties hitherto, the amicable decision of this question is a most happy consequence—I shall avail myself of this day's post to communicate it to my government.—

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Manuel Restrepo, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, to Esaufort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota*¹

BOGOTA, June 12, 1827.

The undersigned Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Relations of the government of Colombia has had the honor to give an account to the Vice President of the Republic charged with the Executive power, of the communication which on the 1st of the present month Mr. Watts Chargé des Affaires des Etats Unis, has received from the President of the United States. S. Dispatches from Colombia, IV, enclosed in Watts to Clay, June 27, 1827, which I enclose, pt. VI, doc. 677.

d'Affaires of the United States of America directed to him, and which was accompanied by copies of the letter which he under date of the 15th March last had written to the Liberator President, and of the answer which he obtained.—

The Vice President has considered, that in taking this step [?] will have had the corresponding instructions from the United States, in which case that of Colombia will require from the same the due explanations.—

The Vice President Charged with the Executive power believes that whatever the interest and zeal of Mr. Watts may be for the welfare of Colombia, for its glory and prosperity, he will not forget the public character in which the government of Colombia acknowledges him—and the intimate connexion which his opinions have with the illustrious nation he represents, and for which the Executive power and the whole Republic have the respect, friendship, and considerations which are due to the same.—

The undersigned renews [etc.].

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*Beaufort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, June 14, 1827.

SIR: On the fourth of this Instant I received a Caracas paper in which was published a letter written by myself of the 15th March last to President Bolivar, requesting him to return to Bogota and assume the responsibility and government of the Republic. The letter was written in consequence of the arrival of information of the disaffection and mutiny of the Colombian auxiliary army which Bolivar had left in Peru.

The principal facts attending this revolt are that Col. Bustamante an officer of plausible character, accepted a bribe (as it is said) and that each soldier rec'd from two to twenty dollars from the government of Peru to leave the country. After the Colombian troops had fought her battles and achieved her independence, the government became tired of their services and took this measure to get rid of them. Bustamante the leader of the mutiny the more effectually to accomplish his purpose, seized the principal Officers and sent them to this place as prisoners, among whom was Generals Lara and Sands who had distinguished themselves in many battles and particularly at Ayacucho.—

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, IV. See his letter of March 15, 1827, to Bolivar above, pt. VI, doc. 666, and between that date and this the interchange of notes to which his extraordinary conduct gave rise.

This act of insubordination happening immediately after Bolivar's departure for this Republic, where I must again repeat he was called by this Government, and the nation to suppress the revolution in Venezuela—a revolution where war had actually commenced—and where Genl. Paez, the chief of the revolutionists, had in his proclamation declared Venezuela separate and absolved from the Republic of Colombia—had appointed a time when elections were to be held for members of Congress, and which was to have been installed on the 10th of January last in the city of Valencia.

On the first of January Bolivar fortunately reached Puerto Cabello which city was at that time under the command of General Mendez, a nephew by marriage of the presidents, and late a minister to the confederate Congress at Panama, which he was defending against the attacks of General Paez, who had actually invested it with his troops— Yet the partizans who accuse the President of aspiring to monarchy, and at the head of these partizans, rumour says the Vice President is the Chief—presume to say, that there was an understanding between Bolivar and Paez, and that the revolution was sanctioned by the former. In disproof of this assertion, when Venezuela had broken its allegiance with this government, deputies were sent from that Province, and from all parts of the Republic, and likewise from the Vice President himself to Bolivar, desiring him to return to Colombia and save the country.—

I cannot give a stronger proof of this truth than by a quotation of the Vice President's address to the President on the 14th of November last, the morning of his arrival from Peru.— He said he "addressed his Excellency with the most lively emotions, and the immensity of joy with which his arrival had filled his heart and those of his fellow citizens. The unfortunate occurrences which afflict this Republic, discover in your Excellency their only mediator and support. That your Excellency can only reorganise the different parts of the political machinery, shaken and dislocated by the fury of the passions."

On his departure from Lima in his proclamation to the Peruvians he said "Colombia calls me and I obey." He arrived and as was expected saved the nation from massacre and disaster;—reconciled the revolutionists and restored order and peace in the country.

At the moment when the post from the north brought this happy intelligence, and when hope seemed to smile and forget the past—a messenger from the south brings an account of the mutiny of the troops in Lima. This information I rec'd about four O'clock— At seven I was drawn to my window by the sound of music, the noise and shouts of a great multitude, crying "viva the Vice President" "viva Bustamante."— This collection of all classes, was in celebration of the conspiracy of the Auxiliary troops in Lima, and was headed by Col. Witthew, a respectable young englishman, aid-de-camp to the Vice President. The proper inference then is, that the assembling of the crowd was at the instance, and the influence of the Vice President;—And it

has not been disguised by his friends, that the conduct of Bustamante met his approbation.

At this period of faction and disorder, of mistrust and want of confidence in the government—when it was rumored that the Province of Cundinamarca, of which Bogota is the Capital would separate from Venezuela, and Quito, and make the Vice President its chief.— When the whole country from Lima to Venezuela was divided and torn by intestine commotion.— When the President was in Caracas and the Vice President in Bogota, each of them exercising Executive Powers; issuing conflicting decrees, and paralysing the government—I looked to him who is the constitutional chief magistrate of the Republic, as the individual who unites popular opinion, an unimpeachable integrity, and elevated sentiment of character; of talents and experience that have passed the trial of seventeen years, devoted to the emendation of the social compact— To Bolivar uniting all these attributes on the 15th of March I addressed a letter, desiring him to return to Bogota and assume the Executive Chair. This letter as the Secretary General of State declared to me in his answer, “His Excellency the Liberator has thought worthy the knowledge of the public.”—

It was therefore published by his authority. It was written from a consciousness, which my opinion still maintains, that in the present state of the nation he is the individual who can allay the angry passions, and restore confidence and character to the government.—

In all my intercourse with this government, I have not been unmindful, “that temper is of more importance than talent”, and in my correspondence in presenting the abuses and absolute wrongs which have been done our citizens, I may have been remiss in that force essential to the protection of their just rights, but I have in every instance, studied a cautious prudence and delicacy of action, which could not offend.— In proof this Doctor Gual late Mⁿ. of Foreign Affairs, now at Tacubaya, Mr. Revenga now Sec’y Genl. and Mr. Restrepo have given me written testimonials of my unvaried conciliatory course— But Sir, in consequence of the letter which I wrote to President Bolivar, the Vice President is highly insensed, and I have rec’d a note from Minister of Foreign Affairs informing me that he will ask an explanation of my government.—

I trust I know and have observed too well the character I represent to do an act unworthy of it, or to excite the displeasure of my government. The letter was written without any intention to wound the feelings of the Vice President, and certainly under no expectations that President Bolivar would give publicity to it. On my receiving the Secretary General’s answer and his having intimated it would be published, I addressed a note to Mr. Restrepo minister for foreign [affairs] with the correspondence of the Liberator, and until its publication appeared with the Editorial remarks thereon, and upon other letters written by various individuals, particularly by H. B. M. Repre-

ive to Col. Wilson (son of Sir Robert) aid-de-camp to Genl. Bolivar, understand that any irritation of feeling had been excited in the Vice President by my letter. If the Vice President can draw any indelicate conclusions from that letter, it may be from a consciousness of which I have no edge. It was dictated by the positive state of the country, and unconnected with his private or public character— Nay, I had him not in my

If he questions this act which I have privately done from the best of motives, not only from the deep interest which the United States has in the prosperity of Colombia, but as a guarantee to the persons and property of her citizens—there I may have erred.— I however respect the maxims and principles of diplomatic intercourse too sacredly to depart from the obligations and duties of reciprocal respect.—

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*Fort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota, to José Manuel Restrepo, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia*¹

BOGOTA, June 20, 1827.

The undersigned Chargé d' Affaires of the United States of America has the honor to acknowledge the note of the Honorable Minister for Foreign Affairs of the 12th Inst. a copy of which he has transmitted to his Government.— It would have afforded him great satisfaction to have been able to deliver despatches in person to the Hon. Mr. Clay Secretary for the Department of State— But he is unhappily prevented, on account of the unsatisfactory answers hitherto rec'd from this government respecting the various important claims of different citizens of the United States.

In the meantime he begs leave to assure His Excellency the Vice President armed with *Executive powers*, thro' the medium of the Hon. Minister for Foreign Affairs, that His Excellency has by no means formed an erroneous opinion in believing, that Mr. Watts has on no occasion departed from those principles which are dictated by reason, the rights of his country, by the friendship existing between the two Republics, and the law of nations— principles which have uniformly characterised his intercourse with this Government, during a residence more than two years.— And that his confidence as well as the confidence which his government has placed in him, are a sufficient safeguard against any apprehension, that he should forget those principles.—

The United States' Chargé d' Affaires renews [etc.].

¹ S. Dispatches from Colombia, IV, enclosed in Watts to Clay, June 27, 1827, which now, pt. VI, doc. 677.

*Beaufort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, June 27, 1827.

In consequence of the unsettled state of the country, I shall not avail myself of the kindness of the President in acceding to my request for leave of absence, until the arrival of the President who is expected in August—and I have every confidence in his political fidelity and his disinterested patriotism, and that his administration will tranquilise the various parties that now divide and distract the Country. If he does not succeed it is impossible to conjecture what may follow. A separation of the three great Provinces, Quito, Cundinamarca and Venezuela, into independent States is the most probable event.— The present system of government, its simple and central character has proved inadequate to the general welfare of the country. The widely extended territory over which the influence of the government should be felt— Its scattered population— The want of capacity and moral faith in the subordinate functionaries— The distant and difficult communication between the different departments, are objections to the present system that are apparent to its most zealous advocates. On the other hand the politicians of the country think the federal system too complex for a people almost unacquainted with civil liberty, yet they seem inclined to favour it, as the only remedy to unite the Republic. Bolivar has promised to call a convention for the purpose of adopting that system; whilst General Santander the Vice President, and his adherents, plume themselves upon their adhesion to the constitution and present form of government, and oppose every other measure as hostile to the public good. This however is done only to foil the views of the President, for it is well understood that all the political friends of the Vice President, are in favour of a separation of the three Divisions which constitute the Republic, and of making him the Chief of Cundinamarca.—

I have the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, IV.

*m Wheelwright, United States Consul at Guayaquil, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

GUAYAQUIL, *June 28, 1827.*

cord & Civil War has raged throughout this Section of the country the revolution of April 16th and there is but little hope of a speedy to peace and tranquility.

ve data for stating that Genl. Bolivar who has been the pride and boast y patriot has been and is the cause of all our evils: ambition and in- have marked his career Since he last landed on the shores of Colombia. s City is at present entirely deserted by its inhabitants who have taken hem their goods and effects. ve the honor [etc.].

*ort T. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States at Bogota, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

CARTHAGENA, *March 10, 1828.*

This city has been for several days past in the highest state of alarm. wellings of all the inhabitants have been closed apprehensive of a com- ment of hostilities between the different factions. General Padilla of ay a man of Colour, was the principal in this excitement. It was be- for a while to be entirely local, and having its origin in some personal ations between the officers of the Army and Marine. General Mon- ommandant Gen^l. of this department, communicated to me a develop- of facts which prove that it originated from a higher source, and that it accordance with the revolution effected by Bustamante in Lima, and attempted at La Paz in Bolivia. The President anticipating the oc- ce at this place, had given previous orders to General Montilla, to be red for the event, and to crush it without the loss of blood. This was for- ly done with two or three exceptions of blacks, who were bayonetted in pting to impede the march of some soldiers thro' the gates of the city. lan having entirely failed, Padilla its leader fled at midnight and pro- d towards Ocana where the convention is to be held, for the purpose of Genl. Santander who it is said was his adviser in this recent affair.— al Montilla further stated that the President was in possession of inter-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Guayaquil, I.

² MS. Dispatches from Colombia, IV.

cepted letters from General Santander proving the fact, that the occurrences which have taken place in Lima and in this City were caused by a combination of persons in Peru and Colombia avowedly to prostrate President Bolivar, and to promote their own designs. In corroboration of this statement, the celebrated Viadaure of Lima once the fawning parasite of the Liberator, and but lately his accuser and defamer, in consequence of disappointed expectation, is now in prison on account of a conspiracy discovered in Peru of which he was a principal actor, the object of which was the subversion of [was to subvert] the governments of Peru and Bolivia, disunite the South of Colombia (Guayaquil) and to consolidate an Empire under the sovereignty of a descendant of the Incas.—

I should be pleased could I change the tone of my communications of the unsettled state of Colombia— I would be reconciled could speculation afford a pretext, courting probability, that the Republic might ere long assume a position of future expectation without encountering the unseen ills that await all disorganised compacts. Philosophy grows impatient, and enthusiasm sickens at the wrongs that have violated her peace. Hope the universal panacea which reinspires exertion when principles fail—even this cheering Mission is dispoiled of its toys, and the patriot who has mingled in the conflict and toiled for the liberties of his country is wearied with conjecture, sits quiet, waiting the result which accident may produce, fearful of the end.— In countries where revolutions arise, their origin differ essentially & vary as materially in principle, as the manners and habits of different nations. Tyrannous systems of arbitrary power generally give utterance to the cries of freedom and awaken the energies of a people. This has not been the case in Colombia and probably no where in Spanish America, at the breaking out of the revolution. It was not then the offspring of unjust usurpations in the mother country that gave birth to their emancipation— It was not a revolution arising from intellectual development—from reflection—from a scenting into the state of the moral of the people, nor from any examination as to their capacity or right to establish separate governments. Such ideas had not entered their minds based upon any principles of propriety, or probability of success. It was the invasion of Spain by Napoleon and holding Captive its King, that first moved a severance of the colonies. At the commencement of that invasion, but one general sentiment of sympathy and of national feeling actuated alike all Spanish Americans for their monarch and mother country, and a most inexorable hatred for the French. Their degraded condition, their servility and accustomed burthens had created no spirit of hostility, nor desire to burst the ligaments. Despotism may be so tempered as to become agreeable, and volition is often painful to the mind, untrained to the offices of a manly Independence. Like the obedient animal that fawns when chastised, the Spanish American courted by his loyalty & won by his obedience, the smiles of His Sovereign and the Pope—the one his temporal,

her his spiritual master. Not until the Napoleon Dynasty appeared in
 d, & the prostration of Spain seemed inevitable; and when the same
 a was mining its way into the Colonies, was it that a spirit of Independ-
 commenced. Bolivar the distinguished chief, [who] has done more to
 this great work than any other individual, was sojourning at that time
 ce, attending to the education of two of his nephews from Caracas.
 pe being made a prisoner, he embarked on board an American vessel
 to Charleston South Carolina. On his passage he formed an acquaint-
 with a Mr. M. Cormic of Charleston, & on their arrival rec'd his hos-
 y and friendship. Of this fact Mr. M. Cormic had previously informed
 which has since been voluntarily confirmed by President Bolivar him-

For said he, "I had not a real in my purse on arriving at Charleston."
 afterwards sailed for Philadelphia where he left his nephews at school and
 ked for La Guayra. During my short visit to the United States he
 red, "for the first time in my life have I ever seen rational liberty."—
 bly this accidental combination of circumstances happening to a lofty
 quisitive mind like his, then only twenty five years old, accessible to
 ssions that are towering and noble, with an imagination that sometimes
 the lead of his judgment, but never disturbs the purity of purpose—
 splendour of a conquering General like Napoleon emerging from the
 om and prejudices that had long chained the efforts of genius—the
 g moral beauty of our institutions, and but recently dissolved from our
 l allegiance—an Era just opening of emancipating his own country—
 se circumstances it is not irrational to conclude that his mind may have
 the impress that has given to the world its splendid developement.

n aware that the expedition of Miranda in Eighteen hundred &—may
 ought in disparagement of the position assumed. But the results of
 expedition only prove that it was premature—that it was badly planned,
 at instead of meeting with support from the inhabitants he encoun-
 opposition from every quarter. Miranda had been bred in foreign
 e—was visionary in his plans, and deficient in talent and energy to
 ce them—and liked more the spoils of conquest than the pride of vic-

He had passed some time in London, and associated with Sir Thomas
 a, who was Governor of Trinidad—and by them the expedition was
 conceived, without any plausible grounds of success. With the excep-
 hen of this instance no symptoms of disloyalty had appeared.

ring the immolation of the power of Ferdinand, forcible necessity and
 reservation came home to these people. Minds that had never thought
 aroused—energies stimulated that had slept. Almost simultaneously
 y millions of people spread over a pathless continent—separated from
 other by immense tracts of uninhabited region—without concert—
 ut resources, and totally ignorant of civil government, were driven to
 necessity of separation and independent governments. Discord and dis-

nion followed as natural consequences, and civil wars commenced among the various chiefs. The people naturally tractable from principles of education, of government, and climate, it was only requisite to command to be obeyed, were easily led by the many leaders. Successes and disasters, triumphs and defeats, marked its early history. In the midst of this fatality, when Spain by her own exemplary devotion to national pride had expelled the untoward invader beyond the Pyrennes, had she extended the conciliatory hand to her distracted subjects, altho' estranged from her protecting arm— even then it is asserted by some of the most distinguished and patriotic Colombians, they would have embraced the offer. The Cortez who had established a constitution strange to relate, was unwilling to accept from the Colonies any conditions but those the most abject. Regardless of the commissions sent by the Colonies to the Cortez offering a tempered allegiance, they were answered with contumely, more like vassals than subjects who deserved such devoted regard and protection. Fleets were equipped and armies sent out to reduce them to unconditional submission. The materials were of the most sanguinary cast. Pillage, fire, and the sword, were the offerings made to these children people, who had been devoted to the King, and religion, of Castile and Leon. A war of extermination raged in Venezuela by the Spanish Chiefs Boves, and Morillo, that nothing but the genius of Bolivar could successfully oppose. The holy emblem of our Saviour, was more than once displayed upon the banner of the church, and introduced as a pledge of royal fidelity, only to lead captive and to massacre. Such sacriligious impositions, and unrelenting cruelties, gave the most loyal nothing to hope from compromise. Hence the people of Colombia, naturally mild and pacific, unused to arms and to blood, frequently with no weapon but the lance which her warrior had cut from the forest, and hardened in the sun, would attack his enemy bearing his musket and bayonet, with only one thought, to vanquish or fall.—

I have stated that had it not been for these unforeseen events which arose out of the disasters of the mother country, that the spirit of emancipation would probably not have commenced at so early a period, and that its final triumph may be attributed to the unconciliatory measures of the Cortez, and the cruelties practised by the Spanish troops, which created a principle of reaction, more than from any determined spirit among the people to separate. Another question consequently presents itself— After having formed constitutional governments based upon Republican principles, are they capable of governing themselves accordingly?— In touching upon this point I will permit myself to Colombia, and not transcend the bounds which my observation and experience for nearly four years in the Country has made. In Eighteen hundred and twenty one the delegates from the several Provinces framed a Constitution founded upon the representative system, and it soon went into operation. The enemy was still in different parts of the Republic, and not until eighteen hundred and twenty three was he ultimately expelled.

ment during this period was continually buoyant, and the Government maintained its military character. The fate of President Bolivar's expedition to Peru was yet equivocal: Its noble object monopolised public attention and created unanimity among the people. The battle of Ayacucho in December eighteen hundred and twenty four decided the conflict and thereon for the first time had the nation a respite from the thoughts of War.

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*Andrés Bello, Colombian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PHILADELPHIA, October 13, 1828.

I regret not to have had the honor to wait upon you personally when on my last visit to Washington.

On my departing from this country I therefore beg leave hereby to present myself to you with the assurance that I will always entertain a high sense of your frankness and kindness evinced by you to me in my official intercourse with the government of the United-States.

Permit me on this occasion to express to you, as a Colombian, my gratitude for your constant and generous efforts to induce this illustrious and free government to acknowledge the independence of my country; and for your endeavors in the cabinet to establish friendly relations with it. Your name is closely associated with the noble cause of the emancipation of Spanish-America; and that people will always remember with respect and gratitude the important and valuable services.

My political opinions, strictly republican, and by no means favourable to the supremacy of military power, so dangerous to civil liberty, and which in the actual struggle of opinions you so nobly oppose, form a new motive of sympathy, and induce me to offer you the tribute of the highest respect and admiration, with my best wishes for your prosperity and happiness.

If you have any commands for Colombia I will be happy to attend to them, and if you be pleased to direct them to me to New-York, whence I propose to depart for Carthage on the first of November. I have the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

*William H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, March 28, 1829.

SIR: There is in this city a foreigner who is a personal friend of mine, and an ardent admirer of the United States and its institutions. Being the Agent of one of the Banking Houses in London which advanced a considerable portion of the money borrowed by Colombia, and having, also, claims to a considerable amount on many of the leading individuals in this place, he has become better acquainted with the secret political history of this Government than, perhaps, any other person. Indeed, there is scarcely any thing transacted with which he is not in some way or other made acquainted. From this gentleman, I have this moment received the following information.

With the last public despatches from (Bolivar & Peru—) the President came two private letters—one to Mr. Castillo, the President of the Council, and the other to Gen^l. Urdaneta, the Secretary of War. In the former, the President announces the success of his arms, and rejoices at it because it will be the means of restoring peace, which he promises to effect as soon as possible and then return to the Capital. To the other Minister, who is in his entire confidence, he writes, "In the joy of my heart at the glorious news which has just arrived from the army, I write to congratulate you that the prospect is now again opened to us to place Colombia at the head of the States of South America, and to release her from the burden under which she groans by obliging those States to take it on their own shoulders."

It was rumored yesterday, that the troops which were on the march to reinforce Bolivar, of which one regiment left this three weeks ago, and another has since arrived, were ordered to suspend their march. It is now known, however, that they are ordered still to proceed.

The fate of Peru will, I fear, be decided before any interference of a friendly power could be offered.

General Paez has lately issued a Proclamation to the people of Venezuela, in which he informs them, that he knows "that Bolivar has never entertained any other wish than to place the liberties of his country upon the surest foundation, but should he depart from those principles, he (Paez) will be the first to plunge a dagger in his bosom." This unlooked for declaration has astounded the Ministers, who are endeavoring to suppress it. Some account for this procedure by supposing, that the nephews of Paez (his adopted sons) who have been educated in the United States and lately returned to Colombia, have infused into his mind the principles which they have imbibed in our country.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, V.

own opinion is, that Paez had heard of the idea of making a Foreign successor to Bolivar—an inheritance to which he probably supposes a better claim.
e the honor [etc.].

*H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, March 30, 1829.

An officer from the Head Quarters of General Bolivar arrived yesterday in this city, bringing the important information of the entire defeat of the Peruvian army and the conclusion of peace, preliminary articles having been signed and ratified. It appears that full Powers had been given to General Sucre not only to negotiate but to conclude a Treaty of Peace.

Powers had been given when the prospects of General Bolivar did not promise the astonishing success that has attended him, and I have little doubt that he disapproves the precipitancy with which the Treaty was made. It can exceed the joy with which this news has been received here, for the exception of a few of the particular friends of Gen^l. Bolivar, every one is desirous that Peru as well as Bolivia shall be entirely independent of Spain.

Though I have been several times asked whether the United States would be willing to guarantee the Definitive Treaty which may be made between Peru and Peru, I have of course to decline to give any opinion on the subject. I have no doubt that the article in relation to it might be modified to amount only to a stipulation that in any future collisions between the United States should be the Mediator and Umpire instead of the Arbitrator of the Treaty. The selection of our Government for this important post has been received by every description of people here with the most marked approbation and enthusiasm, And if I can venture to give an opinion, it would be, that the offer should not be rejected until an attempt is made to give it a shape which would not be in opposition to the principles we have hitherto pursued.

I have the honor to enclose herewith an Extra Official Gazette of this day, containing the particulars of the intelligence above referred to.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, V.

*Medina, Colombian Consul General in the United States, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[TRANSLATION]

NEW YORK, April 16, 1829.

SIR: The desire of preserving the amicable relations which have existed between the Governments of Colombia and that of the U. S., and if possible increasing their intimacy, has induced the latter to charge me to make to your Government a simple exposition of the occurrences which have lately taken place in Colombia, and brought the nation into the necessity of temporarily assuming the only form of Government which could rescue her from the abyss of evils into which she had been precipitated by a thousand unfortunate incidents— The unanimous cry of Independence which was heard from one to the other extremity of the vast territory forming now the extent of Colombia was soon followed by a general wish for a system of government similar to that which through a marvellous concurrence of circumstances was then marching tranquilly in this part of North America. Charmed with the prospect of the U. S. the people eagerly embraced the principles of their government and followed their forms with the greatest avidity. The provinces which had formerly obeyed but one head unaccustomed to self-government, and themselves perplexed, in their career as Sovereign States, unable to fix their different attributions, in perpetual collision with each other and incapable of giving themselves a center of action for the accomplishment of their emancipation. The enthusiasm of the people had received a wrong direction, and nothing could prevent desorganization, confusion and civil war which debilitating the nation made her an easy prey for the Spaniards. The ruin and devastation which accompanied and followed the triumphs of the Spanish army produced a reaction in the people which seconded by the heroism and perseverance of the immortal Bolivar, burst their chains and recovered their freedom. The experience of past evils however could not wholly correct the error of the people about their capacity to govern themselves by institutions which are to be based only on general information and national virtues. A constitution was adopted the theory of which by a multitude of circumstances that had no connexion whatever with the nature of the plan, appeared, indeed, realized under the most flattering probabilities. But the foundation was ruinous and it was soon seen that the nation was not reaching its prosperity under the adopted institutions and that a mortal perility was rapidly tending to her destruction. The glorious triumphs of her arms, both at home and abroad, could not prevent Colombia, six years afterwards from being, exhausted, poor, without credit and almost ready to plunge herself into the evils of a civil war, which, once begun would have in-

¹ MS. Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

er in all its horrors, if the protecting genius which had made her Independent had not appeared among us and restored both order and peace. When the Liberator President returned to Colombia he found the nation divided and the different departments in arms to destroy each other. His commanding voice called together the representatives of the people to consult themselves the means for their security and the provision of a remedy for many evils. The Convention assembled without any opposition, but its spirit rendered useless the means of doing good, and that body brooked no evils having grown worse, & the nation remained without laws, without institutions, without assembly and exposed to the most disastrous calamity. In this situation, the people, terrified and on the very brink of the abyss into which they were to be plunged, turned their eyes towards the Liberator who could save them. Their clamour was general, simultaneous, irresistible, and the Liberator could not be insensible to it without appearing guilty before the eyes of God and man, of the inevitable ruin of the nation. She gave up to him her destiny and invested him with an absolute and unlimited power that he might watch over her safety and take such measures as might save her from ruin. The Liberator urged by the acclamations of the people, entreated and conjured by the loud cries of the whole nation rushing into destruction and making him responsible of her ruin, finds in the alternative either of taking her up in his arms, or letting her perish. The municipalities of every town, the votes of the wise and the prudent of the persons of the highest distinction and rank redoubled now their supplications. In these circumstances the Liberator consulted with the chiefs of the Ministerial Departments, with the most prominent characters of the nation, with those, who in the opinion of the nation at large possessed a sound judgement, and who weighed with an enlightened policy, and uninfluenced by passions, the good and evil of their country; not as they might appear from the false theory of overheated imaginations, but as they are, and rest on fact. This Council over which reflexion and wisdom presided, answered unanimously that the Liberator must assume the reins of Government. His authority at last yields to the wishes of the nation and to the voice of his conscience, and with a single word, restores, serenity and peace in the whole body of the Republic. If the head of the Government the Liberator immediately forms a Council of State composed of a Representative from each department, organizes a more numerous Ministry and thus surrounds himself with individuals of talent and science, in order to ensure success until the representatives of the nation may assemble under better auspices in the year 1826 and free from the horrors of party-spirit and the influence of irritated passions, fix for ever the destinies of Colombia— Through a natural effect of political fanaticism produced by the tumultuous conflict of parties and factions, some unruly men endeavoured to involve the nation in blood by attacking against the life of the Liberator President. Providence saved him,

and at the cost of some sacrifices tranquility has been restored to the country— By what I had the honour of verbally communicating to the Government of the U. S. in September last, the causes of the dissensions between Colombia and Peru are already known to Your H' Government. The Liberator President has spared no sacrifice that could be made without injuring the honour of the nation, in order to prevent the war with a neighbouring people linked to Colombia by the most sacred ties, & which have been disordered by the Government of Peru through a conduct marked out by acts eminently aggravating, and openly hostile. We hope in the meanwhile that the efforts of the Liberator President in favour of peace may be attended with the most satisfactory result.— This is, Hon. Sir, the simple exposition of the affairs of Colombia. Calumny and the interest of passions changing every thing have drawn a very different picture of it. The facility on the other hand, with which the inhabitants of this country enjoy the inestimable blessings of Liberty, leads some to overlook the difference of circumstances, and condemn every thing that does not resemble the prototype of their country; undoubtedly with as much justice as that with which they would blame us for not adopting the use of stoves on the burning shores of the Magdalenas.— This inaccuracy of judgment in the less informed class of the people, cannot lessen, for a single moment, the confidence of Colombia in the rectitude and profound penetration of the Government of the U. S. to appreciate properly the essential difference between the two nations in regard to the forms of Government of which they are susceptible.— Actuated by this persuasion H. E. the Liberator President orders me to express to the Government of the U. S. the great satisfaction which H. E. feels in renewing to the same Government the sentiments of his admiration and esteem, and his ardent wishes for the preservation of the most perfect harmony between the two nations— Allow me, Sir, to avail myself of this opportunity to offer to H. E. the President of the U. S. the high regard of my veneration and respect, and to subscribe myself with the most distinguished consideration &c.

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*William H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, May 14, 1829.

SIR: I received yesterday a note from Mr. Vergara, requesting me to call at the Foreign Office to-day at 11 o'clock.

I have just left him, and have the honor to communicate the result of the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, V.

ce. He informed me, that he was instructed by the Liberator to
through me the good offices of the United States to procure a recon-
between this country and Peru. The latter power, he said, had re-
to fulfill the conditions of the Preliminary Treaty made between
Sucre and Lamar in relation to the delivery of Guayaquil—that the
commandant of the Peruvian troops in that city had informed the Colombian
officer who was sent to receive it, that he had been directed by his Gov-
ernment not to give it up;—and that General Lamar had also, in a letter to
Sucre, declared his determination to retain it. He justified his con-
duct on the ground of the alleged murder of some of the Peruvian prisoners
by Colombian troops after the battle of Tarqui, and the erection of a
monument on the battle ground.

Vergara added, that the Liberator was much embarrassed—that he
did not wish to prosecute the war, and hoped to effect the restoration of peace
through the mediation of the United States, and requested, that if they acceded to
his proposition, that measures might be immediately taken to effect it.

I myself the honor to inclose herewith the Official Gazette containing
General Sucre's account of the battle of Tarqui, and another containing a
proclamation of General Bolivar announcing the continuance of the war with
Peru. I wish I could say that I had entire reliance in the profession of moder-
ation which it contains. But I am strongly impressed with the opinion, that
there are no means displeased at having a pretext for continuing the war, and
that the solicitude he has expressed to procure the mediation of the United
States is intended to mask his designs. By the next mail, I will communi-
cate the facts which have given rise to this opinion.

Vergara promised to send me this evening a note containing the propo-
sition for the Mediation with certain documents relating to the present state
of affairs with Peru. It has not yet been received, and as the mail for Car-
acas will close this evening, I shall not have it in my power to inclose
it with this letter, but will do so in my next, in which also I shall communi-
cate some interesting information in relation to the internal affairs of this
country.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Lauro Vergara, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, to
William H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia*¹

[TRANSLATION]

BOGOTA, May 15, 1829.

The war in which Colombia has seen itself engaged with Peru, has not
terminated, notwithstanding even the Preliminaries of Peace signed at Jiron

Dispatches from Colombia, V, enclosed with Harrison to the Secretary of State,
1829, which see below, pt. VI, doc. 686.

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and the efforts of H. E. the Liberator President to bring it to a close.— Guayaquil, as I have stated verbally to you, remains in the possession of the Peruvians, and the authorities who hold it have failed to comply not only with what was agreed upon in those Preliminaries, but also with what was stipulated in the capitulation of the place.

It seemed impossible that the President of Peru could approve of so irregular a proceeding, after he had, upon the very field of Tarqui, and soon after a bloody battle, ratified a convention concluded by his Plenipotentiaries; but the communication of the Peruvian Colonel to the Colombian commander who went to receive the delivery of Guayaquil (copy No. 1), and the letter of General Lamar to the General in Chief Antonio José de Sucre (No. 2), remove every doubt, and prove that the first magistrate of Peru and his subalterns in that place are acting in concert, and have no disposition to give it up or to make peace.

Notwithstanding this conviction, the Liberator President, animated with the most sincere wish to terminate the war, has issued in Quito the Proclamation (No. 3), and has written to the Government of Peru the note No. 4, in which, giving peremptory satisfaction for the grievances of which the President of that Republic complained, he urges the fulfilment of the Preliminaries of Jiron and the conclusion of the Definitive Treaty of Peace. H. E. maintains inactive a victorious army greatly re-inforced; and without power to withdraw it, as the obstinacy of the Chiefs of Peru in continuing the war does not allow it, he has preferred to inflict this evil upon the people of the South rather than fail in complying with what he has, in the name of the nation, promised.

The Liberator fears, that nothing will avail, & that the war will continue even without his being able to prevent it. If the Government of Peru refuse to listen to the voice of truth and justice, and intend to continue it, Colombia will see itself compelled to prosecute it, and to prosecute it in a manner which will compel the enemy to yield to an accommodation.— His Ex'cy wishes to prevent this result, because it has never been his intention to humble Peru, but to make it a friend, and to bind it not to disturb the tranquillity and repose of this Republic; and he believes, that the mediation of those nations with which it is connected by bonds of amity is the most efficacious and perhaps sole means of effecting it.

His Ex'cy does not doubt, that the Government of the United States, which is so much interested in the general peace of America, will employ its good offices with that of Peru for the laudable purpose of putting an end to a war, from which nothing but ruin and destruction to Peru can result; with this persuasion, he has commanded me to solicit them through you for this end. I have already complied with this direction in expressing verbally to you the desires of the Liberator, and now comply with the offer which I made you of expressing them in writing.

documents which I have the honor of transmitting herewith, are the proofs of the pacific wishes of the Liberator, and the request which he made to the Government of the United States, and which has already been received by that of Great Britain, sufficiently justify them— Neither the United States nor Colombia fears war, but they have no intention to continue it, and the Government of Peru insist on making it, and in refusing every accommodation.

Ex'cy hopes, that you will transmit the whole to the Government of the United States, and that you will lend your aid so that the present proposition may have a favorable result.
[etc.].

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*Wm. H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, May 16, 1829.

In a short letter written on the 14th instant, I had the honor to communicate a proposition verbally made to me by Mr. Vergara, that the United States should become the Mediators between this Government and that of Colombia.

I have now the honor to enclose a translation of his official note on the subject, which was not received until late last evening. There will not be time, before the Maracaibo mail will set out, to have the documents copied. I will write again and transmit them, via Carthagena, next week—together with a duplicate copy of Mr. Vergara's note. The probability is that the letter will reach you sooner than this and as soon as I receive my letter of the 14th instant, which was sent to our Consul to be forwarded by any casual conveyance, it will not reach Carthagena in time for the regular Packet.

Mail to Maracaibo from hence requires twenty days to reach that place, and that to Carthagena only ten—but I thought it best to multiply the chances of your receiving early information of the proposed mediation. At the personal interview with Mr. Vergara, he did not inform me that a proposition had been made to Great Britain. I have the honor [etc.].

Our latest information from the United States is of the 8th Feb-

¹ Dispatches from Colombia, V. For the letter of the 14th instant mentioned in the translation of the official note from Vergara the Minister for Foreign Affairs, which was received May 15, see above, pt. VI, docs. 684 and 685.

*William H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, May 27, 1829.

SIR: The political state of this country appears to be approaching a crisis. The men in power, after much consultation and considerable fluctuation, have agreed upon their course. The Republic of Colombia is no longer to exist, and a Monarchy is to be established in its stead. The crown is, in the first instance, to be offered to General Bolivar. Should he refuse it, a Foreign Prince is to be invited to accept it.

These are the measures prescribed for the Convention to adopt which is about to be elected.

That it should be known beforehand what will be done by a body of men who are yet to be chosen by the people of an extensive country, may seem to you strange. But the surprise will cease when it is known, that the Electors who are to choose the members of the Convention, as well as the members themselves, are all designated by the very persons who have prescribed the course which the latter are to adopt, and that the body of the people of Colombia will have as little to do with these measures as those of New York or Ohio.

The Election has been going on in this City for some days, and will terminate tomorrow. To save appearances, there is some little variation in the tickets voted for in the several wards, but every man who will receive a vote has been designated by the Government. There are two military corps in garrison here, having in each from eight hundred to a thousand men. The privates are all negroes or mulattos from the low country. They have all voted, although there are not perhaps ten in the whole number who have the qualifications which the edict requires.

The Decree prescribing the mode of electing the Members of the Convention, like most of those which emanate from the same source, is intended to make impressions abroad, but will be regarded by the Government which enacted it only as far as it suits their views. Of the truth of this there are many instances. When the question of investing General Bolivar with Dictatorial Powers was in agitation, there were two Newspapers in this city—one the property of the Government—the other of an individual. An article appeared in the former inviting discussion on the subject. A piece appeared shortly after in the independent paper, which somewhat reflected upon General Bolivar. One of the officers of his personal staff (the Col^o. Ferguson who was killed on the night that the attempt was made on Bolivar) went to the office of the Printer, beat him severely, destroyed his types, and threatened him with death should he offend again in a similar way. Since this transaction, none but the Government paper has been published in Bogota.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, V.

a meeting held in this city to determine upon the question of giving
absolute Power to the President, a young gentleman rose to oppose it.
He only proceeded in his speech long enough to make known his object,
and was stopped by the Secretary of War, who told him, that as he was
an unmarried man, he had no right to give his opinion on so important a
subject. The young gentleman, having no inclination to see the dungeons
of Lima-Chica, immediately desisted. Others, possessing like disqualifica-
tions, were permitted to advocate the measure, and it was thus adopted.
The people here manifested great reluctance to vote for the Electors. For
the last two days, advertisements have been put up, calling on them to come
to the polls, and threatening those who do not comply with a fine. They are
not only to be deprived of their liberties, but obliged to be the instruments
to accomplish it. The name of each individual who votes is endorsed on the
back of the ticket. Should a man of any consequence presume to attempt to
frustrate the wishes of the Government, if he were not immediately sent to a
dungeon, he would be subjected to an arbitrary fine, under the name of a loan
which would never be returned. The lower class who may sin in this way,
will be turned over to the management of the Alcaldes, and their power
of disposition to punish at their discretion are too well known to make it
doubtful that any one will subject himself to its infliction who can by any
means avoid it.

The result of the election, then, will give to the world the appearance of the
unanimous consent of the people to the change of Government, when four-
ty at least are opposed to it. All the early patriots, the men of daring
deeds who would oppose these enormities or perish in the attempt, have been
already selected, and either banished the country, privately put to death, or
imprisoned in the dungeons of the castles on the sea coast.

In the enquiry which you will naturally make, whether Bolivar is himself
the author of these measures, and whether, under the mask of patriotism and
devotion to liberty, he has really been preparing the means of investing
himself with arbitrary power, I unequivocally answer, that I have not the
slightest doubt of the fact. I doubt as little, that he was once sincere in his pro-
fessions of attachment to a free Government, and I mark the date of his
departure on an expedition as the epoch of the change which took place in his prin-
ciples and intentions. At that time, the persons in possession of the Revolu-
tionary Government of Peru, had determined that they were not prepared to
form a Republic, and their Minister to London was authorised to consult with
the British Ministry on the subject of placing an European Prince upon the
throne of Peru. Bolivar put a stop to this design. These facts were com-
municated to me by the gentleman who represented Peru at that time at
the British court, who is now in this city.

Bolivar's plan was to form a kind of confederated Government,
limited at first to Colombia, Peru, and Bolivia, of which he was to be the

head with the title of Emperor. This scheme has been defeated hitherto by the opposition of the Colombians, and principally, of Mr. Castillo, the President of the Council. This gentleman, for some time also, opposed the proposition for the Monarchy in Colombia. At the meeting lately held to determine upon the change of Government, he was for preserving the forms and name of a free Government, but was willing to give the actual Supreme Power to Bolivar for life with his present title. He was, however, finally brought over to the opinion of the rest, and the Monarchy was resolved upon. The great difficulty to be encountered is, to fix the succession to Bolivar, who has no children. The ministers and the majority of their adherents, are in favor of a Foreign Prince and the French branch of the House of Bourbon is looked to to furnish him.

I have not before informed you, that Mr. de Bresson, who has resided some years at Washington as Secretary to the French Legation, arrived here a few weeks ago as Commissioner of his Government. He has been received with the most marked distinction by the Government and by all those who are under its influence. Indeed, attentions to him and to the young Duke of Montebello, who came with him, seem to be the means chosen by those who are suspected of liberal principles, to prove their adhesion to the present measures of the Government. In their zeal to do this on one of two occasions, they seemed to have so far forgotten what was due to their oldest and best friend and to the superior rank of its Representative, that I have been obliged to resent it.

Whatever may be the grounds for the opinion, it is very certain, that it prevails to a considerable extent, that France is in future to exercise no little influence in the affairs of this country. De Bresson intended to have visited Mexico before he came to Colombia. He reached New Orleans, and there heard of the insurrection in December, and thought it unsafe to proceed further. I have not the least doubt, that there has been a party in Mexico as well as Colombia, who have been devising the means of re-establishing Monarchical Government in those countries, and that the Mission of De Bresson has grown out of a communication between its leaders and the French Government.

I should have supposed, that no successor of Lord Chatham in the British Ministry, would have encouraged any measure to strengthen the power and influence of the House of Bourbon. But however this may be, they are certainly not opposed to the change from a Republican to Monarchical Form of Government, as well in this country as Mexico. I have every reason to believe, that the British Representative has been made acquainted with all the measures that have been taken by the ruling faction here. It may be their intention, after having succeeded in the principal matter (the establishment of a Monarchy), to endeavor to give another direction to the succession than that of a Bourbon Prince. One of the projects spoken of, is to authorise

Bolivar to name several individuals, out of whom the Convention is to choose his successor.

There is one difficulty in carrying these measures into effect, which, if it has not been overlooked, has not, I conceive, been properly appreciated—i. e. the obtaining the concurrence of General Paez. This man possesses the means of entire control over Venezuela. In addition to his influence over some of the regular corps (one of which, the regiment of Antioquia, now here, as one of its officers informed me, is entirely devoted to him), he can command at pleasure the whole population of the plains of Apure, every man of which is a trained soldier, forming in the aggregate the best body of light cavalry in the world. General Ibarra, a nephew of General Bolivar, has been despatched to induce him to give his support to the contemplated changes.

In my letter of the 14th instant,¹ I promised to state my reasons for believing that General Bolivar was not sincere in the professions of moderation contained in his Proclamation of the 3rd ultimo.

They are, first, the sentiments expressed in his letter to Gen^l. Urdaneta, mentioned in my letter, No. 7² — Secondly, his having urged the march of all the troops, which were on the way to re-inforce Sucre, after the signing of the Preliminary Treaty and before he knew that the Peruvian Government had any disposition to violate its terms; but thirdly and chiefly, because a resolution has been passed by the Council and sent to him, recommending that in the event of the inability of Peru to pay in money the debt due to Colombia, that he should receive in lieu of it a portion of her territory. I am informed, that this measure was suggested by the confidential officer who was sent with the President's despatches to the Council.

William H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States³

BOGOTA, June 22, 1829.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith the copy of a letter from General Bolivar⁴ to one of his confidential friends, which shows but too plainly that his

¹ See above, pt. VI, doc. 684.

² See above pt. VI, doc. 681, Harrison to Secretary of State, March 28, 1829.

³ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, V.

⁴ Translation of the letter from Bolivar dated Quito, May 6, 1829 enclosed in cipher. The following is the State Department's decodification:

MY DEAR GENERAL: I likewise fear meddling on the side of Venezuela, and have ordered the battalion of Callao to Major for these Departments. I wish this corps to come with the pickets of the other, and to bring some munitions of rd serve [*sic*] all that has been in the North. You will learn it in that direction Lamar is coming, and military preparations are making in Peru. I ought not to remain in a state of inaction. I think

designs, in relation to Peru, are not of that disinterested character which his late Proclamation so explicitly avows.

I do not think myself at liberty to disclose the manner by which I became possessed of this singular document, but I pledge myself for its authenticity. I hope, it is unnecessary for me to add, that neither in obtaining it nor in transmitting it to you, have I committed any breach of confidence or any act which an American Minister and a man of honor would have reason to be ashamed of.

The information brought by the last Southern Mail, shows that Bolivar's star still predominates. The Peruvian garrison of Guayaquil had been reinforced by General Lamar in person at the head of two thousand men. This seemed to have effectually secured it against all the efforts of the Colombians to retake it—at least, until they could have obtained the naval superiority in the Pacific by the arrival of the two heavy frigates which they have been some time fitting out in the ports of Carthagena and Porto Cabello. But an unfortunate accident has deprived the Peruvians of their only Frigate. She was blown up on the ——— when lying near the city of Guayaquil, and it is said, that from five hundred to one thousand men perished by the explosion. It is added, that this disaster was the cause of the immediate evacuation of the city, Gen^l. Lamar having embarked all his force on board the residue of his vessels, and sailed for Peru. The loss of the Frigate was not probably the only motive for this movement. Whilst Lamar, trusting to the natural difficulties which a march into Peru presented and to the destitute condition of the Colombian army, had thrown himself with his principal disposable force into Guayaquil, an insurrection “in favor of Bolivar”, as it is termed here, had taken place in the Province of Piura, adjoining to the Colombian line. Bolivar immediately advanced from Quito, and when last heard from,

of moving in order that they may not destroy us by our confidence. I have ordered 3000 recruits to be taken through the means of an amnesty. I believe that we shall shortly have another army. In the mean while, the intelligence from Chili is very good, and from Bolivia much better. You will see by the public papers the news we have from those parts. Gamarra commands in Peru. Santa Cruz and La Fuente are said to be acting in unison, and for my party. But what Lamar is doing appears to be the acts of a fool, or of one having confidence. I do not know how all this goes. Many thousand men have been ordered to be raised in Peru, and they further inform us that there is med ing [*sic*] else turn revolutions. Hitherto we do not know what has passed in Lima. After the receipt of the news there of the events of Tarquilegaiz, they write that they only waited in Lima to receive the notice of my arrival in the South, in order to give the blow. General Gonzalez has informed me that Gamarra counselled Lamar to go to Lima, when the latter replied that he did not wish to do that, as they would assassinate him there. I do not know how all this goes down. I have intelligence papers, and original letters from Peru in which they speak to us of things very favorable. But for all this many troops are necessary. Besides, in Guayaquil many deaths will occur before—takes the City both by the climate and the war. We must be prepared if you think you could come without danger of Popayan. I believe you would do well in the event of the present circumstances involving you in combat. I cannot be every where and it would be highly desirable that you should come, as you can assist us much. In fine do what you think best in this particular, but send the troops flying that are in Popayan. I hope

was at Riobamba, three days march from that on the direct route to the Peruvian frontier.

I have not been able to ascertain whether the leading men of Bolivar's party here have become better reconciled to the idea of an Union with Peru. I have no doubt, however, that means will be found to bring them over to his views. Castillo and those who are unfriendly to it, are not possessed of sufficient energy to oppose with effect the Urdaneta and the military influence. I cannot say either, to which side the Foreign (European) influence will be given. Their great object is unquestionably to establish Monarchical Government throughout the whole of the late Spanish possessions. The number of Kingdoms into which they may be divided, is a question of subordinate interest, which they will not suffer to interfere with their principal design.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*William H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, July 28, 1829.

SIR: The affairs of this country seem fast hastening to a crisis. The advocates for Monarchy find more opposition than they had anticipated. The Provinces of Antioquia and Popayan have elected persons who are in favor of a Free Government; and it is well known, that Generals Sucre and Cordova possess similar sentiments. On the other hand, the Monarchists express more openly their determination to place General Bolivar on the Throne. The province of Bamba, to the South of Quito, has declined sending Deputies to the Convention, alleging their determination to make Bolivar Emperor, and it is said, they have actually proclaimed him.

On Friday last, I was invited to attend the examination of the Theological class in one of the colleges of this city. The Exercises were followed by a collation, at which were present some fifty or sixty persons of the first distinction amongst the Members of the Government, the Church and the Military, and the private citizens. It is the custom here, on occasions of this kind, not only to give political toasts, but to preface them with a speech, sometimes of no inconsiderable length. General Herrán, the Prefect of this Department and a Member of the Supreme Council, rose to toast the Liberator (although it had before been done), no doubt for the purpose of giving vent to his opinions. In the course of his remarks he said, "that he was decidedly of opinion that the happiness and *liberty* of Colombia could be se-

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, V.

cured only by conferring the Supreme Power on Gen^l. Bolivar—that for himself, he was indifferent as to the title which should be given him, whether it was Emperor, King, or President for life. If he held the sceptre, it was not so material by what name he might be distinguished.” He was followed by Mr. Castillo, the President of the Council, who spoke in general terms of the necessity of having a Government which, at the time that it would protect their liberties, would save it from anarchy. But he did not explain what were the particular means by which these ends were to be gained. The speech of Herrán caused much sensation in the city, as it was the first time that a member of the Cabinet had openly expressed such sentiments. The project of a Foreign Prince to succeed Bolivar, seems to have been badly received by the people, and is now scarcely spoken of but to condemn it.

By the late Mails from the South we are informed, that instead of proceeding immediately to Peru, as it was supposed he would do, Bolivar had placed himself at the head of the troops destined to retake Guayaquil. On Saturday, a letter was received from him, stating that he had attacked and carried one of the enemies’ outposts—that La Mar had been sent off in arrest to Guatemala—and that the commander of Guayaquil had asked for a suspension of hostilities until he could consult the Government at Lima as to the course he was to pursue. This Bolivar refused to accede to, and insisted upon the surrender of the city, which was also declined by the Peruvian General.

In the letter above referred to, Bolivar states, that the Government at Lima was in the hands of La Fuente, who was decidedly of *his party*.

From the same source from which I derived the letter, a copy of which I had the honor to enclose in cypher with my despatch, No. 14, I have had the perusal of a letter from a person of high rank, who has been in the entire confidence of Bolivar, but who is now in opposition to all his schemes of personal aggrandizement. In this letter, it is asserted, that all Bolivar’s movements for some years past have been directed to obtain the sovereignty of Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. He says that it was his intrigues which broke up the Convention of Ocana, and that if these had not been successful, troops were ready to accomplish it by force. It has been supposed that Bolivar had prompted Paez to revolt against the General Government in 1826, but the writer acquits him of this charge, but says that he availed himself of the circumstance to assume the Extraordinary Powers which the Constitution permitted in certain exigencies.

It is from this letter that I have also learnt, that Sucre and Cordova were opposed to the views of Bolivar. Cordova is elected to the Convention from his native Province of Antioquia, and it is supposed that Sucre will come as the Deputy of one of the Southern Provinces.

Inclosed in the letter came a most extraordinary paper printed at a place

Spanish America," has no signature, but the name of the Printer is given. There can be no doubt of its being issued with the knowledge and approbation of Bolivar, as nothing is now suffered to be published in any part of Colombia without being subjected to the inspection of the Government Agents. The person who writes the letter says, that it came from the Executive Office which Bolivar keeps about his person; and a gentleman now here, who is well acquainted with his style, says that it is a production of the President's own pen. But whoever may be its author, there can be no question, that the object is to expose in highly exaggerated colors the evils which have grown out of the Free Governments which have been established in Mexico and South America, and the necessity of adopting other systems. Upon those who are or have been at the head of the Governments of Mexico, Peru, and Buenos Ayres, with the exception of Iturbide and one or two others, he lavishes the grossest abuse.

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*William H. Harrison, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, September 7, 1829.

SIR: The political drama of this country is fast hastening to its denouement. The apparent composure of the people has induced the friends of General Bolivar to believe that no obstacle would be opposed to their plans, and the thin veil which covered them, is almost entirely withdrawn. Bolivar, in a letter to a member of the Convention of this city, received last week, proposes a Presidency for life; the right to name his successor, also for life; the appointment of all officers, responsible only to him;—an hereditary Senate, the Members to be appointed by him. His friends, however, no doubt in accordance with his wishes, insist upon a Monarchy in name as well as power. Mr. Vergara had a conference with the British Charge d'affaires, the evening before last, to know how the British Government would look on a measure of that kind. There is little doubt of correspondence having taken place between this government and the French Commissioner here on the subject, and it is generally believed, that, (whether on good grounds or not, I do not know) the project meets with encouragement from that quarter. The Ministers exult much in their prospects of success. They think that not the slightest commotion will take place, and that this important change will be accomplished with the almost universal acquiescence of the people. "None," said the President of the Council two days ago, "are opposed to the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, V. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

measures of the government but some old women and a few shop-keepers." Similar expressions have been made by others of the Ministers.

But their security will be their ruin. A mine is prepared already charged, and will ere long burst upon them. OBANDO is in the camp of Bolivar seducing his troops. CORDOVA has seduced the battalion at POPAYÁN, and has now gone to CAUCA and ANTIOQUIA, both of which are ripe for revolt. A large portion of the population of this city are engaged in the scheme. Consultations are constantly held. MONEY IS DISTRIBUTED TO THE TROOPS, and yet the Members of the government know nothing of these movements. The means resorted to by the liberals to conceal their views, is by an eternal and extravagant pouring out of flattery upon General Bolivar.

In these transactions, I have, of course, taken no part, nor have I had the least conversation with any of those who are engaged in them. My information is derived from those who are similarly situated with myself. I feel the extreme delicacy of my situation, but the Government need not fear that I have in any manner committed myself or the country which I have still the honor to represent.

I have received a letter from Mr. Moore, informing me of his arrival in Maracaibo, and that he expects to be here about the 10th instant.

When he arrives, I will give him all the information in my power as to the state of affairs here. But although I have the utmost confidence both in his integrity and prudence, I cannot, without a violation of a sacred promise, communicate the substance of this Despatch, unless I obtain the consent of those from whom I have derived the information, which has been asked and refused.

CORDOVA will act prudently. It is expected, that some time in October or the beginning of November, he will begin by publishing an address to the people.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*J. G. A. Williamson, United States Consul at La Guayra, to Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State of the United States¹*

CARACAS, November 26, 1829.

SIR: I have just a moment to say that at a meeting of all the Citizens (I mean of respectability) of this City yesterday and this afternoon closing their labours, and in fact without opposition, they have virtually declared Venezuela *Antigua*, free, separate, and Independent of & from the Governt. at Bogota—

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, II.

The first resolution reads as follows "Soperamos de hecho de Venezuela, Antigua del Gobierno de Bogota"—

Similar meetings and declarations have been made in Victoria, Valencia & Puerto Cabello, and if I am to judge of public feeling & public opinion now, I have no doubt will be followed by every city & *pueblo* in Venezuela; so soon thereafter as all are reced. by Genl. Paez a formal & public declaration by him will be made to an actual and absolute separation—

In the meeting in this City, Genl. Paez for the time being is requested & sustained to regulate & Govern the state under existing laws & to make new ones or alter old ones as may seem necessary, until a calling of a convention to form the constitution & Govnt. which is guaranteed to be a genuine representation only.

All existing treaties, engagements, stipulations with foreign Govts. existing & made by the Govt. of Colombia are to be respected—

Genl Paez is in Valencia but is expected here the 29 Inst.

I have but a moment to write & forward this from this city by an opportunity for the mail boat for St Thomas tomorrow morning.

I have the honor [etc.].

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J. G. A. Williamson, United States Consul at La Guayra, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States¹

CARACAS, December 12, 1829.

SIR: Under date of the 26th November ² last I informed you of the Course taken him by the Citizens[?] in opposition to the present Govt. of Colombia and the power of Genl. Bolivar, and I now do myself the pleasure of handing you the resolutions as passed & printed, they speak for themselves and scarcely an individual in the City or vicinity but what have signed them— Immediately after adoption they were forwarded by a committee to Genl. Paez for his approval at Valencia two and a half days ride from Caracas— From some circumstance Genl. Paez has not come forward in a very open and candid manner in answering the determination of the citizens here, and from a letter of his to Genl. Macera which I have seen on the subject, he complains of precipitancy in acts of this Kind and of his having committed himself to Genl. Bolivar in all things until the 2 Jany. next— This letter tho' to a great many proves satisfactory, to others produces much alarm, believing that the act committed here is rebellion and treason (as it certainly is) against the actual Govt. of Colombia—

This act of Caracas would not have originated in my opinion but for the

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, II.


² See above, pt. VI, doc. 691.

encouragement of Genl. Paez, and his coming forward apparently now, and throwing by a want of decession cold water on the transaction, will have but one tendency among a population who have almost unanimously declared and signed these resolutions which will be to produce a greater want of confidence in him than they have heretofore had—

The principal movers in this business were in 1826 & 7 the warmest friends of Genl Bolivar's and of course opposed to Genl Paez and from a want of confidence in Genl Paez there they have even less now, although they are opposed to the Govt. & views of Bolivar as they are understood or developed by his policy—

Much speculation is in circulation here about the views & policy of European Nations in regard to the new south american states, and much excitement from reports of the intefearance of England and France in the affairs of this nation, exists among the people— The Genl. belief that Bolivar wished to be crowned by foreign power has given much promptitude to the act inclosed and the arrival of Mr. Breauson or Besson as French agent or chargé at Bogota and the recent visit and residence here of Admiral Fleming of the British windward Shaward West India stations, tends in some measure to confirm among these people whose views of the policy of other nations are so limited a belief in such an arrangement— That Genl Bolivar has had & may yet have such views I have no doubt. The arrival of the British minister Mr. Cockburn here in 1827 during the time Genl. Bolivar resided in this City completely confirms in my mind the object of his visit by the acts of the Liberator since— I do not believe Genl. Bolivar came here with any views but of establishing a Govt. based upon a representative & Republican form— But with the intercourse with this minister of England, who I am well assured was not delegated with Govt. of Colombia but alone to Genl. Bolivar, it would appear by his acts since that he had changed every view he may have heretofore entertained of establishing a free Govt— The History of the subsequent convention at Ocana establishes beyond doubt the views of Bolivar and his failing to meet with entire servility by that body to his plans dis-completed all his calculations, and have in my opinion without resources of which at this moment I cannot be aware of, prostrated his power his popularity, and his glory in Colombia.

The views and policy of the British Nation towards Colombia are every day developing themselves. That Mr. Canning in sending Cockburn as a minister to Genl Bolivar intended to use his exertions to produce a monarchical form of Govt. I cannot doubt, and that the duke of Wellington is adopting similar views, the movements of Admiral Fleming and Sir Charles Grant governor of Trinidad confirms that opinion, and the only question arises whether or not the Govt of England will intefere in the internal regulations of the Country— At this moment I am of an opinion she will not, but upon an open publication of a separation of Venezuela from the rest of



Colombia England will step forward an gurantee the tranquility of the country and the Independence of Venezuela for so many years, which will be placing her under the protection of British Crown, in doing which possession will be granted to English troops of Carthegenia, Maracayibo, Puerto Cabello & La Guayra, and perhaps of every town on the Coast—

At this moment this seems to be the policy of England, when at the same time the doubts that appear to exist in the conduct and disposition on the seperation as declared by this city, Valencia, Victoria & Puerto Cabello and as I learn from all the towns to the windward, by Genl. Paez, would appear to create a belief that Admiral Fleming and Sir Charles Grant are using their influence to prevent the open act and declaration of Genl Paez until the 2 Jany "30 in favour of the resolutions in Caracas either to give time for cooperative movements on the part of a British squadron or allow the advance of Genl. Bolivar from the South with troops to put down this feeling of hostility to his authority and Government— I am more enclined to believe that the first opinion is correct, that England is aiding a dismemberment of Venezuela, and that she will be placed by the act under her gurantee.

At the same time if such be the truth with some knowledge of the character of Genl. Bolivar, I am fearful with the army, he has under his command that a Civil war is to be the consequence— With all the feelings of hostility manifested in the accompg. resolutions, Genl Bolivar still has his party & his friends here, who will not let slip any opportunity to aid any attempts to recover Venezuela, even should he loose the rest of Colombia— Among no people is there a greater want of faith than among these, and not being true to themselves or their own acts, prevents a more clear observation of what are the leading motives, or policy, governed pretty much by parties, almost all these acts of Govt. are mere momentary and not founded in deep rooted calculations of national glory, they have yet to learn that individual wealth and character is national prosperity.

In consequence of this want of Character among these people, may be attributed these present difficulties, revolutions, and a want of national happiness, the causes are deep seated and blinded in every shade of colour that exists among the inhabitants, and may be said to be planted by the corrupt and demoralizing policy adopted by old Spain.

In consequence of this want of character, I should not be astonished to see again the power of Bolivar triumphant in Venezuela, yet at this moment If I were to judge from the temper and expressions of the people, I would say he was lost should he ever attempt to put his foot in Venezuela—

Genl. Paez is expected here tomorrow from Valencia, great and powerful exertions are making by the leading men in the formation of the inclosed resolutions to obtain from him a categorical answer to the point whether he will sanction & maintain them, and I am of an opinion he will, or take such decided steps in the case as it will not be necessary to wait 'till the 2 Janry. for

a public declaration— But should he as superior Civil & Military Chief of Venezuela not do so after the energetic manner in which he in the first instance came forward in the several *Juntas* held at his house in this City between the 15 & 30 October last, it will excite but one opinion, that he has been playing false with the people, who are indeed more unanimous in favour of the declarations inclosed than perhaps they ever were or have been in this Country upon any one question.

There is no political or personal friendship between Genl. Paez and Bolivar and what has increased the hatred of Genl Paez to him, is that Genl. San Martin when in Puerto Cabello before leaving Colombia for Europe handed under cover to Genl. Paez several letters addressed to Santander while Vice President, from Peru by Genl Bolivar, in them he strongly and repeatedly urges the necessity of *giving* [?] *clear of Genl Paez* and being original documents can have but one impression of the views of friendship of Genl. Bolivar to him—

Within a few days I have had an opportunity of seeing a letter signed Bolivar, to a gentleman in this City— Yet some doubt might arise as to its being genuine, "tho there is no doubt of the *signature* dated at Guayaquil 21st Spt., in which he charges France and England with positively having intrigued & yet using their power to establish a monarchy in Colombia.

If this letter be genuine, it confirms beyond doubt public suspicion &, yet it appears to me to be a strange statement to come from that quarter, for if such have been and are still the views of France and England, Bolivar himself must be a party to the act, and has therefore betrayed the confidence and sense of the transaction— This letter is addressed to Esteban Palacio a branch of Bolivar's family and one of the Treasurers of Venezuela— As to the issue of this business finally the only thing to be feared to produce a Civil War will be a want of unanimity among the leading men of Venezuela, if united to declare and support the declaration of separation, there is not in my opinion any power in the Govt. of Colombia can put them down, and I firmly believe there is but one opinion among them as to the policy of the measure, and although every part has not been heard from, and Genl Paez himself has not *decidedly* given his sanction I consider the thing so far done as not to leave a doubt of the adoption of the measure—

As Venezuela is of more importance in a commercial point of view to the United States than perhaps all the rest of Colombia, It will become the interest as well as the policy of the Govt. in the present state of things here to guard the one while at the same time with the other she should be well informed of the views of the dominant party—

I am [etc.].

*Thomas P. Moore, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, December 21, 1829.

Intelligence has just been received from Venezuela, disheartening in the extreme, to the few monarchists in Bogota, and not calculated to encourage those, who more moderate, desire a strong central government; discarding all federative principles & treating as a ridiculous chimera, the idea of provincial or state sovereignties. Meetings of the people it is said, have been held in the most populous towns of Venezuela, and the deputies from that portion of the Republic instructed, almost without a dissenting voice, to propose a form of government, that will secure to that country, complete and unqualified sovereignty, as it regards all internal and municipal concerns. They are willing to concede to the national government, the power of making war and peace; of regulating commerce, and of legislating upon subjects distinctly and directly of general interest and concernment. I have not learned all the details, but I infer from those that have reached me; that the form of government proposed, will be that of a confederacy; each state or province reserving to itself, every right, power and jurisdiction, not absolutely incompatible with the federative principle;—resembling the confederation of the United States, during the revolutionary war, or that of the provinces of New Grenada at the commencement of the recent contest in this country. This is understood to be the ultimatum of Venezuela, & if rejected, her deputies are instructed, to propose an immediate and final separation; the two states resuming their original rights and powers, and to be wholly independent of each other.

It is difficult to contemplate these proceedings, and the tone & vigor by which they are characterized, without trembling for the integrity of this Republic: And the character of General Paez, who, it is well known sanctions, if he does not participate in them, is not calculated to allay any apprehensions that may be entertained. He is bold, resolute and warlike; decisive in his temper and persevering in all his purposes. These qualities, united with his popularity and influence, would render him very formidable in the field, even if the Liberator were his antagonist. But I indulge the hope, that the propositions of Venezuela will be favorably considered, and acceded to, as far as they are just and practicable; and that a spirit of compromise and of forbearance, will preside over the deliberations of the Congress.

The Monarchists are confounded with this intelligence, and are very much disposed to modify, if not wholly to abjure their former principles. They converse upon the subject with evident reluctance, and with an embarrass-

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

ment that they cannot conceal. Nor are their fears either affected or unfounded. They know, that Venezuela is wealthy, populous and powerful, and that, if true to her purposes, with Paez for her leader, all hopes of a monarchy or of a monarchical form of government, are at an end. But if, disregarding plain and palpable indications of public sentiment, which point to the adoption of a republican form of government, and of no other, they persist in their mad project, a civil war must ensue;—upon that, a state of anarchy, and the final consummation will be a military despotism.

The Liberator himself I am convinced; is unfriendly to the schemes of the monarchists, and though he tolerates their doctrines, because some of his best friends belong to their party, yet he does not yield them, either any countenance or concurrence. A letter of his which has been published, and of which I enclose a printed copy, acquits him, I think, of any designs hostile to the liberties of his country. He proposes a plan of government, which I think, neither judicious nor practicable, but nevertheless evincive of his moderation; as he is satisfied with being the Commander of the armies of the Republic. His enemies say, that he contemplates in this project, an entire independence of the civil chief of the Govt. But such a plan is at once so absurd, and so great an outrage upon common sense, that it cannot be supposed for a moment, he could think of proposing it. With the army under his control and without any responsibility, there would be nothing to prevent his subverting to the liberties of his country, whenever his ambition or his resentments might prompt him to do it. As it regards the Liberator therefore and his views, I have yet no reason to change the opinions I have heretofore formed; and as it concerns the form of government to be finally adopted, I still hope and believe, that it will be virtually republican, whether central or federal.

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J. G. A. Williamson, United States Consul at La Guayra, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States¹

CARACAS, January 13, 1830.

SIR: Inclosed I hand you the document published in this city to day by *Bando* with great ceremony, calling a convention to organize a Govt. for Venezuela and dissolving all political connection existing with the Govt. of Colombia, and the authority of Genl Bolivar— This document has been delayed for some weeks for the purpose of hearing from all the cities & towns of importance in ancient Venezuela, and receiving their sworn declarations on the subject of the proposed question— It therefore appears, that

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, II.

Macaeayebo, Puerto Cabello, Valencia, Cambobo, Achaguas, Baunas, Caracas, La Guayra, Guranas, Ocumare, Victoria Cumunor, Barcelona & Angastera, and several other small Pueblos, have all come to similar resolutions, as those I handed you under date of the 12th day of Decmb. last,¹ passed by the citizens of this city, the leading features of which, are a separation from Bogota & refusing to acknowledge the authority of Genl Bolivar and requesting the supreme Chief of Venezuela Genl. I. A. Paez to call the Citizens together to elect members for a constitutent [*sic*] Assembly— the act therefore enclosed has been predicated upon the different movements, and appears *thus far* to meet the wishes of a large majority of the Citizens of the Country, and I must say, I do not think the military here had but little influence in this movement— Every effort is making, by raising troops and embodying the malitia to support this act in case there should be a disposition on the part of Genl Bolivar to march from Bogota with troops for Venezuela—

This part of the Republic, Venezuela having assumed this attitude against & the existing Govt. of Colombia and the Sea Coast extending on the main from Maracayibo to the mouth of the Oro River including the city of Maracayibo & Angostura and embracing the greatest proportion of the trade & Commerce of the United States to Colombia, will at once place before you the importance of this movement to our Commerce & the existing treaty with Colombia— I shall take the earliest opportunity to ask officialy of Genl Paez how far these movements will if at all affect the existing relations of the Govt. of Colombia with the U States— Copies of which I will by the earliest opportunity hand you—

I am [etc.].

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*Thomas P. Moore, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*²

BOGOTA, January 21, 1830.

SIR: In my communication of the 21st ultimo,³ which was my last, I informed you, that the Liberator President was expected here in a very short time. He arrived on the 15th Instant, and was well received by the people. On the 16th I was presented to him by the Minister of Foreign Relations. In his reply to my address, his language was complimentary to the United States and to the President, and he expressed much solicitude for the maintenance of the amicable relations at present subsisting, between the two coun-

¹ See above, pt. VI, doc. 692.

² MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

³ See above, pt. VI, doc. 693.

tries. In a conversation with him, after the ceremony of presentation was over, he again mentioned the President, and spoke of him in terms of the highest admiration, as a patriot and a warrior, and expressed himself highly gratified, at his being called to preside over the destinies, of a great and magnanimous people.

The Constituent Congress now assembled here, had been waiting for the arrival of the Liberator, that he might assist at its installation, which took place yesterday. He presented a message, which was read and the proceedings were closed, by his resigning all his power into the hands of Congress, and he is now a private citizen. He has expressed a determination to participate in public affairs no more, being as he says, the victim of the most unjust suspicions. He has published a short proclamation addressed to the Colombians, in which he emphatically disavows the views imputed to him; declares himself to be opposed to monarchy, and asserts that his enemies, for the purpose of effecting his ruin and of aggrandizing themselves, have propagated those reports so injurious to him. It cannot be doubted, that there has been an intrigue at Bogota, to introduce a regal government, and that some individuals, supposed to be wholly devoted to the Liberator, were concerned in it; but that he approved of the scheme, though he was to wear the crown, I do not believe to be proven, or to be susceptible of proof. If he did approve it, history can scarcely furnish a parallel instance of self immolation. The particulars of this intrigue have not yet been disclosed, and nothing is certain, but that it has completely failed, and has covered the intriguers with confusion and disgrace.

It is thought that Congress will offer to the Liberator, the executive power that must be entrusted to some person provisionally. Some entertain the opinion, that he would accept it; others that he would not. But this is all conjectural, and I do not think that any thing certain is known in relation to his eventual determinations.

The intelligence from Venezuela is of a most unpropitious character, and the occurrences there seem to threaten the dismemberment of the Republic, if not its ruin. I learn that the Liberator has received a letter from Genl. Paez, advising him of the unalterable determination of the Venezuelans to separate from the government at Bogota and imploring Genl. Bolivar not to make war upon them. It proceeds to say, that after defending themselves to the last extremity, sooner than continue the connection with New Grenada, they will invoke the interference of Spain and become again her vassals, on the condition of receiving her protection. That this repugnance to a union with New Grenada exists to a very alarming extent, is, I fear but too true, and it would be disingenuous not to admit, that the intrigues carried on here against the rights of the people, have at least, precipitated, if they have not occasioned the adoption of these violent and determined measures. What General Bolivar will advise to be done in this fearful emergency, is not known.

It is said by some, that he recommends the employment of force; by others, that he does not. If Venezuela is united, a resort to force will effect nothing, and torrents of blood will be shed in vain. Acting on the defensive, she is too strong to be coerced by the residue of the republic, and it appears to me, that if mild and conciliating measures can effect nothing, no others can succeed.

The form of government that will be adopted by the Congress, I have no doubt will be entirely liberal & republican— Indeed, to attempt the adoption of any other, would be an act of insanity, and the little knot of Monarchists themselves, are now convinced of this. I believe, that nothing is known, and but little conjectured, in regard to the details. A federal government, with three great divisions, the South, the Centre and Venezuela; which are to be in some degree independent states, is spoken of; but the latter presents difficulties to the adoption of any form absolutely, and I apprehend, that the government must be so organized, as to suit the condition of the country, either with or without Venezuela, as an integral part of the Union.

I forward herewith, a copy of the Liberator's Message, a copy of his Proclamation, and a copy of my address upon the occasion of my presentation & his answer.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Franklin Litchfield, United States Consul at Puerto Cabello, to José Antonio Páez, Civil and Military Chief of Venezuela*¹

PUERTO CABELLO, January 25, 1830.

SIR: The important political events which have lately taken place in Venezuela, induce me to address you this Note for the purpose of obtaining such Official advices from Your Excellency on the subject, as you may be pleased under existing circumstances to honour me with.

The present situation of *Ancient* Venezuela, as hitherto intimately and integrally connected with the Republic of Colombia, since the adoption of her Constitution at Cucuta until the present time, as well as her political relations with foreign Powers in virtue of said Social Compact, are matters highly interesting to all those Nations in particular, that have acknowledged her Independence; and as the United States Government was the first to recognize her Sovereignty, so it must always take a lively interest in the Welfare and prosperity of her liberal institutions, as those of all the other Sections of South America, that have bravely burst asunder the ignominious Chains of Spanish Tyranny, and established the permanent Liberty of the People, without however mingling in the controversy of their internal political Regimen.— Being desirous of forwarding to my Government authentic and cor-

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Puerto Cabello, I.

rect intelligence relative to the present Crisis of political Affairs in Venezuela, and what bearing they may have on the future Diplomatic relations &c, of the United States with Colombia and Venezuela, I avail myself of this occasion to state to Your Excellency, that it will afford me much satisfaction to receive any information you may think proper to communicate, and to be the organ of transmitting the same forthwith to my Government.

With sentiments [etc.].

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A. B. Nones, United States Consul at Maracaibo, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States¹

MARACAIBO, *January 27, 1830.*

SIR: No opportunity having offered for some time I have been prevented writing since my last despatch of the 17 Nov.

You will doubtless be fully informed of the events passing in Venezuela. This Department continued perfectly tranquil & neutral for a space, but information having been received, that 2 or 3000 men were, or would be immediately in March from Carthagená for this place, caused a great excitement and resulted in a most numerous meeting of the people of all classes. on the morning of the 16th inst when, after mature deliberation they resolved to Separate from the Govt. of Bogotá, & federate with Venezuela, the Inclosed paper is their formal Act. Two Commissioners were immediately dispatched to Venezuela to General Páez, others sent off to meet the Troops coming from Carthagená for the purpose, of Stopping their March, in the mean time great Military preparations have been made to prevent their entering by force, every approach by which they could reach this has been Occupied & fortified in a most effectual manner; the general opinion however is, that the Commanding Officer with his Troops will declare on this side—which, for my own part I have no doubt of—forces will be also immediately sent down by Sea from Venezuela to this, in the mean time, all the Cities & provinces in this Dept. are following the example of Maracaibo.—

Reports have just reached Stating that St José & Rosario de Cucuta (Dept Boyacá) have also declared against Bogotá—the last mail from Bogotá brought us dates to 31 Dec. but the Govt. there although they had been in possession of the news from Venezuela sent no orders here— private letters represent the Capital as on the eve of a great explosion and it is feared, that dreadful consequences will follow should the excitement be general. As the character of the Interior is much less pasive than on the Coast—in no part of Venezuela, or this Departm. has the Public tranquility

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Maracaibo, I.

been in the least disturbed. For the present there is a Board or Junta of Govrnt. established here, to assist the prefect & Commdt. General, with the exception of revoking some two or three Laws bearing most heavily on the people, no change has been made—

Other Letters from Bogota state that the Govrnt. there might be considered as dissolved, & that the Secy of War had left privately, and the other members of Government were about doing the same, that Genl. Bolivar was coming on & expected to arrive by the 5th. Jany, others, again say, that he will not trust himself in Bogota— these Sir are the reports as they have reached us—time sufficient has certainly elapsed to have heard from there had he arrived—the best informed persons feel assured that there will be no Civil War, & that the whole of the Interior will rise against the Govrnt. of Genl. Bolivar— the Cry throughout the Country is against Monarchy. the people in mass would resist & fight against it, as they did against the Spaniards. It is said that had the Congress been Suffered to meet they were all pledged to give Bolivar the Crown, and that a Treaty has actually been concluded with France for a French Prince to succeed Bolivar—if so, it was at least an Act of folly—the Columbians to a man will resist a Monarchical form of Government. Should the rumors above stated be true, it is evident that Genl Bolivar must yield—his army Composed most of men & officers from Venezuela it is supposed will never consent to fight against their brethren and Liberty.

The day after the Separation and changes I waited on the Prefect who was in Session with the Junta, and there Stated, that I should expect the like Security and protection would be extended to the property and persons of the Citizens of the U. S. as heretofore, and received in return, every assurance that the same would be strictly adhered to; indeed, from the worthy & honorable character of General Borrás I have no apprehensions.

With great respect [etc.].

D. B. Urbaneja, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Venezuela, to Franklin Litchfield, United States Consul at Puerto Cabello¹

VALENCIA, February 4, 1830.

I have had the honor to receive Your Note of the 25th Ultimo² soliciting the Government to inform you, if the resolutions of the Inhabitants of the provinces of Venezuela, separating themselves from the Union of Colombia, will in any manner effect the political relations between that Republic and the United States.

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Puerto Cabello, I.

² See above, pt. vi, doc. 696.

His Excellency, the Superior civil and Military Chief, before whom I laid Your aforementioned Note, has directed me to reply, that the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, Commerce and Navigation concluded between those Governments will be faithfully observed by this; and therefore likewise recognizes the Consuls who represent and protect their Commercial relations, and will hear and attend to any Claims and petitions which they may make in the discharge of their Duties.

With sentiments [etc.].

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*Thomas P. Moore, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State of the United States¹*

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, February 6, 1830.

. . . But it cannot be concealed, and should not be, that this country is in a most perilous and critical condition. The troubles in Venezuela are becoming very serious and alarming, and I consider the integrity of the Republic as imminently endangered. General Sucre, the President of Congress, who is from Cumana in Venezuela, has been recalled by his constituents; and I learn, that he considers his representative functions as suspended and will withdraw. This is an occurrence of a most inauspicious character and portentous I fear, of a speedy separation. In that event, a civil war is looked upon here, as inevitable, and the result none can foretel, except that it will be productive of a host of evils, to this already unhappy and afflicted country. But the probability is, that the unparalleled sacrifices made by the people, for the achievement of their independence and the attainment of the blessings of civil liberty, will have been made in vain, and that a despotism, more unmitigated and oppressive than that, against which they have combatted the last twenty years, will sweep away all that has been gained by the revolution. A short time however, will decide the fate of the country, and if any thing occurs of a very interesting character, I shall not fail to communicate it to your department.

I have the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

Thomas P. Moore, *United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

BOGOTA, February 20, 1830.

SIR: Since my communication of the 6th instant,² nothing has transpired here, in relation to public affairs, of a very decisive or interesting character. The Congress will continue its deliberations, and the principles embraced in the *Projet*, a copy of which I forwarded by the last mail, have been adopted, as the Basis of the Constitution, about to be framed.

General Paez, who has been designated by the people of Venezuela, as Supreme Civil and Military Chief, *ad interim*, has issued a proclamation, for the purpose of convening a Constituent Congress, which is to be installed at the city of Valencia, on the 30th day of April next. This last act, is generally considered, as evincive of a determination, on the part of Venezuela and of General Paez, to separate promptly, absolutely and unconditionally, from the Government at Bogota; and if their future proceedings are in accordance with the energy and unanimity, which have marked their preliminary movements, it will be difficult to subdue them, with any force at the disposal of the residue of the Republic. President Bolivar and the Congress, seem resolved however, to maintain the integrity of Colombia at all hazards and at any sacrifice. Negotiation is to be first tried, and if unavailing, it is to be followed by an immediate appeal to arms. For the purpose of effecting a compromise, if practicable, two Commissioners, selected by the Congress, will leave this place for Caracas, tomorrow. They will bear with them the Basis of the Constitution, which has been adopted, and are authorized I presume, to give any assurances that may be requisite, to quiet the apprehensions of Venezuela, as it regards the adoption of a monarchical form of government. The Commissioners are General Sucre, the late President of the Congress, and the Bishop of Santa Martha, the late vice president. The first is a very distinguished military man, a native of Venezuela, and supposed to have the interests of his country sincerely at heart; though he is without any very high character for civil attainments. The Bishop is said to be an amiable man, mild and conciliating in his manners and deportment, and liberal in his opinions. It is supposed that they will be absent about two months, and if their mission should be unsuccessful, military operations will commence immediately. General O'Leary, with a detachment of troops, has proceeded already to San José de Cucuta, near the line between New Granada and ancient Venezuela, and in the event of war, he will be followed by General Bolivar, with his whole disposable force. Genl. Paez, is said also, to be actively engaged in making preparations, for the purpose of repelling any attack that may be made upon Venezuela.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 699.

I would fondly cherish the hope, that this highly interesting, though afflicted country, might not be again visited with the horrors of civil war; but the spirit which now animates the counsels of both parties, seems to forbid the very sanguine indulgence of these hopes: Coercion on the one part and resistance on the other, seem to be irrevocably determined upon. As the Congress however, will prolong its session, until the report of the Commissioners is received, it is possible, that in its wisdom, moderation and love of country, may be found the means of averting that most dreadful of all scourges—war among countrymen and friends.

I have had many conversations with the gentleman, designed to fill the office of Minister of Finance, under the constitutional government, and he assures me, that one of his first steps will be, to urge a modification of the present Tariff: and in the event of a revision, I have no doubt that the duty on flour, will be unhesitatingly reduced.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Franklin Litchfield, United States Consul at Puerto Cabello, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PUERTO CABELLO, March —, 1830.

SIR: The resolutions of the provinces comprising the great Department of all Ancient Venezuela, separating themselves from the Government of Colombia at Bogota, and the authority of General Bolivar as Dictator, and constituting themselves into an Independent State by the universal acclamation of the Inhabitants, dictated to me the propriety of addressing an Official Note to His Excellency the Civil and Military Chief for the purpose of obtaining from him correct and authentic intelligence relative to her present views and situation with respect to such foreign Powers &c. as have recognized the Sovereignty of Colombia.

The Documents marked No's 1, 2 and 3 are Copies of my aforesaid Note² to His Excellency the Superior Chief, and his reply thereto, with a Translation³ of same.— My Government will perceive with satisfaction, I trust, that the State of Venezuela is resolved faithfully to observe the Treaty of Peace, friendship, Commerce and Navigation concluded between the United States and the Republic of Colombia, and acknowledges ipso facto their Consuls resident within this Territory, as appointed by the United States Government, and recognized previously by the Executive of Colombia at Bogota. I deemed it a duty I owed to my Countrymen resident in this Section of Venezuela, as well as to my Government to adopt this step, as it

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Puerto Cabello, I.

² See above, pt. VI, doc. 696, under date January 25, 1830.

³ See above, pt. VI, doc. 698, under date February 4, 1830.

will at least serve as a guarantee for them on behalf of the existing Authorities, and a pledge to the United States Government, that her Citizens and their property shall be protected under the inviolability of the aforementioned Treaty.

I consider it unnecessary here to recount the causes that have produced the great and radical change that has so recently taken place in Venezuela, and which probably will be coextensive not only to the remaining portion of what comprised the extensive Republic of Colombia, but also will be communicated like an electric Shock to the remotest parts of Peru and Bolivia.

Primary Assemblies of the people have been held in all parts of Venezuela, which have unanimously declared their separation from Colombia, and called upon General José A. Paez the Civil and Military Chief of the Department to convene a Congress for the purpose of establishing a popular, representative, responsible and alternate form of Government. That Chief has issued a Decree directing that a Congress shall assemble at Valencia on the 30th. day of April next to frame a Constitution, he exercising ad interim the necessary duties of a provisional Government.— From my own personal Knowledge, and information derived from the principal Actors in this new order of things, I am disposed to believe, that the people are resolved to put down every attempt that may be made by a few military individuals &c in Colombia to establish a despotic Government, at the head of which General Bolivar was to be placed; and that they are determined to support in Venezuela their resolutions at the point of the Bayonet, if he or any other Chief-tain should strive to oppose them; and that new and more liberal Laws will be enacted for the regulation of Commerce and Agriculture &c, than have hitherto been adopted by the Government of Colombia; and after the new Government of the State shall be regulated, Diplomatic Agents will be appointed near our Government in order to obtain its recognizance, and thereby establish friendly relations by a special Treaty.

In review therefore of the whole, I indulge the hope, that the Department of State, with the approbation of the Executive, will sanction what I have done, particularly as no Official correspondence could with policy be held between this Consulate and our Minister Plenipotentiary at Bogota concerning the present Crisis of Affairs, and on attaining this end, I shall have fulfilled my wishes by having rendered to my Country any service on this occasion.

Your reply to this Communication when received will be gratefully acknowledged.

I have the honour [etc.].

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*Thomas P. Moore, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, *March 27, 1830.*

I have received information from the most unquestionable source, that the Commissioners who have repaired to Venezuela for the purpose of effecting an adjustment of the present difficulties, are authorized to make the most liberal and conciliating propositions, and to guaranty the adoption of the form of government, that may be most acceptable to Venezuela; upon the condition, that the integrity of the Republic shall be maintained. A federal govt. with distinct assemblies, which are to be invested with extensive powers will be proposed; or even a simple confederation, which will confer upon Venezuela, almost all the attributes of a sovereign state, will be acceded to on the part of New Grenada; in preference to involving the country in a civil war. Should Genl. Paez reject these propositions, the world will not fail to place a proper estimate upon his motives.

The condition of this beautiful country is to be most deeply deplored. Revolutionary movements succeed each other with a rapidity that threatens utter ruin to the Republic; paralyzing industry, annihilating all confidence between man and man, and filling society with distrust, despondency and despair.

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*A. B. Nones, United States Consul at Maracaibo, to Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State of the United States*²

MARACAIBO, *March 27, 1830.*

SIR: Inclosed I have the honor to hand you My Semi-Annual return up to 1 Jany which I could not furnish sooner for want of the Custom House returns; also inclosed my Acct. Curr. with the U. S. under cover to the 5th Auditor of the Treasury Dept.

It affords me great Satisfaction to State that since the Establishment of the present new order of things a most sensible & evident change of feeling is manifested towards us Citizens of the U. S. Such indeed, as we were wont to experience a few years ago & before Genl. Bolivar introduced his disorganizing System.— My respects of 27th. January ³ informed you of what had

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

² MS. Consular Letters, Maracaibo, I.

³ See above, pt. VI, doc. 697.

occurred here since which, every place this side of the dividing line of the Tachira has joined Venezuela, the Elections for Electors are completed throughout this Dept. and on the 1st. April the Deputies for Congress will be chosen by the Electors— this Congress will doubtless be composed of the best talents and purest patriotism of the Country, and will no doubt meet on the day fixed 30th April.

As I expected and mentioned in my last respects the Troops sent against this place from Carthagena joined the cause, after reaching Rio Hacha they openly declared themselves & marched to the aid of their brethern in arms for the preservation of their Liberties— they have since been marched towards the Lines where General Paez has his Van guard of 6000 men chosen troops,— We are a length of time (the mails being stopped) without any official accounts from Bogota, our last dates were to 16 Feby. but I have just spoken to a person who left Cucuta on the 20th Inst. and who States that the whole amount of troops Genl Bolivar has been able to put in motion from Bogota to Cucuta is 1600 men the remains of 5 Battalions from the South—that the Commissioners appointed in Bogota to proceed to Venezuela had reached Cucuta & proceeded across the lines where they were detained, they will not be suffered to proceed further, but will be met by other Commissr. appointed by Venezuela to inquire their errand— Whatever may be their propositions nothing can be done before the installation of the Congress of Venezuela, in the mean time there is every good reason to believe that in consequence of the want of forces & means Genl Bolivar will not attempt to risk commencing a Civil War, besides, report States, that his officers resist fighting against Venezuela of that many Provinces of the Interior are in ferment, as well as Bogota. I have perused a letter from Cucuta dated 18th. Inst. that mentions, that accounts had just reached from Bogota that Genl. Bolivar had left the Capital on account of Sickness and that some one had been appointed to act in his place, many incline to think that the desperate State of his Affairs will at last shew him the necessity of actually resigning and leaving the country, until which it is supposed there can be no quietude.

The misfortune for him has been, that he has been grossly deceived by his confidants and creatures in respect to the true feeling of the people. It is astonishing how the Government there succeeded in keeping information not only from reaching him, but from the mass of the people. In the U. S. you are much better informed of what's passing in Colombia than any one in Bogota. But the light is breaking in upon them and matters will be speedily understood & adjusted. I think I venture little in saying confidently, that there will be no Civil War, the Separation & Independence of Venezuela, is fixed & will be recognized; the rest of Colombia will follow her Example, & the people may again be blessed with free institutions, & the country will then recover promptly, and realize our best wishes.

I wait on you by this opportunity with the first Six numbers of the Public Paper revived since the events of 16 January to which invite Your attention as every way worthy of perusal.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*J. G. A. Williamson, United States Consul at La Guayra, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

LA GUAYRA, *April 29, 1830.*

SIR: The Congress of Venezuela convenes tomorrow at Valencia and the deputies from several departments to the windward of this have passed on, and those of Caracas left four or five Days since.

Genl Paez has proceeded in person to the frontiers— On his way he recd. a despatch from Genl Marino stationed on the lines near Cucuta, that a revolution had been effected in Bogota headed by Genl Urdaneta against the Govt. of Colombia and the authorities of Genl. Bolivar, and that a similar declaration to that of Caracas had been made by the Citizens of Bogota— In consequence of this information Genl Marino had advanced over the lines into New Grenada, no other particulars has as yet transpired— this news was published here by *Bando* and therefore more confidence may be placed in it. I therefore If this be true do not conceive there will be any war, If the party of the South if they shall have effected completely their purpose in throwing off the authority of Genl. Bolivar and putting down his Govt., immediate arrangement, will be entered into with all the parts of the Republic to erect separate free and independent state, or Govt. and hereafter by Common Consent unite under a Confederacy— I have no doubt some change or some movement has taken place in Bogota but how far it has gone admits of doubt or what may be the object— By the first opportunity I will have you the message that may be recd. from Genl Paez by the Congress at Valencia— There is not the least political connection existing between Venezuela and the rest of Colombia, should no civil war take place & this province should form for themselves a Govt. or attempt to do so, it appears to me that the interest of the Govt. of the U. States would require some more notice than has heretofore been taken of this part of Colombia? The commercial interests of the U. States has suffered much in Venezuela by the last Tariff formed in Bogota, but I believe originated in Caracas, as on many articles recd. from the U. States, the present duties amount to almost a prohibition; The article of flour alone pays 8\$ p Barrel— In the formation of the *new Govt* the Tariff I have no doubt will undergo some revision, and

¹ MS. Consular Letters, La Guayra, II.

nothing could aid so much in a judicious revival of those duties; that affect the trade with the U S as some independent agent of the Govt. to reside in Caracas; At all times this change would be highly beneficial whether as this Govt. of Colombia & Venezuela, as I do not hesitate to say he could have more influence in our Commercial relations than any minister we might have at Bogota, and in the present state of Venezuela his influence would be such as we actually require in this Country.

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Thomas P. Moore, *United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, May 7, 1830.

The excitement in the capital is continued. The militia were suddenly and violently embodied and thirty thousand balls & cartridges distributed to them, on a frivolous & unfounded rumor of a revolution circulated by the partisans of Gen. Caycedo or rather of those who control this weak but amiable man. Gen. Bolivar, who since the first of March had not interfered in the affairs of the Govt. sent a message to Congress expressive of his irrevocable determination not to accept the Chief Magistracy; a copy of which, and the answer of Congress are enclosed, marked F & G.

The Commissioners sent by Congress have failed to induce those sent by Genl. Paez to enter into an amicable arrangement in consequence of the latter having no authority.

The Constitution has been adopted. Its features are not materially variant from the Basis, which I have already forwarded to the Department of State. I will transmit a copy as soon as it is printed.

Mosquera is in Popayan & it is to be feared will not accept. If so we shall in all probability have a government limited to Bogota and its environs. That Montilla of the Department of the Magdalena or Flores with four thousand troops in the South will recognize and obey Genl. Caycedo I have no belief; & for a time, if not for years, I fear this devoted country will be split into some three or four petty governments, respected neither at home or abroad. Should this occur, or should the mad scheme of erecting three independent governments of the three provinces take place, I shall at once ask leave of my Govt. to return; feeling unwilling to remain longer than there is a prospect of being useful. In the interim I shall quietly but steadily attend to the interests of my country.

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

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The President and vice president elect, hold their offices until next February.

That Paez will accede to such a union, as will leave him undisputed sway in Venezuela I have no doubt, but I cannot but hope that the party headed by Martin Tovar will be able to acquire and to maintain the ascendancy in Venezuela. Tovar is believed to be animated solely by a desire to secure peace & liberty of his countrymen; but I have yet to meet the first person *acquainted* with Paez, who believes that his motives are pure, or who will even allow him a solitary redeeming virtue (unless bravery.) Although a skilful officer, he is illiterate, selfish, cruel and profligate.

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*A. B. Nones, United States Consul at Maracaibo, to Martin Van Buren
Secretary of State of the United States¹*

MARACAIBO, May 18, 1830.¹

SIR: I had last this honor under date of 27 March² & Brig Wave. Since which, the Commissioners on the part of Venezuela and those sent from the Government of Bogota have met in Cucuta, & after a short conference Separated in Consequence of the unsatisfactory propositions made by the Bogota Commission,—immediately after which, the whole Circuit of Cucuta pronounced against the Government of Bogota and declared for Federation with Venezuela, at same time asking of the Commander in Chief of the Army on the Tachira to protect them with his Troops & inviting them to cross the lines. The Act has just been received here and bears date 21 April, I have perused it & in case this Vessel should be detained a few hours will be able to wait on you with a printed Copy as it is just sent to the press.

We have also a report that most of the other Provinces of Boyaca, & New Granada, have also declared, and that Bogota has passed their Act expelling General Bolivar the Territory of Columbia; this latter information has not been recd. here officially, but is supposed by many to be correct. The few troops the Government had sent under Genl. O'Leary as far as Cucuta, were recalled to Bogota. In the mean time the Army of Venezuela, now on the lines amounting to 9000 men, remain within the limits of Venezuela & have positive orders not to cross unless those provinces who have declared should be threatened by the forces of Bogota. Further information is hourly expected here by express in case the report of Bogota be correct.

The Congress of Venezuela has been installed, and you will doubtless be fully advised of all proceedings in that quarter.

With great respect [etc.].

¹ Manuscript, Department of State, Consular Letters, Maracaibo I.

² See above, pt. VI, doc 703.

*A. B. Nones, United States Consul at Maracaibo, to Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

MARACAIBO, June 17, 1830.

SIR: I had the honor to address you last under date of 18th. May² to which Crave reference.

It now affords me great Satisfaction to State that every fear of a Civil War between Venezuela & New Grenada is removed, and that we may confidently hope to see a speedy conclusion of the remaining difficulties. Genl. Mariño who commanded the Venezuela troops on the Tachira was induced about the 13 May to cross the lines in Consequence of the ardent Solicitations made to him, from various parts of New Grenada, the result of which, was that General Jimenes who commanded a division of 2000 men sent against Venezuela, originally under command of Genl. O'Leary, Seceded from the Government of Bogota and joined the cause of Venezuela,—thus putting an end to all fear of invasion. Inclosed is Copy of Genl. Mariño Proclamation announcing this event.

In Bogota the Congress on the 4th. May elected Mr. Mosquera President, and Domingo Caicedo Vice Presd. men respectable for their talents, integrity & patriotism, to whom powers have been delegated to Settle amicably the differences with Venezuela; advices have reached here, that they have accordingly named Doctr. Soto & Mr. Aranzazu to proceed to Valencia to treat, the happiest results may be anticipated, the Commissioners are tried patriots, and men of first rate talents.

General Bolivar left Bogota for Carthagena on the 8th. May for the purpose as said, to embark for Europe. Many persons fear he will there endeavour to assemble some of his old Troops, and attempt to regain the Command: for my own part, I do not beleive he will so far degrade himself as to head any faction now, particularly after having declared his determination of leaving the Country.

In the discharge of My Official duties nothing of moment has occurred, the actual authorities, are well and cordially disposed towards us.

With Sentiments of respect [etc.].

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Maracaibo, I.

² See above, pt. vi, doc. 706.

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*Franklin Litchfield, United States Consul at Puerto Cabello, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

PUERTO CABELLO, July 1, 1830.

I am happy to advise the Department of State, that the partial disturbances in Venezuela have subsided, and that the Congress now in Session at Valencia is about to adopt a liberal Constitution for the State of Venezuela—Friendly dispositions are manifested by the Congress at Bogota towards the Government of Venezuela since the departure of General Bolivar, they having sent a Commissioner to treat with this Government, who is now actually at Valencia; and little doubt exists, but that an amicable arrangement will take place between Venezuela, and the other two great Departments, that comprised the Republic of Colombia.

I should consider it as a distinguished favor, if the Department of State would forward me the Laws enacted by Congress during her two last Sessions.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Thomas P. Moore, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, October 21, 1830.

SIR: I had last the honor of addressing you officially on the 28th of Sept. Since then, it has been ascertained, that Gen: Bolivar has accepted, conditionally, the high powers recently conferred on him, by those who approved and participated in the late revolution. I enclose a translation of the proclamation issued by him at Carthagena, on the reception of the intelligence announcing the occurrences at Bogota. Though not perfectly explicit, yet it must be confessed, that it rather plainly intimates his approbation of all that has been done. He has left Carthagena for Cucuta; from which place, he will direct the operations against Venezuela. Hostilities are irrevocably resolved upon, and submission or war is the alternative.

Great efforts are making to raise troops to support the Liberator. An army of 6,600 is to be organized here; 2000 of which have already been enrolled and equipped, and are now ready to march. Corresponding exertions are making elsewhere and such is the vigor with which all these measures are

¹ MS. Consular Letters, Puerto Cabello, I.

² MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

carried into effect, that I think the success of the party now in power, is ultimately certain. The other is wholly disheartened and appears to be losing its moral, as well as its physical resources, every day. Defections are common every where. Col. Whittle a distinguished officer, commanding a battalion at Pasto has gone over to Gen: Flores with a part of his troops, and the Govt, of Neiva, a town of some importance, between this and Popayan, Surrendered without firing a shot and without any deliberation. Genl. Obando is placed between Bogota and Quito & cannot, I think, make any effectual stand. Genl. Silva, the relative and adherent of the Liberator is at La Grita, 70 miles in the interior of Venezuela with a thousand men. I think it is to be inferred from all these facts, that in New Grenada there will be no serious or systematized opposition, & that, if there are any belligerent operations of consequence, they will be confined to Venezuela. But I am inclined to think, that the Liberator will succeed there. . . .

We are informed here, that the people of Panama have implored the protection of the British Govt. and have solemnly offered it the sovereignty of that part of the country. This, on account of its present and increasing commercial importance would be a valuable acquisition; and the monopolizing spirit of that Govt; the continued & active interference of its subjects in the affairs of this country, are strong indications in my opinion, of a disposition to acquire an influence in it, fatal to its independence and prosperity, and wholly incompatible with the interests of every other nation having commercial relations with it. The speech of Mr. Turner the British Minister to Genl. Urdaneta announcing the death of George the 4th. & the accession of William the 4th; Genl. Urdaneta's reply and the additional note which Mr. Turner has sanctioned, go far to warrant such a suspicion. I enclose a translation of them (marked D.) Admiral Fleming's interference in the affairs of Venezuela seems to be a part of the same policy, and the industry with which the idea, that the U. S. have in view the immediate acquisition of Texas, is disseminated in England and through the English prints, in this country. I consider an additional corroboration. Mr. Turner gave a public dinner to the conquerors of the Constitution and openly exults at their success. And though in private life an amiable & agreeable man, yet in politics, he is an ultra tory, and may possibly pursue this course without any authority from his Govt; But, at all events, it corresponds very remarkably with other facts and circumstances. I do not think however, that we have much to apprehend at present, whatever party may be in power. By the party designated *Liberals*, we are regarded as friends, although many newspapers have been sent from the U. S. containing articles intended to identify, in the estimation of the late Administration, Genl Jackson & the Liberator; & thus to render my mission abortive: But those mad efforts of party were promptly exposed & defeated.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Thomas P. Moore, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, November 7, 1830.

Nothing particularly interesting has occurred here, since the date of my last despatch. A war with Venezuela is still supposed to be inevitable, and the result to be dubious; though I still believe, that the chances of success are on the side of the Liberator. There is but little news from any quarter, and that little is of no very great importance. Even at the short distance of two or three hundred miles from the Capital, in many directions, we know not, what has taken place, or what is in agitation. This is on account of the difficulty of the roads, the infrequency and irregularity of the mails; the very limited number and limited circulation of newspapers; and the circumspection and silence of all classes of society, for but few are willing to risk the expression of their opinions, about public matters, when that expression might involve them in serious difficulties.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Thomas P. Moore, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

BOGOTA, November 28, 1830.

Genl. Flores, who has placed himself at the head of the South, has been elected its President. He is a *protégé* of Genl. Bolivar and supposed to be devoted to him; yet he is extremely ambitious and very vain, & may possibly relinquish his power with reluctance; although he has written to General Bolivar & has sent his aid with the communication; announcing his readiness to obey him in all things. . . .

From Venezuela, nothing decisive or satisfactory is known. Under the orders of Gen. Bolivar, troops are collecting upon the line, to be commanded by Genls. Briceño, Carillo and O'Leary; and all that prevents the commencement of the conflict is a want of funds on both sides. I have however, received intelligence from the most unquestionable source; that the Governor of Jamaica sent Capt. Clement, commanding His B. M'S Ship Shannon, to Laguayra, with instructions to ascertain the true condition of affairs in Venezuela, and to report the result to Genl. Montilla at Carthagená. Capt. Clement landed and proceeded upon a trip of *mere curiosity*, to Valencia, the

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

temporary seat of Govt;—had an interview with Genl. Paez;—saw and conversed with many of those who are in the interest of the Liberator and favorable to the reunion of Venezuela, with the residue of the Republic; and he has given such an account of this *disinterested & neutral* mission, as has highly gratified Genl. Montilla. This interference is quite as remarkable & as wholly indefensible, as the intrigues imputed to Admiral Fleming; and is a further proof—; if any were wanting, of the disposition of the British Govt. to interfere with and in some degree control the internal affairs of Colombia.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Thomas P. Moore, United States Minister to Colombia, to Martin Van Buren, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

BOGOTA, January 14, 1831.

SIR: I did not as usual, address you on the 28th ultimo, because a report had reached this city, that the Liberator was expected to live but a few days; and I deemed it best, to await the arrival of certain intelligence, in relation to an event, calculated to excite much interest abroad, and to be attended with important consequences, as it regards the affairs of this country. The report has been confirmed: He died on the 17th of December, at a country seat, near Santa Marta, in the 47th year of his age. Many of the natives and a large portion of the foreigners here, regard his death as a national calamity, and consider the loss as one that cannot be repaired; whilst I deplore it, because he was the benefactor of his country and my personal friend. I flatter myself, that the disasters which some apprehend, will be averted by the prudence and moderation of those, upon whom it may devolve, to wield the destinies of the nation; and though I believe, that Genl. Bolivar has not left behind him a man more devoted to the interests of his country than himself, yet it would be uncharitable to suppose, that all others are destitute of public virtue: I hope therefore, that affairs here, are not irretrievably desperate, and that his successor whoever he may be; if he cannot aspire to secure to himself, the same measure of fame and of public consideration bestowed upon the Liberator, will imitate his disinterestedness of character and his devotion to his country's welfare. Great preparations are in progress, I understand, for the purpose of paying him extraordinary posthumous honors; and I have no doubt, that some are now willing to canonize him, who a few months since, were ready to blacken his reputation, subvert his authority or even to destroy

¹ MS. Dispatches from Colombia, VI.

his life, in furtherance of their ambitious projects. I enclose a translation (marked F) of Gen. Bolivar's address to the Colombians; a communication from this Govt. (G) announcing his death, with my reply, (H) and also Genl. Urdaneta's proclamation.(I.)

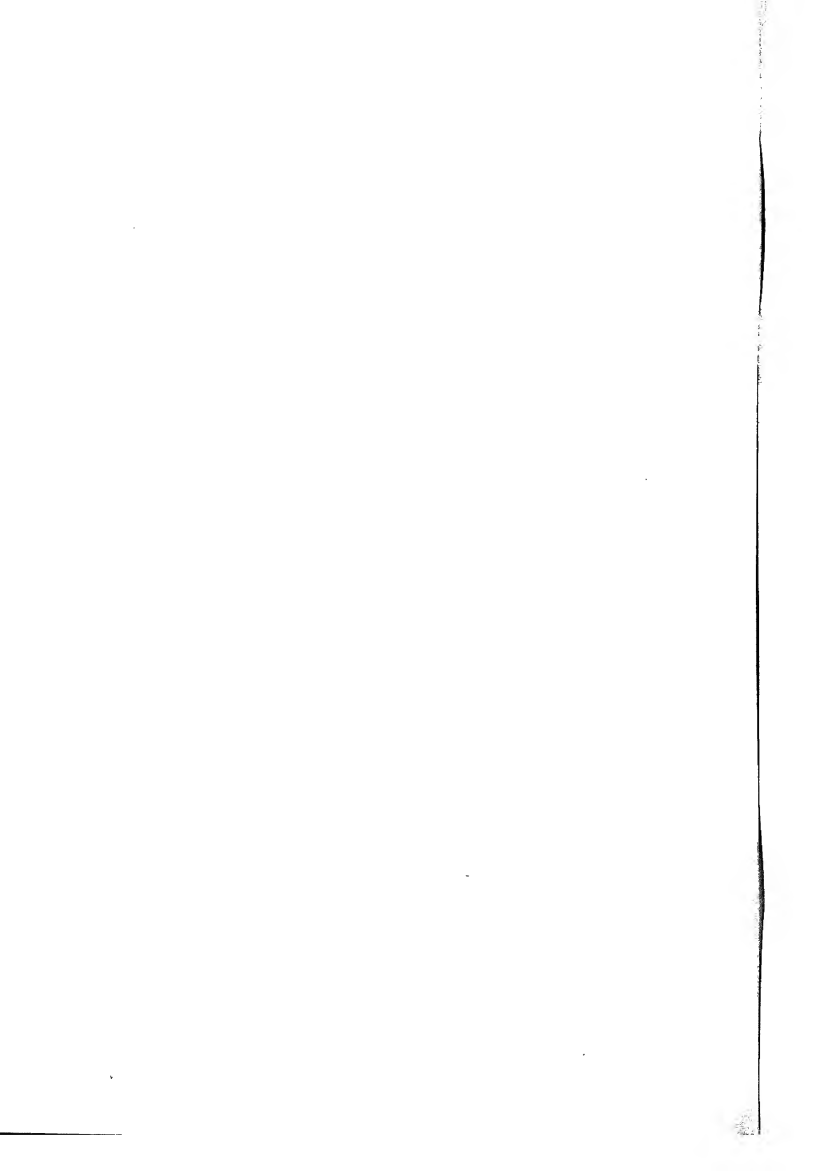
I am inclined to believe, that the tranquillity of this part of Colombia, will not be disturbed by Genl. Paez, unless he should be compelled to assume a hostile attitude, for defensive purposes. Those who know him best say, that his ambition is confined to Venezuela, and, that if permitted to exercise supreme authority in that province, he will not interfere with the affairs of New Granada. In the exercise of the power conferred upon him by the Congress of Venezuela, he has recently expelled a great number of the Liberator's friends, and amongst others, the Archbishop of Caracas.— This proceeding will perhaps, draw down upon him, the vengeance of those who have incurred his displeasure. But it is probable, that he will find the means of becoming reconciled to them; for the enmities of public men in this country, are as puerile and as evanescent as their friendships; and both are nothing more than momentary impulses, originating in policy and self interest, and are indulged and discarded, according to circumstances.

Genl. Flores will be contented with the South, if he can maintain himself there, which is questionable, as three battalions in Guayaquil, have revolted against him, and declared in favor of the Union and of the Liberator. But his death may have the effect of paralyzing this movement. If so, Flores will have nothing to apprehend from New Granada, if he adopts the precaution of occupying the defiles of Pasto, the key to Quito, and which may be defended by a few companies, against an army of many thousands.

Genl. Urdaneta, the chief of New Granada, will strain every nerve to maintain the power he has usurped, & I think the chances are in favor of his success. He has been courting the Liberals with unremitting assiduity: & as they are disheartened, and without leaders, arms, or organization, they will probably give up the contest and support him, so far as to ensure their personal safety for the future, and to obtain indemnity for past offenses, against him and his friends.

These three chiefs, of three petty military despotisms, will endeavor perhaps, to form a confederation, for the purpose of preventing the entire dissolution of the Republic, and of securing to it, a nominal existence. Genl. Urdaneta will attempt to assemble a general Congress, according to the forms prescribed in the Constitution, which he himself abolished by force, in August last. Whether any members will attend from Venezuela and Quito or not, is altogether uncertain, and I think altogether immaterial, if the object is to adopt a federative system, for I cannot believe that a confederation would endure any length of time; because the people are not sufficiently enlightened for such a form of government, and never will be, as long as the army maintains its present ascendancy, which it will not relinquish voluntarily.

PART VII
COMMUNICATIONS FROM FRANCE



COMMUNICATIONS FROM FRANCE

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*Jonathan Russell, Chargé d'Affaires at Paris, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

Confidential.

PARIS, September 2, 1811.

SIR: I conceive it to be my duty to render to you an early account of a conference to which I was invited on the 20th ulto by his Excellency the Duke of Bassano.

He stated that he had requested this interview that he might communicate to me *most confidentially* the POLICY ON WHICH THE EMPEROR HAD DECIDED IN RELATION TO THE SPANISH POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA. THIS POLICY WAS TO ACKNOWLEDGE AND CONFIRM THE INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY PORTION OF THESE POSSESSIONS WHICH SHOULD HAVE THE SPIRIT AND THE PHYSICAL MEANS TO ASSERT IT AND TO AID IN ITS ACHIEVEMENT, HIS EXCELLENCY INTIMATED THAT THE ONLY MODE IN WHICH THIS AID COULD BE EFFICACIOUSLY FURNISHED WAS THRO THE CONCURRENCE AND AGENCY OF THE U. STATES AND THAT Mr. SERURIER WOULD BE INSTRUCTED TO SUBMIT TO THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT PRECISE PROPOSITIONS ON THIS SUBJECT. IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THE AID OF WHICH THE SPANIARDS STOOD MOST IN NEED WAS ARMS—AMMUNITION AND MILITARY SKILL (OFFICERS) TO AFFORD WHICH HIS MAJESTY WAS ENTIRELY DISPOSED—THE ISLANDS AND THOSE DISTRICTS WHICH FROM THEIR WANT OF SUFFICIENT POPULATION COULD NOT MAINTAIN THE INDEPENDENCE WERE NOT TO BE SUPPORTED IN ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN IT. AS THAT PART OF THE FLORIDAS WHICH DOES NOT ALREADY incontrovertibly BELONG TO THE UNITED STATES, APPEARED TO BE INCLUDED IN THIS DESCRIPTION, I AVAILED MYSELF OF THE OCCASION WHICH WAS THUS AFFORDED ME TO URGE THE PROPRIETY OF OBTAINING FROM THE EMPEROR DISTINCTLY AND WITHOUT DELAY HIS UNQUALIFIED CONSENT TO THE POSSESSION OF THIS PORTION including AMELIA ISLAND, BY THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. HE AGREED THAT THE FLORIDAS WERE INCAPABLE OF EXISTING AS AN INDEPENDENT NATION. HE REMINDED ME OF THE ASSURANCES WHICH HAD ALREADY BEEN GIVEN TO ME IN RESPECT TO THEM AND DECLARED THAT THEIR ANNEXATION TO THE UNITED STATES WOULD ENTIRELY ACCORD WITH THE POLICY OF HIS MAJESTY. ENCOURAGED BY THIS DECLARATION I INTIMATED THE EXPECTATION THAT THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE EMPLOYED TO EXTINGUISH THE CLAIMS OF ANY OF ITS ALLIES ON WHAT-SO-EVER PRETENTION THEY MIGHT BE FOUNDED TO THE ALLEGIANCE OF THE TERRITORY IN QUESTION AND HE SEEMED TO BELIEVE THAT TO THIS THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION.

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XII. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

I APPREHEND HOWEVER FROM THE LATE APPOINTMENT BY THE COURT OF MADRID OF A COMMISSIONER, NOW AT PARIS, AND WHO DAILY EXPECTS HIS POWERS TO NEGOCIATE WITH ANY AUTHORIZED AGENT OF THE U. STATES FOR THE CESSION OF THIS TERRITORY THAT THIS CESSION WILL NOT BE GRATUITOUSLY MADE.

AS THIS APPOINTMENT was communicated to me in a way *altogether confidential* I need not say that my honour is engaged to prevent its being publicly known.

I have the honour [etc.].

714

*Joel Barlow, United States Minister to France, to James Monroe, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, September 29, 1811.

The Emperor has determined to declare the Spanish Americans free and independent and to give them arms and ammunition to defend themselves; this however on condition that they shall not connect themselves with England by exclusive privileges of trade. He probably means, tho' the Duke did not say it, that they shall adopt the Continental system of Europe and exclude the English trade altogether. He wants American aid in transporting the arms and ammunition.

Secondly, the Emperor wishes the United States to establish regular packets between them and France, to run monthly, and he will pay half the expence.

These two propositions were delivered to me with the injunction of secrecy that their nature requires to be communicated only to you. They seem to indicate a confidence on his part that peace and harmony are to be preserved between us.

I shall make no comment on the second proposition except that it might be very advantageous to us as a means of preserving that harmony, the desire of which is to be seen in the suggestion.

It might be richly worth the [expence] to us tho' we should pay it all ourselves. Indeed he must not be admitted to a share [of the] expence unless we can be sure of the utmost secrecy, as it would otherwise expose the packets to British capture.

The first proposition I should think might be connected with establishing the western limit of Louisiana on the river Bravo and the eastern with the Atlantic.

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XIII. With the exception of the first words, "The Emperor has determined," this extract was all received in cipher.

It is possible that Napoleon, tho' he declares those Colonies free from all European domination may mean to dictate to them the form of Government they are to adopt, and to send them Ferdinand for their King. I have no authority for saying it, nor reason for believing it, I think it would be unwise in every view, and yet it is possible.

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Joel Barlow, United States Minister to France, to the Duke of Bassano, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France¹

PARIS, January 8, 1812.

The Undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States is charged by his Government to make known to that of His Imperial and Royal Majesty the following facts.

The Provinces of Venezuela have declared themselves Independent, and have announced that event to the Government of the United States. They have likewise proposed to the President that he should recognize their independence and receive a Minister from them. Although this recognition has not yet been made in form, a very friendly and conciliatory answer has been returned to their proposition.

They have also been informed that the Ministers of the United States in Europe would be instructed to avail themselves of suitable occasions to promote the recognition of their Independence by other powers.

The President considers this act of friendship equally due to the just claims of those provinces, to whose welfare he cannot be indifferent, and to the interests of the United States.

He is happy likewise to find by a late communication from Mr. Russell and another from His Imperial Majesty's Minister in the United States, that His Majesty is animated with the same good will towards the Spanish colonies in America, and that he harmonizes with the President in the desire to see them independent.

It is believed that Buenos Ayres will soon follow the example of the provinces of Venezuela.

The Undersigned has the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XIII, enclosed in Barlow to Monroe, March 3, 1812, which is not pertinent.

*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, January 17, 1818.

SIR: The attention of the European Powers does not seem to have been particularly drawn to the contest between Spain and her colonies till after the occupation of Montevideo by the Portuguese. Spain appealed to the allies, who, desirous of the maintenance of a general European peace, interfered immediately in her favor and compelled Portugal to accept their mediation. Russia took the lead in that measure, in which England, France, Prussia and lastly Austria became parties. It may be added that England would have been desirous of being the sole mediator, but that Spain would not consent. In the course of the negotiations which have preceded the official conferences, it was insisted on the part of Spain that Portugal should engage by a previous declaration, and as a preliminary, to restore Montevideo to Spain itself. Such declaration has lately been made, with the proviso, "whenever it could be done consistent with the security of Brazil." It is probable that the declaration thus modified will be accepted, but the Spanish ambassador has not yet received his full powers, and the official conferences are not yet opened. The plea urged by Portugal in justification of her conduct, and which, as you perceive, has not been abandoned, naturally connected the situation of the Spanish colonies, at least of Buenos Ayres, with the question before the mediators. It is said that Spain proposed a mediation for that colony alone on the same basis which has been presented by Great Britain. But whether that proposal preceded or followed that of England, I have not been able to ascertain.

In July last, and previous to that proposal, it was suggested to me, BOTH BY THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU AND BY THE RUSSIAN MINISTER AT THIS COURT, that it would be desirable for the sake of humanity and most consistent with the interest of Spain, that, leaving the other colonies to themselves, she should concentrate her forces in Cuba and Mexico. This plan, to which it was evident that she would not accede, appeared to me at the time to be rather the offspring of individual opinions than the result of the deliberations of any Government.

On my return from the Netherlands, it was known that Russia had ceded some ships of war to Spain, and that England had presented to her a plan of conciliation with her colonies. But great reserve was manifested towards me on both subjects. On the first, I was only asked BY THE RUSSIAN MINISTER, how far ships of the line could ascend the Rio de la Plata, whether they could be useful against Buenos Ayres, and whether the reduction of that

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

place would not necessarily be followed by the submission of the interior and of Chili. The most probable conjecture is that the primary object of the fleet is the occupation of Montevideo, whenever the Portuguese shall have agreed to deliver it. What has been the motive of Russia in that transaction, and what consideration she has received, is not known to me, nor indeed generally.

It is possible that from Madrid or London you may have received more correct information relative to the *projet* presented by Great Britain than I have been able to obtain. Indeed it seems to me that it ought to have been officially communicated by her to our Government. In the meanwhile, however, I thought it my duty to ask the SAME PERSONS WHO HAD FIRST MENTIONED THE SUBJECT TO ME what was the actual state of the intended mediation, and whether any communication had been made to my Government. Their answer agreed in substance, although that of THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU was less detailed and more vague. He said that indeed nothing decisive was yet agreed on, but that it was generally presumed that although the insurgents might not trust to Spanish promises alone, they would accept a liberal arrangement, the faithful execution of which would be secured by the guarantee of all the great European powers. On my observing that this implied also a guarantee on their part of the perpetual submission of the Spanish colonies to the mother country, he said that an accommodation that would secure THAT OBJECT AND PEACE FOR 15 YEARS was as much as could be expected.

THE RUSSIAN MINISTER TOLD ME THAT the plan presented by Great Britain embraced all the Spanish colonies and had for basis a general amnesty, freedom of commerce with all nations, reserving some advantages to the mother country, and a participation in all public employments; that it had been communicated to Spain and also to Russia, France, Austria and Prussia, asking their cooperation and to join in the mediation; that the answer of Spain was not decisive and pointed out Madrid as the seat of negotiations instead of London as proposed by England; that THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA had answered that he approved the plan generally but that he thought it best to see the result of the mediation in the affairs of Portugal and Spain, before any conferences were opened on this subject; and that he believed that the other powers had not yet delivered their answer.

I stated BOTH TO HIM AND TO THE DUKE, that I had no instructions on the subject and that my only object was to obtain information which I intended to transmit to you; that I could judge of the intentions of my Government only from their past conduct, which, it was well known, had been marked by the most strict impartiality; but that it must not be concealed that the general sentiment of our nation was naturally in favor of the ultimate emancipation of the Spanish colonies; and that, as the influence which our position and other circumstances gave us over the final result could not be overlooked,

I thought it equally wise and friendly that the views of the European powers in that respect should be officially communicated to our Government at Washington. I took care also to mention that, to the accomplishment of those views, whatever they might be, there was another indispensable preliminary, that is to say, that all the objects of discussion between us and Spain should be definitively arranged to our perfect satisfaction; if not, the first cannon fired between us would overset any arrangement between Spain and her colonies which might have been previously concluded. The truth of this assertion was not denied, and our great importance in the question was fully acknowledged.

THE RUSSIAN MINISTER ASKED AN EXPLANATION, WHICH I GAVE, OF all the subjects of difference we had with Spain. HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH the plan of Great Britain ought certainly to be communicated to the Government of the United States, HE THOUGHT THAT on account of THE JEALOUSY WHICH, AS I well knew, EXISTED ON THE part of that COUNTRY TOWARDS RUSSIA, HIS GOVERNMENT ought not to make the communication but IN CONCERT WITH THAT OF ENGLAND.

THE PORTUGUESE MINISTER has told me that he is assured that the PRUSSIAN CABINET had determined to ANSWER TO ENGLAND that THEY did not think that any thing could be done in the question of the Spanish colonies without the co-operation of the two American powers, Brazil & the United States.

THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR in an incidental conversation, told me with considerable force of expression, that public opinion was as strong in favor of the emancipation of the Spanish colonies IN ENGLAND AS IN THE U. S. A declaration somewhat similar was lately made by LORD CASTLEREAGH TO HUMBOLDT. BOTH SAID THAT IF THE GOVERNMENT WAS INCLINED to take an active part against the colonies, THEY WOULD NOT BE SUPPORTED BY THE NATION, AND COULD NOT DO IT.

Upon the whole, although it is probable that the proposed plan of mediation will move heavily, it will certainly be discussed in the conferences on the Portuguese affairs, which are on the point of being opened here. And it may be of use that I should be correctly informed of the precise intentions of the President on the subject. It is not improbable that an offer will be made to THE U. S. TO JOIN IN THE MEDIATION. It is possible that the question OF FLORIDA AND OF THE BOUNDARIES OF LOUISIANA will become blended with those relating to the Spanish colonies. We may have it in our powers to a certain degree, TO DISCOURTENANCE THIS EUROPEAN ATTEMPT TO REGULATE THE AFFAIRS OF AMERICA. In that case, however, the business MIGHT FALL EXCLUSIVELY IN THE HANDS OF ENGLAND.

This Government has never attempted since my arrival, not even in inofficial conversations, to say any thing in favor of the right of Spain to the country between the Perdido and the Mississippi. But the Duke de Riche-

lieu asked me in our last interview some explanations respecting our intended occupation of Amelia island and Galvez-town. After having explained the geographical situation of those two places, I told him, that although I had nothing official on the subject but the President's message, the occupation of Amelia island by a set of unauthorized adventurers, was so outrageous, and to us so dangerous, that I had all along anticipated that if Spain did not drive them away, we must do it ourselves. I added that as Galvez-town was within our rightful boundaries, I thought it very possible that, if occupied by us, we would keep possession of it, until our differences with Spain respecting limits were definitively arranged.

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Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

PARIS, May 4, 1818.

SIR: A gentleman, who calls himself and is, I believe, an agent of the Government of Buenos Ayres, has put in my hands the paper,² of which a

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

² The enclosed copy of a letter dated Leicester Square, October 29, 1817, from Bernardo Rivadavia to Lord Castlereagh, in translation, is as follows:

MOST EXCELLENT SIR: It is now three years since the writer of this Note has represented in Europe the Government of the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, in consequence of which he has resided in this City, at Paris and at Madrid. The notoriety of his appointment moreover identifies him sufficiently; his motives for transferring himself to this Capital arose from the consideration due to His Britannick Majesty's Government, and from the attention and circumspection required by the important object of the present communication. Without laying a particular stress on what has been circulated by two of H. C. Majesty's Ministers at Paris with an openness and earnestness quite remarkable, the information received by the Writer through various channels has confirmed him in the certainty that there exists a Negotiation at least between this Court and that of Madrid, on the fate of South-America. This is not the moment to enter into details on this subject: especially when it appears beyond a doubt that this business is not definitively settled, at least not on the part of Spain—

The Writer will not now dilate in his remarks on the sensation produced in the feelings of his Government and daily increasing, by the projects and discussions which have been agitated in different courts of Europe in relation to South-America, and the dispositions which amidst a mysterious fluctuation appear under various forms and pretexts. But the existence of the aforementioned Negotiation, and the information which has reached him thro' respectable channels, lay him under the obligation of discharging the duties of his Mission, and of requesting Your Excellency to lay before His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, this most solemn Declaration on two points equally important and incontestible. 1. That the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata are deeply penetrated with the respect due to other Nations, to universal Peace, and to the Principles by which public Order and Justice are regulated: that in proof thereof their efforts to put an end to the War have not been confined merely to wishes and protestations; but they have in fact constantly employed all the means within their reach, as well with the Powers who might have an influence with Spain, as with Spain herself, her Ministers and Agents. But the Spanish has [have] hitherto refused to listen to any thing.

copy is enclosed, being a letter addressed by himself to Lord Castlereagh concerning the intended mediation of certain European powers between Spain and her colonies.

No final determination has yet taken place on that subject, to which the arrangement of the disputes between Spain and Portugal is considered an indispensable preliminary. The negotiations between these two countries are still carried on here under the mediation of the five great powers; and notwithstanding the efforts of Portugal to protract a decision, it is probable that she will be obliged to yield the point, and to agree to restore Montevideo, provided Spain sends a force sufficient to maintain afterwards her possession. The point once arranged, the question of the mediation between Spain and her colonies will probably be decided in September at the congress of the sovereigns.

It appears to me that on both subjects RUSSIA is the Power that shows most disposition to interfere, and the views of ENGLAND with respect to the Spanish colonies seem to be much more rational and to coincide better with our own. It is true that if no joint mediation takes place the business will fall exclusively in *HER HANDS*; and it is also probable that RUSSIA would be more favourable to *OUR* obtaining the boundaries *WE* claim, and even to

In conformity to these principles the Administration of the said Provinces protests that they are ready not only to treat, but to make every sacrifice for Peace, that is within the bounds of possibility. 2, which is a necessary consequence of the first Point. Every Negotiation which has not for its basis the separation of those Provinces from the Spanish Monarchy and consequently their National Independence is altogether inadmissible, because it will either necessarily become null, or produce consequences calculated to protract the war and aggravate its character. The Independence of that country is not the effect of circumstances, and still less of ideas and doctrines; it is the result of the natural fitness of things, and therefore did exist in fact before Europe was aware of it. It is long since Spain has in every point of view been wholly incapable of continuing to act as the Parent Country to those Provinces. She has formally acknowledged this by the fact of her supplicating assistance from other Powers to re-establish her ancient Dominion. Whoever is unable to conquer, is still less so to preserve. From the moment the Spanish Government made this confession, it lost even the semblance of right in her pretensions; and it is incompatible with the dignity and interest of the sovereigns of Europe, that their high power and august functions should be otherwise employed than in the progressive establishment and preservation of order and regularity. The circumspect course pursued by the Provinces fully confirms the respect entertained by them for those principles. They deferred their Declaration of Independence until they made an experiment which endured seven years, refusing to take advantage of the moments of Victory on the warmth of Parties, confining their Declaration to one specific point, and leaving the rest to the results of the Treaties which they always contemplated forming with the different Powers of Europe. Thus the Writer is fully authorized in declaring that the principles and course pursued by the said Provinces have in no wise been opposed to the policy and principles of the Governments of Europe; but, that, on the contrary, they prove a disposition to respect and conciliate them in every thing that may be requisite.

This declaration, which is to be considered as extending to all the Sovereigns of Europe, being first made in preference to the Government of H. B. M., the Declarer conceives that he has fulfilled his object. He will therefore inform his Government of the same and transmit them a true Copy of his Declaration. He has the honour to announce, that as this has been the sole motive of his coming to this Capital, he will set out on his return to the continent in five days, during which time he will await the commands of Your Excellency, to whom he has the honour of tendering the assurance of his highest consideration and respect.

the ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA. SHE certainly seems conscious that OUR differences with SPAIN should be adjusted, and justly considers this as intimately connected with a pacification of the Spanish colonies.

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*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, June 18, 1818.

SIR: Although I have no late direct accounts from your Department, I have been informed by the Spanish ambassador and from other quarters that the negotiations between the United States and Spain had been transferred to Madrid. So far as can be inferred from appearances here, the prospect of a convenient arrangement is more favorable than at any former period. That arrangement is considered as an indispensable preliminary to the pacification of the Spanish colonies, an object which some of the great powers, particularly Russia and France, have still much at heart. The progress of the negotiations between Spain and Portugal is slow. Yet, notwithstanding the efforts of Portugal to delay, the outlines of the arrangement are said to be nearly adjusted. Portugal to restore Montevideo and St. Sacrement, to receive back Olivenza in Europe, and to keep possession of Maldonado, until a more convenient settlement of her limits towards the River Plata shall have been made. But Spain must send a sufficient force to receive and defend Montevideo. I think it probable that a convention will be signed and that new difficulties will arise in its execution.

The intended expedition of Lallemand and others has excited here some alarm. I contend, and I believe it to be true, that it is the interest of Spain to recognize our title to that part of the country west of our Louisiana settlements, which she cannot occupy.

I enclose a copy of the protest ² of Del Real, the agent of the insurgents of

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII.

² The enclosed protest, dated London, April 10, 1818, and addressed to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Castlereagh, is as follows:

MY LORD: His Britannic Majesty's Ministers were informed since the month of November 1814 of the mission which brought the undersigned to London as a Deputy from the General Government of the confederated provinces of New Granada in South America; and although he was, unfortunately, not permitted to present the dispatches he brought from that Government for His Majesty, and His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, nor make the other communications with which he was charged, he does not on that account conceive himself the less obliged, under the extraordinary circumstances of the present moment, and in discharge of his duty, to address the present note to Your Excellency, for the purpose of being presented to the consideration of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent.

It is a subject of notoriety, and has been published throughout Europe, that a negoti-

Venezuela and Grenada, against any mediation which shall not have independence for its basis.

The evacuation of France at the end of the year, by the army of occupa-

tion has existed between the Cabinets of London and Madrid, the result of which (the Spanish Government not having been able to obtain the assistance required for the subjugation of America) has ultimately been to agree to a *mediation* to be proposed by the five allied European Powers, in order to cause the cessation of the contest between Spain and America.

The undersigned has no doubt, the Americans will highly appreciate, and receive with pleasure a mediation of the principal Sovereigns of Europe, particularly from England, if in this measure they have no other interest than that of humanity, cruelly outraged by the horrors with which the Spaniards have carried on a most destructive war on that continent.

But, at the same time that he is convinced of the sentiments which animate his countrymen, and of the most profound respect towards the august monarchs who so truly interest themselves in the general repose of the world, and in restoring to the afflicted humanity the enjoyment of its rights, he must observe that Spain in the present state of things, wishing to maintain the oppressive system which she had established in America, and carrying on a war of death or extermination against its inhabitants, has lost the favorable opportunity of an accommodation which might have preserved her supremacy. Therefore, it is necessary that King Ferdinand should renounce all hopes of sovereignty over those countries, if it is true that he sincerely wishes to accept the mediation offered by the sovereigns who have restored him to his throne, in order to recover by it the friendship and a good understanding with the Governments of America; because the cruel and unjust conduct observed towards America, by all the Governments which succeeded each other in Spain, from the establishment of the first revolutionary Juntas until now, has placed the American provinces in the alternative of being independent or destroyed, and no mediation will obtain the desired effect unless it has for basis the absolute emancipation to which they aspire.

The undersigned does not conceive it necessary to explain the just motives which America has ever had to complain of the constant oppression [with] which Spain has governed them, because they are sufficiently notorious, and such as fully to justify the resolution they have taken to die or become independent.

Neither will he at present engage himself to shew the series of extraordinary events, nor the unjust pretensions by which Spain herself provoked the resolution, which was almost simultaneously effected both in South and North America. Great Britain knows better than any other European power, that the Americas abandoned for many years to themselves and to their own resources, solely the wish to preserve themselves and escape the domination of Bonaparte, in the event of the subjugation of Spain, could have obliged them to take up arms, and look to their own security and good government; and this necessary determination, just and laudable in itself, and which did not a little contribute to impede the entire submission of the peninsula to the government of Joseph, was ill received by those who governed in the island of Leon and Cadiz; who were desirous that America should remain passive and follow the fate of Spain whatever it might be, accompanying them in the yoke attached to the car of the triumpher.

The undersigned will, however, record the great sacrifices made by the Americans in aid of their European brethren, in the war which they maintained against Napoleon, sacrifices ill requited, as England well knows; he will also record the sincere offers made by those provinces to maintain themselves always united with Spain, and the haughty disdain with which the latter disregarded, and denied to America, the participation of those natural rights conceded to men united in society. The acts of the Cortes of Cadiz have proved in the face of all Europe, how distant was the metropolis from treating them with common decency, without speaking of justice and humanity, and that the rights of twenty millions of men were of less weight in their unjust scale, than the ambition to domineer over a vast extent of country, and reduce it to a desert.

America, in that occasion, did every thing required by her love for her ancient metropolis, and the latter, establishing an unjust inequality, clashing with the principles they proclaimed, and which they pretended exclusively to enjoy, was the first to provoke the differences which England in vain endeavored to conciliate by her repeated and generous offers of mediation, and which were as often refused through the pitiful policy of the Governments which succeeded each other in Spain.

Thus it was, that the mere act of the Americas arming to preserve union and to protect

tion, is considered as certain. There is however, a strong wish from some quarters that an allied army of observation should be kept in the Netherlands and on the Rhine; but I do not believe that this plan will be adopted. The final decision on this and every other subject connected with France will be made at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle. Whether any other object will be embraced in the deliberations of the Sovereigns is doubtful. Spain will, of course, make a strong effort to obtain the mediation of Europe in her American affairs.

I have the honor [etc.].

themselves in midst of the most difficult circumstances which might offer from political events at the distance of three thousand leagues from Europe, was afterwards converted into a formal act of independence, pronounced with all the necessary conviction that there was nothing further to be hoped for from Spain, although she might ameliorate her own institutions.

In this state of things, Ferdinand re-established on the throne of his ancestors, all his efforts have been directed to the subjugation of the country, without deigning to examine the cause of their complaints. The Americans of the nineteenth century have been treated like the Indians of the sixteenth. The Spanish Generals have neither admitted parleys nor respected the rights of humanity with the prisoners, although they might not be prisoners of war: the execrable Morillo has destroyed whole provinces in New Granada and Venezuela, neither saving old men, women and children [*sic*]; and when he has scarcely left a single individual known by his talents and abilities, or by his virtues, or by any useful profession, he has published an amnesty in which the Spanish Government, insulting both humanity and reason, leaves an opening to fallacious interpretations, in order to dissemble its infractions under the most frivolous pretences.

Such is a brief history of late events in the confederated provinces of New Grenada and Venezuela. They cannot expect the King of Spain will impose upon them a more favorable yoke than that which those suffer in Europe who shed their blood to redeem him from captivity: Spain cannot make them happy because she is not so herself; neither can she offer security or protection to countries so vast and so remote, because she wants the necessary means for this purpose: every European war obstructs their communications, hinders commerce, and submerges the Americas in an abyss of evils, placing them in a state of uncertainty and anxiety which can no longer be tolerated by twenty millions of men, who know how to exist by themselves, who know their own rights, and who know how to respect those of others.

These powerful motives will inevitably produce the absolute independence of America: it is necessary for the Americans, convenient and useful for all nations of the world, without excepting Spain herself, if she wishes to know her true interests.

Therefore, the undersigned in virtue of full powers with which he is invested, and as the representative of the confederated provinces of New Grenada, can not do otherwise than protest in the most solemn manner against the opening of any negotiation respecting the future fate of America without his being heard, and which has not for basis its independence, and is desirous that this protest should be common to all the powers of Europe who are to intervene in the mediation, although solely addressed to H. B. Majesty's Ministers, conceiving them to be the principal mediators from their having offered to be so when the first occurrences took place, and has the honor to be [etc.].

*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, July 6, 1818.

SIR: I had the honor to receive your dispatch of May 19th² No. 5. Its contents discountenance the belief in the truth of what had been positively asserted to me by the Spanish ambassador and by the Russian Minister concerning the transfer to Madrid of our negotiations with Spain. I have not yet had an opportunity of obtaining further explanations on the subject.

I was yesterday informed that Spain had rejected the proposals of Portugal, though approved by the mediators, which were stated in my dispatch No. 73.³

I have the honor [etc.].

*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*⁴

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, July 22, 1818.

. . . The Duke de Richelieu, after the capture of St. Marks alone was known, observed that we had adopted the game laws, and pursued on foreign ground what we started on our own. He added immediately that it was extremely desirable that our differences with Spain might be arranged before the meeting of next Congress; alluding to the danger of our recognition of the colonies. The fear of this and the other embarrassments of Spain will probably prevent her and her friends from resenting by actual hostilities, what may have been done on our part. But it must not be concealed that neither the forcible occupation of places to which we lay no claim, nor the execution of Indians or even white men who have been made prisoners in the Indian war, will tend to increase the consideration which the United States now enjoy, or to promote their interest, unless the necessity of the acts shall have been fully established.

The difficulties which daily occur in the arrangement of the differences between Spain and Portugal, and the late accounts from Chili seem to have cooled in some degree the ardor of RUSSIA AND FRANCE to interfere in the affairs of the Spanish colonies; and I hope that nothing decisive will be agreed

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 55.

³ See above, pt. VII, Gallatin to Adams, June 18, 1818, doc. 718.

⁴ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII. The portion of this document printed in small capital letters was received in cipher.

on in that respect at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle. The other great Powers are not very anxious on the subject; and they have yet many other objects of more immediate importance to arrange.

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*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

PARIS, August 10, 1818.

On the subject of the proposed mediation between Spain and her colonies, the Duke de Richelieu said that nothing positive was done, and that in his opinion nothing efficient could be done without us; he wished, therefore, to know what were our views in that respect. I answered that nothing having been communicated to our Government by any of the powers concerned in the mediation, no official communication could be expected from us; that whenever the allied powers, or any of them, should think fit to state their views on that subject, the overture would be met with a corresponding frankness; and that it appeared desirable in every respect that such free and mutual communications should take place. In the meanwhile it was due to candor to say that so far as I was able to judge, no expectation could be entertained that the United States would become parties in the proposed mediation, much less that they would accede to any measures having for object the restoration of the supremacy of Spain over the colonies which had thrown off her yoke. I added that it was understood that the allied powers did not intend to use force in order to compel the parties to accept their mediation, and that it appeared to me alike impracticable to obtain the consent of Spain to such liberal bases as it was intended to propose, and to persuade the inhabitants of the colonies to trust her and place themselves at her mercy. The Duke dwelt on the want of union among the insurgents, on their factions and weakness, on their unfitness for liberty and on their incapacity of forming any permanent Government whatever: he then suggested that if some Prince of the Spanish family (the son of the *ci-devant* Queen of Etruria was mentioned) was sent over to America as an independent monarch, it might reconcile the inhabitants and be consistent with our own views. I answered that on this last point my Government alone could decide; that with the form of Government which suited the colonies or which any of them might select, we had nothing to do; that it was only to the preservation of their independence that I had alluded; and that it ap-

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

peared to me doubtful whether a Spanish Prince would be considered as securing that.

As to the capacity of the colonists to form a government sufficient to carry on their own business and to entertain foreign relations, I expressed my astonishment that any doubt could exist on that point, and mentioned San Domingo as a proof that even slaves could establish governments of their own, totally independent at least of their masters. If there was any chance that Spanish America could be kept much longer under the dominion of Spain, why did she not do at once, where she was still in possession, what was to be offered to the insurgent colonies. No mediation was required for that; and nothing prevented her from opening the commerce of Cuba, Mexico and Peru; from introducing in these, the three most productive and important of her colonies, all the improved administration, all the liberal laws and institutions which were held out as the basis of the mediation. To these last observations the Duke de Richelieu seemed to assent and to blame Spain for not pursuing a wiser course. But after all, they cannot yet here, reconcile themselves to the general and unavoidable emancipation of America.

I had at the request of THE RUSSIAN MINISTER, an interview with HIM yesterday, which embraced the same topics and had nearly the same aspect. This is not astonishing considering the intimacy which exists between RUSSIA AND FRANCE, and more particularly between THIS CABINET AND POZZO. (. . . IT IS, by the bye, friendly to us, and has made a favorable impression here.) Still there were some differences and additions. POZZO still insists that our negotiation has been renewed at Madrid. He said there were difficulties in OUR OBTAINING FLORIDA, but did not explain whether they came from SPAIN, ENGLAND OR HIS OWN COURT. He considered the plan of sending to America a Spanish Prince as chimerical, complained bitterly of the FOLLY OF SPAIN, and appeared to me to have almost abandoned the hope that a mediation would be agreed on. . . .

I think upon the whole, that the dispositions of the European continental powers continue to be favorable to us. But Spain will make a great clamor, and I fear that the capture of Pensacola will at least impair the chance we had of acquiring Florida by treaty and of settling all our differences with Spain. I earnestly wish that I may be mistaken. The most dangerous consequence would be the use which ENGLAND MAY MAKE of this event to regain HER INFLUENCE OVER SPAIN. SHE has tried to play a deep game to detach her from her other connections, and has heretofore made use of NEGOCIATIONS WITH PORTUGAL for that purpose. These, owing to that cause and to the habitual FOLLY OF SPAIN, are not yet brought to a close, and do not seem more advanced than they were six months ago. Notwithstanding these appearances and although some of the NEGOCIATORS think otherwise, I am still of opinion that some kind of convention will finally be made.

I have the honor [etc.].

P. S. In the course of the negotiation between Portugal and Spain, an article had been proposed by the first, purporting that she would be authorized to maintain HER NEUTRALITY BETWEEN Spain and her INSURGENT COLONIES. To this Spain decidedly objected and was supported by ALL the mediators BUT ONE. When the vote had been taken THE BRITISH EMBASSADOR SOLEMNLY PROTESTED AGAINST IT and declared that HIS COURT could not agree to any plan in which this provision was omitted. This incident is the most serious of the obstacles to the negotiation.

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*Daniel Sheldon, Jr., United States Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Paris, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, October 20, 1818.

SIR: Your dispatch No. 9, of the 20th of August,² was received a few days since. I have not sent it to Mr. Gallatin in London, as he will probably be here by the end of this month, and his letters of the 22d of July ³ and 10th of August ³ will have already put you in possession of the principal facts on which the opinion asked from him must be formed. Nothing has since occurred here, which has come to my knowledge, to change the view then given by him of the subject. The disposition to afford assistance to Spain in her colonial difficulties still continues; but the manner in which it can be made effectual (other than by a direct and open participation in arms, which the present state of France, and indeed, of all Europe, forbids) has not yet been discovered. It is now thought here that they will be unable, at Aix la Chapelle, to effect any thing upon this point. It is pretty certain that England will oppose any joint interference by the great powers, the result of which would be to throw the whole burden upon her, if it should become necessary to enforce any decision that might be taken; added to which, the weight of public opinion in England, in favor of the colonies is such that the Government would meet with serious difficulties in attempting to support Spain, except upon conditions in relation to the colonies, to which there is no probability she would agree.

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII. Daniel Sheldon, of Connecticut: Commissioned secretary of legation in France, April 3, 1816; acted as chargé d'affaires *ad interim* from July 18 to October 6, 1817, from August 12 to October 27, 1818, and from May 16, 1823 to March 30, 1824.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 61.

³ See above, pt. VII, docs. 720 and 721.

*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, November 5, 1818.

SIR: On my arrival here from London, on the 27th ultimo, I found your letter of the 20th of August² last, No. 9, and have since been engaged in collecting such information as might enable me to give a satisfactory answer to your enquiry.

With the previous views and feelings OF THIS GOVERNMENT I WAS WELL ACQUAINTED; BUT THEIR CONDUCT AND INDEED THAT OF SPAIN IN THE CASE TO WHICH YOU allude, may be materially affected by the result of THE CONGRESS OF AIX LA CHAPELLE ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SPANISH COLONIES. To that point my enquiries have been principally directed; and, although THE ABSENCE OF THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU AND OF THE RUSSIAN MINISTER AT THIS COURT has deprived me of my most direct and best means of information, I have reason to believe that the following statement is nearly correct.

AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA DISLIKE ANY MEDIATION OR OTHER DIRECT INTERFERENCE. RUSSIA AND FRANCE PRESS THAT ON any other measure which, without COMMITTING THEM TOO FAR MAY BE favorable to the views of SPAIN. ENGLAND IS AVERSE TO A JOINT MEDIATION BUT DOES NOT WISH TO APPEAR TO BE THE CAUSE OF ITS being offered. The consequence OF THESE DIFFERENT VIEWS IS THAT NOTHING HAS AS YET been done; and it is generally BELIEVED EVEN BY MR. HAUTERIVE WHO HAS THE DEPARTMENT of foreign affairs during the absence of the Duke de Richelieu, THAT NO FORMAL OFFER OF MEDIATION WILL BE MADE BUT SOME VOTE expressive of the wishes of THE ALLIED POWERS may be entered ON THE PROTOCOL which will be COMMUNICATED TO SPAIN AND PERHAPS be published.

With respect to THIS GOVERNMENT, CONNECTED AS IT IS WITH SPAIN by political considerations AND BY FAMILY TIES I ALARMED [*sic*] as it feels, and this feeling has not been AT ALL CONCEALED FROM ME, at the appearance of anything which seems connected with REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES, IT CAN NOT be doubted that the RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE of any of the SPANISH COLONIES will be viewed MOST UNFAVORABLY and will affect our STANDING, IF NOT OUR RELATIONS WITH THIS COURT. It must be observed that ALTHO' THIS GOVERNMENT IS IN MANY respects a constitutional monarchy, it is NOT SO IN THE SENSE in which we generally understand it so far as relates to the EXECUTIVE BRANCH. The feelings and the opinion of THE KING HAVE A FAR GREATER influence, particularly over his Minister than in England. WITH THE NATION AT LARGE WE ARE favorites; the ministers are PERFECTLY

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 61.

AWARE OF OUR political importance and growing power; and these considerations have their weight EVEN WITH THE COURT. Notwithstanding those recollections which connect OUR REVOLUTION WITH THAT OF FRANCE, and although OUR REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS excite apprehension, *we are* certainly considered, even by those WHO DETEST them most, as a regular, and, to use their fashionable designation, AS A LEGITIMATE Government. But OUR public RECOGNITION of the INDEPENDENCE of an INSURGENT COLONY will SHOCK ALL THEIR FEELINGS AND prejudices.

I thought that the best mode to ward off any effect from that cause, unfavorable to our interest, was to prepare them for the event. Anticipating what from the former proceedings of Congress appeared probable, I had upon every occasion stated, that the general opinion of the people of the United States must irresistibly lead TO SUCH A RECOGNITION, that it was not a question of interest but of feeling, and that this arose much less from the wish of seeing new republics established, than from that of the emancipation of Spanish America from Europe. That emancipation was ultimately unavoidable, the charm which had kept that country so long in subjection being now broken, and those colonies being with respect to territory and population, out of all proportion with Spain. We had not either directly or indirectly excited the insurrection. It had been the spontaneous act of the inhabitants and the natural effect of causes which neither the United States nor Europe could have controlled. We had lent no assistance to either party; we had preserved and intended to preserve a strict neutrality. But no European Government could be surprised or displeased that in such a cause our wishes should be in favor of the success of the colonies, or that we should treat as independent powers those amongst them which had in fact established their independence. These sentiments I had expressed IN ENGLAND AND IN FRANCE, TO THE MINISTER of those and of the other EUROPEAN POWERS with whom the opportunity offered to discuss the subject; amongst others I had a long conversation with LORD CASTLEREAGH; and since my return here, I have repeated them to MR. HAUTERIVE, with a request that he would COMMUNICATE THEM, AS MY DECIDED OPINION, TO THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU AT AIX LA CHAPELLE. I need hardly add that those declarations were made, without committing my Government, without pretending to know its intentions in that respect, but as, arising from an intimate conviction that the event (OUR RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF BUENOS AYRES) must necessarily take place at no very distant period. In my last conversation with MR. HAUTERIVE I stated it as probable that it COULD NOT BE DELAYED BEYOND this ensuing SESSION OF CONGRESS.

MR. HAUTERIVE expressed his great sorrow at such intimation, and some surprise that THIS RECOGNITION should be so near at hand. Yet he acknowledged THAT THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU was in some degree PREPARED FOR IT, THO' NOT so immediately, not only from my former suggestions, but also

from MR. DE NEUVILLE'S CORRESPONDENCE, and from a memoir prepared at the DUKE'S REQUEST BY MR. SERURIER; both of which corroborated my opinion on the subject. Without alluding to the FEELINGS OF FRANCE, he expatiated on our happy situation, on our future destinies, and on the want of sufficient motive for putting BY A HASTY STEP OUR CERTAIN prospects to any HAZARD: For if we intended, as I said to PRESERVE OUR NEUTRALITY, he could not perceive of what utility OUR NOMINAL RECOGNITION COULD BE TO THE COLONIES. He considered it also as of great importance that the United States should to a certain extent be connected with the European system of politics. Their point of contact was the sea, and there they had been eminently useful to the general cause of social order and of civilization, by maintaining alone and preserving the maritime rights at the time they were crushed or abandoned every where else. He would see us with great regret raising in some degree the standard of America against Europe, AND THEREBY ENABLING OUR ONLY RIVAL TO EXCITE A GENERAL JEALOUSY AGAINST US. As to the PROPOSED MEDIATION, he said that he disliked it, since it would be unjust and impracticable to support it, as he termed it, by a crusade, and as the proffer of it as a purely friendly office, had to him the appearance of an informal recognition of the colonies as independent powers. Yet, IF SOME THING was not done IN COMMON, the whole subject would FALL EXCLUSIVELY IN THE HANDS OF G. B. But what else could in his opinion be done, unless it was to give some JOINT WHOLESOME ADVICE TO THE KING OF SPAIN, I could not understand.

I assured him that, although the United States never could have joined in any plan having for its basis THE RETURN OF THE COLONIES TO THE SUPREMACY OF SPAIN, yet they would have been desirous of knowing with precision the views of THE EUROPEAN POWERS and of communicating their own, in order that their respective measures might have diverged as little as comported with those views. But although it should have been evident that without the concert of the United States nothing efficient or durable could be done in America, they never had been consulted, nor till very lately, AND THAT BY ENGLAND ALONE, any communication made to them of what was intended or wished on that subject by ANY OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS. Yet more than one year ago, and without having had time to receive instructions from my Government, seeing a growing tendency HERE AND IN RUSSIA to interfere between Spain and her colonies, I had conversed freely and with perfect candor BOTH WITH THE MINISTER OF RUSSIA AND WITH THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU, DEPRECATING THE intended interference, and earnestly inviting a friendly communication of the views of both Governments to my own. Nothing of the kind had been done: the course of events had not in the meanwhile been arrested; these had been favorable to the cause of the colonies; and Spain had done nothing to retard the decision of the United States. She had neither applied to Mexico and Peru, where she still had the power to do it

without any mediation, those liberal measures calculated, as it was presumed in Europe, to reconcile the colonies to her Government, nor taken any efficient steps to arrange her differences with ourselves to our satisfaction. Since there was no motive for the Government of the United States to act contrary to what was known every where to be the public national opinion, its decision must have been naturally expected. Still it was extremely desirable that measures should not be adopted BY THE EUROPEAN POWERS which should be diametrically opposed to those which might be pursued by MY GOVERNMENT; and it was for that purpose that ANTICIPATING THO' WITHOUT positive and official information, WHAT THOSE might be, I made this free though unofficial communication to him, in order that THE SOVEREIGNS AT AIX LA CHAPPELLE SHOULD NOT AT LEAST come to a final determination, without knowing every thing which might have some influence over it.

MR. HAUTERIVE SAID that he certainly would communicate immediately TO THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU what I had said; and I have no doubt that he will ALSO STATE IT TO THE KING. HE TOOK OCCASION from my allusion to our own affairs with Spain, TO SAY, that the powers of MR. ERVING having been found inefficient, the negotiation had again been transferr'd to Washington, THAT ONIS had received full instructions to that effect, which instructions had been communicated TO THE FRENCH EMBASSADOR AT MADRID, that they had been sent BY PIZZARO AND RENEWED SINCE HIS DISMISSION and that he still hoped that they would lead to an arrangement which would prevent us from taking such decisive step AGAINST SPAIN as the recognition of the independence of Buenos Ayres. He did not appear to me to be well informed with the nature OF THE INSTRUCTIONS, as he seemed to think that A CESSION OF FLORIDA was not contemplated: but he said that although our claim to A WESTERN BOUNDARY was too extensive, Spain had been induced TO YIELD CONSIDERABLY in that respect. I told him that I wished extremely but really had no expectation that SPAIN had given such instructions as would lead to an arrangement. HE ALLUDED IN DECENT TERMS TO THE STUPIDITY OR OBSTINACY OF FERDINAND, but still thought, although it had taken place long before his having THE TEMPORARY CARE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND HE had not examined the subject critically, that the efforts of FRANCE TO INDUCE THAT MONARCH to arrange the differences WITH US had succeeded.

I left however, MR. HAUTERIVE under such an impression that the recognition was unavoidable, that he expressed a hope that we would GIVE IT A form such that it should not be an act of HOSTILITY AGAINST SPAIN. I answered that it would certainly be our wish that it should NOT BE CONSIDERED AS SUCH. I must acknowledge to you that this appears to me rather difficult, and that I think THE WEAKNESS OF SPAIN AND the fear of the consequences OF A WAR are the only motives which can induce HER NOT to consider such declaration in any form whatever AS AN ACT OF DIRECT HOSTILITY.

But I am at the same time clearly of opinion that whatever course SPAIN MAY PURSUE, and however displeased this Government may be with OUR CONDUCT in that respect, FRANCE WILL NOT JOIN WITH SPAIN IN A WAR AGAINST US on that account, and that SHE WILL USE HER endeavors TO PREVENT that country FROM ENGAGING IN it. I think that RUSSIA WILL ALSO BE DISPLEASED AND will nevertheless unite with FRANCE IN PREVENTING A WAR. Whether SPAIN WILL ALSO ADVISED [*sic*] is a very different question and on which I can give no opinion, that Government having THE HABIT OF ACTING CONTRARY TO its interest AND TO THE expectations of ITS MOST SINCERE FRIENDS.

With respect to G. B., there is not, I believe, any danger OF HER joining at this time IN A WAR AGAINST US. But I suspect that SHE WOULD see one between us AND SPAIN WITHOUT REGRET. SHE HAS no objection to the independence of the colonies, particularly if SHE CAN ENJOY its benefits, without BREAKING WITH SPAIN OR the other European powers, and if it is done AT OUR EXPENCE.

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*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, November 7, 1818.

SIR: I have this moment received a private letter from Aix la Chapelle, dated the 2d instant, containing the following information.

"THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU has communicated to THE MINISTERS OF THE ALLIED POWERS, that THE SPANISH EMBASSADOR at Paris had stated to MR. HAUTERIVE that THE KING OF SPAIN would not claim the MEDIATION OF THE ALLIED POWERS WITH HER COLONIES and that AN OFFICIAL declaration to that effect was expected FROM MADRID."

Although MR. HAUTERIVE did not state this to me, it is not inconsistent with the general tenor of his conversation, and may account for his express declaration against THE PROPRIETY OF A MEDIATION.

My informant adds that in THE CONFERENCES ON THE question of THE SPANISH COLONIES, LORD CASTLEREAGH communicated what had passed between HIM AND MR. RUSH, with whose frank declarations made BY ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT he expressed himself perfectly satisfied. HIS LORDSHIP added his belief that THE INDEPENDENCE OF SOME OF THE COLONIES would be RECOGNISED during the next SESSION OF CONGRESS AND DEPRECATED THE IDEA OF interfering with this subject in any shape likely to produce a misunderstanding with THE U. S.

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

The means of information of THE PERSON WHO WRITES TO ME are good, and what adds to the probability of his statement is, that he had no previous knowledge whatever, either of any communications from MR. RUSH TO LORD CASTLEREAGH on that subject, or that I had expressed to HIS LORDSHIP the opinion that THE INDEPENDENCE would be RECOGNISED BY THE U. S.

I have the honor [etc.].

P. S. 8th November. COUNT PALMELLA told me last night, that LORD CASTLEREAGH had declared AT AIX LA CHAPELLE THAT ENGLAND could not agree to THE MEDIATION without an express reservation that FORCES SHOULD NOT BE USED; and that the EMBASSADOR OF SPAIN here had delivered notes to THE MINISTERS OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA stating that HIS KING could not accept THE MEDIATION with such express reservation. Those statements agreeing in substance, though differing in some details, leave little doubt as to the truth of the main fact, that there will be NO MEDIATION, and that ENGLAND HAS contrived to DEFEAT IT.

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Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, December 10, 1818.

I have not been able to ascertain whether any agreement has taken place on the subjects in which we are concerned. LORD CASTLEREAGH told me that he did not at this moment feel at liberty to communicate what might have been determined on the subject of the Spanish colonies. THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU gave me to understand that nothing decisive had been agreed on in that respect. I believe this to be the fact. The plan of sending THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO SPAIN has been abandoned. The subject of depredations by vessels sailing under the flag of some of the colonies or local authorities was not touched in any of the conversations I had with the ministers of the several powers.

These conversations have confirmed me in the opinions which I gave in my dispatch of the 5th of November,² and to which I beg leave to refer. I mentioned to THE DUKE DE RICHELIEU the substance of what I had written to you respecting the feelings of FRANCE in case the United States should recognize the independence of Buenos Ayres, and he did not hesitate to say

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XVIII. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

² See above, pt. VII, doc. 723. v

that my statement was very correct. He expressed his hope that the contingency would not take place, and that the differences between the United States and Spain would be arranged. From the general tenor of the conversation, I was, however, satisfied that in the case of war with her, an event which would be considered here as very unfortunate, there was not any expectation that FRANCE would take an active part in it.

Both HE AND POZZO speak with confidence of the expedition now preparing at Cadiz sailing [*sic*] in the spring with eight or ten thousand men. The conquest of Buenos Ayres is stated to me as the avowed object, taking first possession of Montevideo, which the Portuguese have agreed to restore, provided a sufficient force is sent by Spain. The convention, however, after so many delays is not yet signed. The *projet* of offering to Buenos Ayres a Spanish prince as Sovereign is again spoken of.

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*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, January 4, 1819.

SIR: I have not been able to obtain any further material information of what had passed at Aix-la-Chapelle on the subject of the Spanish colonies. So far as it goes, it corroborates the statement given in my former dispatches. From an authentic source I hear that when it was proposed that the Duke of Wellington should go to Spain charged with joint powers from the five great allies, to act as mediator between her and the colonies, he (whether in his own, or in the name of Great Britain I am not informed) made it a preliminary, 1st that Spain should renew her application for a mediation; 2ndly that the determination on the part of the allies not to use force should appear on the face of the act of mediation. It was then proposed by Russia and France, that if these preliminaries were agreed to, the allies should also bind themselves by a public act not to entertain any political or commercial relations with such of the insurgent colonies as might reject the proposals which would be ultimately agreed to by the mediators, as a proper basis of reconciliation. This having been declared by Great Britain to be altogether impossible, the whole project was abandoned.

Yet from a conversation with Nesselrode, and from some other circumstances, I infer that some entry, expressive of the wishes of the allies in favor of Spain has been made on the protocol, and that she has been advised to adopt of her own accord, with respect to the colonies which acknowledge

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XIX.

her authority, those conciliatory measures which she had proposed as the basis of the intended mediation with the insurgent provinces.

It appears also, as stated in my former dispatch, to have been the intention of Spain to send the armament now preparing at Cadiz to Buenos Ayres, as the best means of preventing an invasion of Peru, and even with the hope that if that city, which is considered as the focus of the insurrection, was captured, the interior provinces of La Plata and Chili would soon return to their former allegiance. But this plan was founded on the previous surrender of Montevideo by the Portuguese; and this event is now indefinitely postponed, the negotiations which had been carried on here for more than twelve months between Portugal and Spain, being altogether suspended, if not broken off; and Count Palmella having accordingly returned to England. On what point the negotiation ultimately broke off I have not yet been informed. The consequence however, is, that the Cadiz expedition is now destined for Chili and Peru; and the events of the opening campaign in Venezuela, may again change that destination.

The President's speech has been very well received; and the apparent determination to adhere to the line of conduct heretofore pursued with respect to the Spanish colonies is very agreeable to all the Governments, particularly to Russia and to France. This was explicitly stated to me by Nesselrode. I think that my efforts in preventing the interference of the European powers have not been altogether useless; but the result is certainly due principally to Great Britain. The effects of her policy in that question begin to be understood here; and many of the statesmen of this country regret that a similar course should not be adopted by France. But the simultaneous restoration of the two branches of the house of Bourbon to the thrones of Spain and France seems to have given new strength to family ties; and these appear to have more influence than consists with the commercial interests of this country, and prevent the adoption of a system of neutrality which would give France a share in the commerce of the Spanish colonies.

I have the honor [etc.].

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Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

PARIS, January 20, 1819.

SIR: I have understood since the date of my dispatch of the 4th instant,² that the negotiations between Spain and Portugal broke off on the following ground.

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XIX.

² See above, pt. VII, doc. 726.

It had with reluctance been agreed by Spain that Montevideo, on being restored, should continue, as it now is, open to the commerce of foreign nations. But she declared afterwards that this concession was connected with the expectation of the intended mediation of the European allies between her and her colonies, and that this having failed, she could no longer consent to the condition thus attached to the restoration of Montevideo. Portugal insisted, and being, of course, supported by Great Britain, the negotiations were adjourned. It is suspected by some that the new ministry of Spain finding it impracticable or inconvenient to send to that quarter the 8000 men agreed on, thought it eligible to alledge another pretence for suspending the negociation. But conjectures on the motives which actuate that Government are so vague that it is difficult to ascertain any thing beyond public facts.

I have the honor [etc.].

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Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, February 19, 1810.

THE BRITISH EMBASSADOR called on me more than a fortnight ago, to communicate to me, at the request of DESSOLE, the Spanish decree for putting to death all foreigners taken in arms under insurgent banners or carrying them munitions of war. Both were extremely dissatisfied with it, and aware of the effect it might produce in England and in the United States. Strong representations would be immediately made against it by the FRENCH, and, it was expected, by the BRITISH Government. Both, it was said, derived an additional right of doing it from the representations they had agreed to make to the United States on the subject of insurgent privateers.

I have also understood that THIS GOVERNMENT had prevented the execution of a contract made at Bordeaux for supplying Spain with transports for the Cadiz expedition to America, from a fear that it would injure the commercial interests of the country in the insurgent colonies, and perhaps expose it to depredations on the high seas.

I have the honor [etc.].

*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, February 15, 1820.

SIR: General Vives, the new minister of Spain to the United States, arrived at Paris on the 11th instant, and left it on the 14th for London, with the intention to embark at Liverpool in the New York packet which will sail on the 1st day of March.

Mr. Pasquier, after having seen him, invited me to an interview on the 12th, and said that he was in hopes that the differences might still be adjusted. General Vives had told him that the principal points with Spain were, that the honor of the Crown should be saved (*mis à couvert*) in the business of the grants, and to receive satisfactory evidence of our intention to preserve a fair neutrality in the colonial war. Mr. Pasquier had observed to him that it would be a matter of deep regret that private interest should prevent the conclusion of such an important arrangement; and that, when it was clear that there had been at least a misunderstanding on the subject, the King's dignity could not be injured by a resumption of the grants, or by an exchange for other lands. He seemed to think that this would be arranged, and asked me what I thought we could do respecting the other point. I answered that the fullest reliance might be placed on the fairness of our neutrality, and that I was really at a loss to know what could be added to the measures the United States had already adopted to enforce it. Mr. Pasquier gave me to understand that, if there was any defect, however trifling, in our laws, and that was amended, it would probably be sufficient to satisfy the pride of Spain, and there now appeared a real desire to ratify, provided it could be done without betraying a glaring inconsistency. He had expressed to General Vives his opinion of the impropriety of asking from the United States any promise not to recognise the independence of the insurgent colonies, and had told him that on that subject Spain could only rely on the moral effect which a solemn treaty, accommodating all her differences with the United States, would have on their future proceedings.

I expressed my hope that the explanations which General Vives was instructed to give on the subject of the grants, and to ask on that of our neutrality, might be such as to remove all the existing difficulties. But it was most important that he should arrive in the United States before the adjournment of Congress, and that he should be the bearer of the King's ratification of the treaty, so that, if every thing was arranged, those ratifications might be at once exchanged at Washington. If that was not done, the President could have no more security that the King would ratify General Vives's than Mr. Onís's acts; and it was impossible to suppose that he would run the risk

¹ *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, IV, 678.

of a second disappointment. This observation forcibly struck Mr. Pasquier, who said that he would make further inquiries on that point.

I saw, the same evening, the Spanish ambassador at this court, and, in the course of a short conversation, he suggested that the grants in dispute might be set aside, the grantees not having fulfilled certain conditions or formalities; and, after acknowledging that General Vives was not the bearer of the King's ratification, he hinted that he was authorized to give the United States satisfactory security that Spain would fulfill her engagements.

On the 13th I dined at the Minister of Foreign Affairs' with General Vives, who repeated to me in substance what he had said to Mr. Pasquier. I told him that the President would judge of the explanations he had to give on the subject of the grants; that he might rely on the determination of the United States to preserve their neutrality, and not less on the manner in which the laws for enforcing it were executed, than on the tenor of those laws, which, I observed, were, and had always been, more full and efficient than those of either England or France on the same subject; that I could not say whether the question of recognising the independence of the insurgent colonies would be agitated during the present session of Congress, but that, if it was, the decision would probably have taken place before his arrival.

I then repeated what I had said to Mr. Pasquier respecting the importance of his being authorized to exchange the ratifications of the treaty. He answered that, although he was not, he could, in case of an arrangement, give satisfactory security to the United States, and that it would consist in consenting that they should take immediate possession of Florida, without waiting for the ratification of the treaty.

General Vives repeated, in the course of the evening, the same thing to Mr. Pasquier, with whom I had afterwards a short conversation on the subject. He seemed extremely astonished that the Spanish Government should have adopted that course rather than to authorize their minister to exchange at once the ratifications. Since, however, the measure they proposed coincided with the views of the President as stated in his message, and would, at all events, prevent a rupture, we both agreed that no time should be lost in communicating to you General Vives's declarations.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, April 26, 1822.

The recognition of the independence of the Spanish American provinces by the United States was rather unexpected, as the message of the President

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XIX. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

² *Ibid.*, XXI.

at the opening of the session had led to suppose that it would be postponed another year. I think however, that it is not generally unfavorably received, and this principally on account of the hatred of all the Governments against that of Spain. Great Britain of course likes it and will be glad of a pretence to do the same thing substantially, though probably not in the same fair and decisive way. The other lesser maritime powers have the same feelings. Russia has now other objects to engross her attention. The continental powers are indifferent about it. For the feelings and opinions of this Government I think I may refer you to the last numbers of the *Journal des Débats*, on the subject both of Mr. Zea's note, and of the report of Congress on the President's message. It was not my fault that that note was not better drawn. The MINISTERS HAVE NOT mentioned the subject to me; BUT MONSIEUR who always expresses himself in a very friendly way towards the United States, told me that he apprehended the "moral" effect of our recognition on the revolutionary spirit of Europe. I observed that ours was only the declaration of a fact, that this fact, which was undoubtedly a very important political event, was simply that America having acquired the power had determined to be no longer governed by Europe; that to this, when it had taken place, we must necessarily have given our sanction; that we had done it without any reference to the forms of Government adopted by the several provinces; and that the question being one of national independence was really altogether unconnected with any of those, respecting internal institutions, which agitated Europe.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Albert Gallatin, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

NEW YORK, June 24, 1823.

I did not leave Mr. de Chateaubriand without adverting to the affairs of Spain. That our sympathies were entirely on her side & that we considered the war made on her by France as unjust I did not pretend to conceal: but I added that the United States would undoubtedly preserve their neutrality provided it was respected, and avoid every interference with the politics of Europe. Even in the questions connected with South America they had not interfered, & although their wishes were not doubtful, they had neither excited or assisted the Spanish colonies. But I had every reason to believe that, on the other hand, they would not suffer others to interfere against the

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXI.

emancipation of America. If France was successful in her attack on Spain and afterwards attempted either to take possession of some of her colonies, or to assist her in reducing them under their former yoke, I was of opinion that the United States would oppose every undertaking of this kind, and that it might force them into an alliance with Great Britain. Mr. de Chateaubriand answered in the most explicit manner that France would not make any attempt whatever of that kind or in any manner interfere in the American questions. If he was sincere, he must have received some hint from the British Government similar to mine; for you may recollect that declaration that the armies & *fleets* of France would be at the disposal of Spain whenever Ferdinand was restored to his former power.

I have spoken in the same manner and as explicitly on that subject to the Ambassador of Russia; and I added that the Spanish colonies might remain such as long as it suited them, but that, if not Spanish colonies, they must be altogether independent, & that we would not consider the establishment of a Bourbon or other European Prince in Mexico or Peru as tantamount to independence. Let them choose their own forms of Government provided they were free of any foreign influence whatever. I took the opportunity to speak of Russian America & to observe how contrary to sound policy it was to attempt to extend settlements in that remote quarter, without any real national advantage—& without the means of protecting them in case of rupture with any maritime power. General Pozzo di Borgo seemed to coincide with me in opinion on both points. I think that he fears that the part taken by Great Britain in the Spanish affairs may have a tendency to unite us with her.

I have the honour [etc.].

732

*Daniel Sheldon, Jr., United States Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Paris, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, October 18, 1823.

The question of the colonies will immediately follow. There is a disposition here to interfere actively in it; and this disposition is encouraged by the same councils from other parts of Europe as were exerted to produce the interference in the affairs of the mother-country. Nothing will prevent it unless it be the certain and open opposition of England, which it is now sufficiently evident would not be confined to a simple negative vote as at Verona. The plan which was early suggested, of granting a nominal independence to the colonies, in prevailing upon them to accept princes of the house of Spain

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

for sovereigns, on thrones established in the colonies themselves, has not been abandoned. This plan does not promise much success, but as it may be prosecuted without the intervention, at least in the outset, of open force, and the direct collision with England may thus be avoided, it has been and still is favorably viewed here. Attempts to carry it into execution are still making, and they will be continued as long as the internal divisions and unsettled state of the colonies shall render their destiny uncertain.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Daniel Sheldon, Jr., United States Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Paris, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

Private.

PARIS, October 30, 1823.

SIR: Soon after the date of my dispatch of the 18th of this month,² I was informed by THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR that he had conferred with the French ministers (M. de Chateaubriand and M. de Villele) on the subject of the Spanish American colonies. He told me that his object had been to prevent them from engaging hastily in any measures relating to those colonies, and that he had insisted that whatever measures might be taken, should be adopted in common, and after consultation among the powers really interested in the question, which were ENGLAND FRANCE AND THE U. S. ALONE, the interest of the GREAT CONTINENTAL POWERS OF EUROPE being, on this particular point, ONLY OF A SECONDARY NATURE. The French ministers assured him that they would undertake nothing by themselves, and that the subject should be brought forward for mutual consideration. In the *Journal des Débats*, the ministerial paper, of today, will be found an article confirming entirely this principle. It is however, most probable that France will insist upon the concurrence of the CONTINENTAL POWERS, and will reject entirely that of THE U. S. The subject has never been mentioned to me in any way whatever by any of the French ministers. The motive for this course on their part is obvious enough:—the United States having acknowledged the independence of the colonies, they cannot be expected to concur in or assent to any measures not having that result for their basis; and they are not yet prepared here to go that length, though it is difficult to conceive that ENGLAND will consent to any plan which would again place the colonies under the dominion of Spain. At all events, no steps are likely to be taken hastily or immediately in relation to those countries; and indeed, the affairs of the mother-

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII. The portions of this document printed in small capital letters were received in cipher.

² See above pt. VII, doc. 732.

country will yet require for some time all the cares of this government. The article of the *Journal des Débates* announces that councils of moderation have at last made some impression on the King. The course he was taking alarmed not only the ministry, but the politicians here who are many degrees higher toned than the ministry. Even RUSSIA is obliged to insist upon moderation, and POZZO WHO IS GONE TO MADRID will exercise the influence OF THAT POWER to soften down the system THE KING is disposed to adopt, and which from his UNTRACTABLE NATURE there is great difficulty in persuading him to abandon.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Daniel Sheldon, Jr., United States Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Paris, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, November 29, 1823.

SIR: The decision and firmness which England has shown on the question of the Spanish American colonies have produced their effect. It could hardly be otherwise, when it was once clearly ascertained that she would oppose herself by force against any foreign armed intervention in that question. When to this was added the conviction that the United States, if they did not engage openly on the same side, would be led by their feelings and their interests to favor the cause of the colonies, and to afford those indirect aids to which their position gives such facilities, and which an apparent neutrality never can exclude when in opposition to motives of such powerful influence, it became obvious that the attempt to subdue those colonies for Spain by a foreign force, would certainly be unsuccessful, and would probably involve Europe in a general war. The project, therefore, is abandoned: a congress to consider the subject will not be called together. It will be examined and discussed with other subjects which interest the Spanish monarchy, by the ministers of the different European powers at Madrid. On the part of France there is a disposition to adopt and to recommend a system of moderation in treating this question as well as the others connected with the pacification of that country. They have here found it necessary to throw themselves upon that side throughout the whole range of Spanish affairs, to prevent the fatal steps that exaggerated counsels would have induced, to which there was but too much disposition to listen.

A desire prevailed at Madrid to take up the affairs of the colonies at the point where the revolution of 1820 found them, and to send out now the expeditions against them, which were in a train of preparation at that moment. The total impossibility to do this except by foreign assistance, and the re-

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

fusal of this assistance by the only power that could afford it, has put an end to the project. Nothing will be done but to make some attempts at negotiation, and some efforts to draw certain advantages, not from a recognition of independence, which will not at the present moment be granted, but from an engagement to suspend hostilities, or to form a species of extended armistice, during which commercial intercourse and other relations of a state of peace may be resumed. This is the most reasonable project in relation to the colonies, leaving out of the question the acknowledgment of independence, that has yet been brought forward for the adoption of Spain, and I believe it may be relied upon that it will be pressed by the French Government. It is difficult to conceive that it should not be acceded to, however little disposition may really exist at Madrid in its favor. The state of total disorder which exists in every branch of the public service throughout the kingdom, and above all in the finances, which no credit and no confidence relieve or assist, render it impossible to adopt any other plan that can offer better chances of success. England will not oppose it, and may perhaps, when the project of using force is really laid aside, postpone at least for a time her formal recognition of independence and confine herself to the preservation in those countries of her agents nominally clothed with a commercial character only. The additional armaments, both military and naval, which England is making, while they prove the intention of being prepared for the events that may arise in the American hemisphere, are not so considerable as was represented. The French Government is putting out of commission several of their ships of war, and have already discharged and are discharging numbers of their seamen; circumstances which prove their sincerity in disavowing the intention of extending their armed interference to the colonies of Spain, and confirm the belief that those colonies will not be forced much longer to sustain the disastrous conflict by which they have been so many years desolated.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*Daniel Sheldon, Jr., United States Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Paris, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, January 18, 1824.

SIR: The only step that has yet been taken in relation to the Spanish colonies is the application by the King of Spain to the allied powers for their mediation. Even this has not reached Paris in form but is expected daily. It is addressed to England as well as to the four continental powers. The ministers at Paris already possess instructions under which they may at least

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

open their conferences without waiting for a new authority from their respective courts. But some time will still be necessary before any definite plan can be matured and adopted. The idea of the employment of force appearing to be generally abandoned, it can only be a question of propositions to be made to the colonies of such a nature as shall be decided by the allied powers to be reasonable, and of such a character as will offer at least a probability of being accepted by the colonies.

The plan of demanding from them a gross sum as the price of the recognition of their independence, but disguised under the name of compensation for the royal domains, the public edifices, fortifications, royal fifths in the produce of the mines &c. has been much spoken of, but it is rather a project of the bankers and money-lenders than of the statesmen; it is not much relished in Spain, where nothing but their extreme penury and the possibility of making it serve as a basis for a loan, would induce them to listen to it at all, and is besides not very likely to be favorably received in the colonies.

The bad reception which has been given in Mexico to the French agents sent there to sound the public feeling towards the plan of sending out princes of the Spanish family to govern them, has somewhat diminished the hopes which were entertained of being able at once to carry that project into execution. But this project is not abandoned. I consider it to be certain that whatever measures may at this moment be adopted, and which the force of circumstances may compel Spain and the allied powers to consent to temporarily, it is this plan which they intend shall finally prevail. To preserve the colonies (those at least of the continent) under the dominion of Spain, degenerated and enfeebled as that kingdom has become, it is now obvious to every impartial observer, is wholly impossible. It is this conviction, which induces the allied powers the more readily to renounce their projects of assisting Spain with their forces to recover that dominion. If recovered, it could not be preserved, except by the same assistance; and the benefits to be derived from a dominion of this precarious nature, threatening at every moment to escape from the hands which held it, would not compensate for the cares and above all for the expenses which it would perpetually occasion. Such being the state of the case, the system of the allied powers leads them naturally and necessarily to the adoption of a plan by which, in the first place, the monarchical form of government shall be established in those countries, and in the second place, that the principle of legitimacy shall be at least so far preserved as that the throne or thrones to be set up shall not go out of the family that has heretofore held the countries where they are to be instituted as a part of its possessions.

It is hardly practicable to bring forward this plan, to be presented openly to the colonies for their acceptance at this moment. It is too evident that it would be universally rejected, and in a manner and with feelings that would injure essentially for the future, the cause it is intended to support. It is for

this reason that it still appears to me most probable that the plan to be adopted at the present conferences will be that mentioned in a preceding letter, the basis of which is an unlimited armistice or suspension of hostilities between the mother-country and the insurgent colonies, the renewal of friendly relations between them, and the granting to the former of certain commercial privileges. It is hoped that these terms will be accepted by the colonies without a formal recognition of independence, and if acceded to by them, will leave Spain and the allied powers all the time and all the opportunities they may want for preparing the way throughout the whole extent of those countries for the introduction and the acceptance voluntarily by the inhabitants, of their other and ultimate system, that of a monarchy and a Bourbon prince or princes at its head. The cessation of hostilities will afford greater facilities for the operations necessary to bring about this end. Less vigilance and less suspicion are likely to be excited by the presence of agents or emissaries; advantage may be taken of the internal divisions in the different colonies; these may be fostered or excited; in short, whatever measures may be necessary to disgust the inhabitants with their situation, to render it uncomfortable and unprosperous, to excite wishes for a change, and to present in flattering colors that which they design to effect; all these measures may find the opportunity for execution. Various other considerations, upon which it is unnecessary to enlarge, concur to recommend this course to the adoption of the allied powers, and, either with or without modifications, is certainly more likely than any other, to obtain their approbation.

Some apprehension has existed here, as well as at Madrid, in relation to Cuba, it being known that there existed in that island not only a certain number of partizans of independence, but a much greater portion of the population in favor of the constitutional system. The King has thought it necessary or useful, quite lately, to issue a formal decree, abolishing this system and all its consequences, throughout all the Spanish colonies. It was feared that opposition would be made in Cuba to the reintroduction of the ancient system, whether as the result of a formal decree for that purpose, or as the natural consequence of the abolition of the constitution in the mother-country. But a person having or assuming the character of a deputy from Cuba, has lately passed through Paris on his way from that island to Madrid, who gives assurances, as it is said, that the colony will remain firm in its attachment to the mother-country, even in case of the re-introduction of the ancient system; it being always understood that the part of that system relating to commerce, and which has not in effect, for near twenty years been executed in Cuba, should continue to remain without effect there.

I have the honor [etc.].

*Daniel Sheldon, Jr., United States Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Paris, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, February 19, 1824.

SIR: The late decree of the King of Spain granting a general liberty of commerce to his American colonies, has just been published here. It will be found in the *Journal des Débats* of this day, together with an article, (the third or fourth that has been given in that paper and the *Moniteur*, within the four days since the existence of the decree has been known at Paris) to prove the great importance of the decree.

As the decree is in itself certainly of very little importance, and can produce no effect in the colonies, the pains taken to cry it up in the ministerial papers here, is, I think, rather of favourable augury. It may be used as a motive at least for delay in taking ulterior measures, and for avoiding those of a violent nature; and after the principles that have been put forward by the allied powers, there was some embarrassment to find a pretence for not putting in practice the only measures which could carry those principles into effect, that is, the employment of force against the colonies. As this cannot be done without encountering the opposition of England and of the United States, the Government of France is not disposed to attempt it, and will take advantage of this decree, to postpone or abandon any enterprise of that sort. It offers an opening also for propositions to, or negotiations with the colonies, which, if they lead to no favorable result, will still afford an opportunity to France to avoid engaging in the contest with them, without any apparent sacrifice of principles. The nature and extent of these propositions have not yet been decided. As there has been much difficulty to prevail upon the King of Spain to issue even this decree, there is little or no probability that he will consent to any thing that has much chance of being accepted by the colonies. It still appears to me that nothing can be expected to succeed at present, unless it be the plan of the armistice which has been previously mentioned; and the new decree may perhaps be considered as one step made towards its adoption.

I have the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States¹*

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, April 16, 1824.

I regret that I have not obtained any certain information, additional to what you already possess, relative to the plans of the allied Sovereigns, and to the policy they mean to adopt respecting the new Governments in our hemisphere. Since the publication of the President's message, the ministers of His Majesty here and the representatives of the other great powers of Europe have kept up an unusual degree of distance and reserve, as I have been informed, with the representative of our Government. Until I had been presented at court, I did not enjoy the advantage of an intercourse with those characters from whom accurate information might be expected, and since that has taken place, the necessary time has not elapsed for the interchange of those civilities which precede more free and unreserved conversations. From every thing which I have been able to learn since my arrival, I am inclined to the opinion that the views which Mr. Sheldon has taken of the policy of the allies respecting the Spanish American Governments in his letter of 12th January, No. 18,² are correct, and that no attempt will shortly be made to reduce the new Governments to subjection by an armed intervention. Indeed, so far as the argument in favor of this opinion rested on inferences drawn from the depressed condition of Spain, that argument, instead of being weakened, has gained strength since the date of that letter. It is very difficult to imagine how any country can be more wretched than Spain is at this time. Without money or the means of raising it by loans or taxes; without an army on which she can rely, and without the material from which to compose one; confidence as well public as private, at an end; such if we may credit the public journals, is the state of that distracted country. The King continues to reject the advice of the French Government, which has never ceased to recommend mild and conciliatory measures, and instead of granting the long promised act of amnesty, is daily pointing out new victims for the scaffold and extending the boundaries of proscription. It is not now expected that France will be able shortly to withdraw her troops from Spain. It is not then probable that any expedition will proceed from Spain against the colonies, and it is not believed that England will permit any expedition to be fitted out and sent by any other of the continental powers. The project however, although postponed is not entirely abandoned, and until force can be employed, the active exertions of the agents of the Euro-

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

² This appears to refer to Sheldon's dispatch of January 18, which is numbered 18 and which expresses the views here referred to. See above, pt. VII, doc. 735.

pean Sovereigns will be felt in those new republics. It will require all the vigilance of our Government to shut out the influence and principles of the Holy Alliance from our continent.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, May 28, 1824.

I have no reason to doubt the sincerity of the British Government in its expressions in favor of the independence of the new American states. They will in all probability wish that these states should establish monarchical Governments, and indeed I believe all the influence which the Government and its agents can exert, will be employed to induce them to prefer that form of government. It is not improbable that the return of Iturbide to Mexico may have been viewed favorably as tending to promote the establishment of systems at variance with the wishes of the Governments founded on popular principles. It is to be hoped however, that as his departure was anticipated by agents of the Government of Mexico, who undoubtedly, warned the Congress of his intentions, he may be a second time defeated in the guilty project of sacrificing the liberty of his country to his personal aggrandisement.

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams,
Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, August 11, 1824.

SIR: Commissioners appointed by President Boyer had been for some weeks in this city, endeavoring to conclude a treaty by which the island of St. Domingo shall be acknowledged free and independent. To obtain this acknowledgement, it is believed that the Government of Haiti offered to France, in addition to some commercial advantages in the ports of the island, a considerable sum of money to be applied as an indemnity to the former colonists, for the loss of their estates. The prospect of concluding an arrangement was for some time so favorable, that merchants in the sea-ports of France, had already prepared for opening a trade under the French flag with

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

St. Domingo, and the ancient proprietors, many of whom are in great penury, had collected their evidences of property, with a view of coming in for a share of the indemnity. The papers of today announce that this negotiation has terminated without resulting in any convention;—that the Agents of Haiti have gone to Havre; and propose to sail for St. Domingo in the course of a few days. It seems that France insisted upon retaining some kind of qualified sovereignty over the island, and that the Agents of Boyer had no power to treat on any other basis than that of absolute independence. The annexation of the Spanish portion of Santo Domingo to Haiti, increased the difficulty in making any treaty by which the independence of that Government would be recognized, as such a measure might have been considered a departure from the principles of the Holy Alliance. I have reason to believe that every possible effort was made to induce the Agents to enter into commercial engagements, leaving the question of independence as a subject of future adjustment between the two countries. This last however, having been the primary and main object of the mission, was considered as a *sine qua non* by the Agents of Haiti. The failure of this negotiation will create some uneasiness as well in the sea-port towns as amongst the ancient proprietors of estates in the island.

I have the honor [etc].

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

Private.

PARIS, January 30, 1825.

SIR: The President's message was received in this city on the 8th instant, and about the same time the determination of the British Government to form commercial treaties with Mexico and Columbia, and, successively, as they might give proof of their stability, with the other independent states of South America, was announced in the London papers. The message of the President at the opening of the congress of 1823 had so frankly disclosed the policy of the United States in relation to these countries, that the sentiments respecting them expressed in his last message were confidently anticipated and consequently excited neither surprise nor animadversion.

Mr. Canning's declaration made some months ago, that Great Britain could not much longer delay the recognition of the new Governments of America, had as I supposed, prepared the continental sovereigns for the course of policy which has been adopted in relation to them. In this supposition I find I have been incorrect. The measure has, so far as I can judge, excited on the part of the diplomatic agents of some of the continental

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

powers, surprise and disapprobation. They wait with anxiety for the instructions from their several courts which this measure will provoke, but until these instructions arrive, the subject will be treated with some reserve, even by those to whom the course of British policy is most disagreeable. They nevertheless speak of it as ill-timed, rash and unexpected, without expressing any opinion as to the consequences which may be produced by it.

I think it not improbable that Russia, Austria, Prussia and Spain will remonstrate strongly against the recognition of the colonies, and will endeavor to prevent any of the continental powers from following the example set by Great Britain and the United States. The King of the Netherlands has already sent agents to some of the American States and has manifested a disposition to open commercial relations with them. In France the manufacturing, navigating and commercial portion of the community, entertain perhaps exaggerated opinions as to the advantage which France might derive from a commercial intercourse with the ports of South America and of Haiti, and are inclined in favor of the recognition of their independence. The liberal journals sustain them in these opinions and represent the ministers as guilty of great neglect in having allowed the United States and England to divide the valuable trade of those countries to the entire exclusion of France. Indeed it cannot be doubted that the interests of France would be essentially promoted by imitating the policy of the United States and Great Britain in relation to South America. The expenses of the war in the peninsula and the large amount which will be added to the public debt, in case the law now before the chambers for the indemnity of emigrants shall pass, must place their finances in a situation which strongly recommends a pacific policy; and if peace can be preserved with Great Britain, without incurring a war with some or all of the continental powers, I think this Government will do all they can for the preservation of a state of tranquillity. It may also be worthy of remark that as the present ministry have derived much of their support from an opinion that the present high prices of the stocks are attributable to their judicious management of the finances of the Government, so they will incline to avoid war, which might immediately reduce the rate of the public securities. I am therefore inclined to believe that the acknowledgement of South American independence will not disturb the peace of Europe or produce any change in the relations subsisting between the continent and Great Britain.

The proceedings which may shortly be expected on the opening of Parliament, and the information we may in a few days receive from the several courts of the continent, will enable me in my next letter, to offer something upon which more reliance can be placed, as to the effects of this important act of British policy, upon the state of Europe, than on the loose conjectures hazarded in this communication.

I have the honor [etc.].

*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

Private.

PARIS, February 26, 1825.

SIR: The speech of the King of England on the opening of parliament and the debates of the two houses on the address in answer to it, have been published some days ago in the Paris journals. From the comments which have been made on these proceedings in the ministerial papers, and from opinions which I have heard expressed in the most intelligent political circles, I have been convinced that the conjecture which I hazarded in my private letter of the 30th of January,² that the peace of Europe would not be interrupted in consequence of the recognition of the late Spanish colonies by Great Britain, was correct; and I am now inclined to believe that the example set by the United States and England in relation to those countries, will, at no very distant day, be followed by Holland, France, and perhaps by others of the European States. However inclined some of the continental powers may feel to sustain the principles of the Holy Alliance in reference to South America, yet the difficulty, not to say impossibility, of a successful intervention, opposed as it would be by the naval power of Great Britain, cannot escape attention, and must decide them quietly to acquiesce in the policy adopted by the British Government. The total failure in the attempt to restore order and tranquillity in Spain, is calculated to discourage a similar attempt in relation to countries more distant, and offering prospects of success still less flattering.

In the progress of the law for indemnity to the emigrants, a member of the Chamber of deputies having intimated that war was probable, and contended that giving a sum so considerable to the emigrants would enfeeble France and prevent her from entering advantageously into the contest, the President of the council of ministers in reply, referred the house to the assurances of the duration of peace contained in the King's speech, and asserted that they were made with a full anticipation of all the circumstances which had since occurred. He also assured the house that if war was at all probable he would be the first to propose that the law then under consideration should be withdrawn. It is said that these declarations were made by Mr. de Villele after ascertaining the sentiments of Russia and Austria in relation to the Spanish colonies.

The King of Holland has already sent agents to some of the independent Governments, and it is believed here that the King of Sweden will adopt the same measure. The commercial and manufacturing population of France are very desirous of commencing mercantile operations with those countries;

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

² See above, pt. VII, doc. 740.

and the opposition papers attack ministers with great severity, accusing them of leaving to England and the United States, the commerce of South America, the value of which they do not fail greatly to exaggerate.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACTS]

Private.

PARIS, March 22, 1825.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose you a copy of the answer of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Madrid to the note of the Chargé d'Affaires of Great Britain of the 31st of December 1824² communicating the determination of the British Government to recognise the independence of the new republics in America. The substance of this document has appeared in some of the papers but I believe it has not yet been published at full length in any journal.

I have also enclosed a copy of a communication made, as I have understood, in cypher, by one of the diplomatic corps at London, and addressed to one of the ministers of the continent,³ which will give you some idea of the feeling with which the Emperor of Austria received the news of the recognition of the South American Governments by Great Britain. This paper was placed in my hands by a gentleman who entertains the most friendly sentiments towards our Government, and who has opportunities, from his situation to obtain for me information as to the intentions of the allied powers, which it may be of importance to communicate to you. He wishes that whatever he furnishes in this way should be received by you in confidence, and I have assured him that the most scrupulous secrecy would be observed by my Government.

Prince Metternich is here, and his arrival has given room for much speculation and conjecture. . . . I do not believe that the affairs of the late Spanish colonies have occasioned his journey, nor do I believe that any conferences will be held at Paris on that subject.

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

² Not printed in this collection. It is easily accessible in print elsewhere. Neither is the long answer of the Minister of Foreign Affairs at Madrid included.

³ Not printed in this collection.

James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States¹

Private.

PARIS, July 10, 1825.

SIR: The departure of the commissioners appointed last year by the Haitian Government for the purpose of negotiating with France for the Independence of that Republic, without having accomplished the object of their mission, gave rise to many complaints in the manufacturing and commercial Departments of the Kingdom in which an opinion generally prevails that a renewal of the intercourse with St. Domingo would essentially promote the shipping, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of this country. The opposition journals have never ceased to accuse Ministers of having lost a favourable opportunity of opening new outlets for the productions of France, and at the same time of obtaining from the Haitian Government, as a consideration for acknowledging its Independence, an indemnity for the ancient possessors, some of whom are now supported by public beneficence, whilst others are languishing in the most abject poverty. A strong current of public opinion would seem for some time past to impose upon the Ministers the duty of no longer postponing the public and solemn recognition of that Independence which has so long been maintained by the Island, and which, it is generally believed, is now too firmly established to be crushed by any force which France could direct against it.

A gentleman of great intelligence and respectability to whose very friendly disposition I have on former occasions been indebted for important communications, called on me a day or two past and in confidence assured me that a Frigate which had lately sailed from France for St. Domingo carried out a Royal *ordonnance* declaring the Emancipation (*affranchissement*) of the Republic on the conditions that its Government would pay one hundred and fifty millions of francs as an Indemnity to the ancient Colonists, and would also secure to France certain commercial advantages in the ports of the Island, of the nature and amount of which he possessed no accurate information.

He observed that the French Government had considered it as more consistent with its dignity to recognize the Independence of the Island by a royal *ordonnance* than by a treaty stipulation having the appearance of being made between two equal powers. The Ministers, he said, were anxious that this transaction should be covered with the most profound secrecy, from an apprehension, that if disclosed, the project might be counteracted by the influence or interference of other Governments. It has however been spoken of at the Exchange, and made the subject of some paragraphs in the journals, and from the manner in which it is noticed in the *Etoile*, a ministerial paper, I

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

have no doubt that the information I have received is substantially correct. As a portion of Haiti is claimed as a former colony of Spain, the consent of this power would seem to be necessary to give full effect to the arrangement, and I have not been able to ascertain whether this has been obtained.—

I am [etc.].

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, July 15, 1825.

SIR: I had the honor on the 3d Inst., to receive your No. 1² and on the 7th, I addressed a note to His Excellency the Baron de Damas, Minister of Foreign affairs, requesting an interview at as early a day as his convenience would permit. He appointed the 12th at 1 o'clock to receive me. I waited on him, and entered upon the subject of your instructions, by informing him that the President felt a strong desire to see the war between Spain and her colonies terminated. This war, I observed, had now raged for nearly seventeen years, and has been attended with an incalculable waste of blood and treasure. Its termination, whatever it might be, would have a great effect upon Europe and America. France was deeply interested in the event, and from her rank as a Continental power, and her intimate friendship with Spain, she might contribute much to bring about its conclusion. I expressed my hope that the good offices of His Majesty's Government would be exerted on the side of humanity, and employed for the purpose of ending that war, and restoring the blessings of peace.

I then proceeded to make some observations, the object of which was to convince the Baron de Damas, that the separation of the Spanish colonies from the parent country, was an event which might perhaps have been delayed, but which, in the course of affairs, must ultimately have taken place. They might perhaps have for some time continued to submit to Spanish authority, if the restless ambition of Napoleon had not prompted him to invade the Peninsula, subvert the ancient Dynasty, and place one of his own family on the throne. I endeavoured to convince him, how easy it was for a continent, in extent many times greater than the parent country, with nearly twice its numbers, and enjoying natural resources unequalled perhaps in any other portion of the globe, to liberate itself from a distant authority. The pride of the parent country will necessarily be wounded by a forcible separa-

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 143, Clay to Brown, May 13, 1825.

tion from her colonies, she will make every effort to subject them again to her sway, yet when it remains no longer doubtful that the struggle must be ineffectual, it becomes the duty of friendly nations, to calm the angry passions of the conflicting parties, and to interpose their good offices for the purpose of restoring peaceful relations.

I then proceeded to assure the Baron de Damas that during the whole of the war between Spain and her colonies, the United States had professed a strict neutrality and had been faithful to their professions. And that whatever interest may have been felt by the American people in favour of the colonists, their Government had assisted neither of the contending parties.

The two points however upon which I claimed most particularly his attention were 1st. The actual state of the war, 2d. The probable course of events in case it should continue.

On the first of these points I called his most serious attention to the important but undeniable fact, that throughout the whole extent of North and South America, from the western limits of the United States to Cape Horn, the Spanish authority had entirely disappeared. The last remains of the Spanish forces had been crushed by the decisive Victory of Ayacucho.—The war had in fact ended, nor could it ever be renewed, with any prospect of success on the continent of America. I asked him if he conceived it possible, that ten millions, in want of almost every thing which constitutes military strength, and most of all, of union and organization, could carry on war across the Atlantic, with any hope of subjugating twenty millions, fighting on their native soil for existence and freedom. But perhaps a hope might be cherished, that intestine divisions might take place in the new States, and that the Spanish authority might be recalled; by the chiefs of some of the rival factions. If such a hope was indulged, I pronounced it in my opinion, wholly illusory. Whatever form of Government might be adopted, whatever party might obtain the ascendancy, I entertained no doubt but that all would unite in supporting their Independence, and resisting the authority of Spain. The connexion had been violently dissolved and could never be renewed. The colonists had tasted of Independence and would never relinquish it.

Considering the war on the Continent as virtually at an end, I begged his permission to submit to his serious consideration the consequences which would follow the protraction of it, by any further attempt to conquer the colonies. His Excellency must know, that the new Republics have considerable armies, composed of acclimated, and well disciplined troops, many of which are veterans. So long as the war is nominally continued, these troops cannot be disbanded. The war then, I observed, must now change its character and its objects. It would become offensive and be carried on by the Republics against the Islands and commerce of Spain. The revenues which are now derived from the rich Islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, and which if

peace was established, would contribute to revive the languishing prosperity, and raise the depressed credit of Spain, will cease to flow in their former channels. They will be lost to Spain by the attack on those Islands, whilst, from her other resources, she will be compelled to seek the means of defending her insular possessions. I stated that this must happen, that the new Republics would not fail to strike where their enemy was most exposed,—that in attacking Cuba, they would be stimulated by the double motive of seizing a rich prize, and of preventing Spain from making Havanna the port from which to carry on her attacks against the continent,—that the proximity of this Island to the most powerful of the new Republics, facilitated the invasion whilst the character and temper of a portion of the population gave great probability to the success of the enterprise. From the number of ports on the shores of Cuba, and the great extent of the coast, which is destitute of population and fortresses, a landing of troops could be easily effected, and whether the expedition would be successful or otherwise, the injury would be incalculable. The war too, I remarked, would be directed against the commerce of Spain, which, in those seas, would be destroyed by the Privateers of the new Republics. It was only necessary to examine the map of those countries, in order to feel the truth of this observation. Indeed we already find the Cruizers of the Independent Governments hovering near the ports of Cadiz and Barcelona, and sweeping away Spanish commerce in sight of its shores. I endeavoured to place this important part of my communication in the strongest possible light in order to convince him that a regard for the true interests of Spain would render a conclusion of the war an object worthy of his immediate attention.

It was with much pleasure, I remarked, that instead of this revolting but not overcharged picture of the evils which were connected with the further prosecution of the war, I could now turn his attention to the advantages which all nations, but especially, Spain, would derive from the return of peace. She would continue to possess the Islands of Porto-Rico and Cuba, one of which was the largest, and both perhaps the most fertile and valuable, in that quarter of the Globe. I enlarged upon the value of their possessions, their susceptibility of improvement, and the influence which the peaceable enjoyment of them would have in restoring the prosperity of Spain. I presented to his view, the important share which Spain might, upon the renewal of friendly intercourse with the new states, enjoy in their commerce, and the advantages she would possess in competition with other nations, from the identity of language, and the similarity of prejudices, tastes, habits and customs. Peace once restored, the internal resources of the Peninsula and her Islands developed, and extended, I conceived it more than probable, that Spain would find, in the value of her commercial intercourse with her former colonies, an indemnity for their loss, whilst she would be relieved from the expense incident to the connexion. I then mentioned as a matter of some

portance, that Spanish subjects residing in the Peninsula still held Estates in the new Republics—that these estates were not confiscated, but were exposed to confiscation should the war be wantonly continued; and even should they remain undisturbed they must, during the war, be unproductive to the owners. Peace, if speedily concluded, would save those estates to the proprietors, and increase their productiveness, whilst the revenues derived from them, would augment the resources of Spain.— I felt it to be my duty, to insist strongly on the danger, that in case the war should not be concluded, but should take the direction I had anticipated, it might draw into its vortex other powers, who wish to remain at peace. I consider France as exposed to this danger, but admitted that the United States, from their proximity to the scene, had most cause of alarm; and I did not conceal their wish to guard against it. It was, I said, the duty of friendly nations, to foresee the danger, and prudently to avoid, if possible, war, the greatest scourge of the human family.

Having disclosed the policy of the United States in relation to Cuba, and assured the Baron de Damas, that they were satisfied with its present situation, with its ports open to the commerce and enterprise of our citizens, I concluded by assuring him, that the communication I had made, was in a spirit of friendship, and that I hoped it would be so received by His Majesty's Government.

The Baron de Damas replied that he had no doubt of the good dispositions of the Government of the United States, and as little doubt that the communication I had made, of its views and wishes, respecting the war between Spain and her colonies, was presented in a spirit of sincerity and friendship,—that it was received with the same sentiments,—that he believed my statement of facts to be substantially correct,—that the Spanish power had nearly disappeared on the Continent of America, and that the Islands of Spain were seriously menaced with an attack by the colonies. With a full knowledge of these facts, I could not be a stranger to the temper and feelings of Spain. She considered the colonies as belonging to her and that it would be humiliating to her pride and derogatory to her character to acknowledge their Independence.

He observed that Governments friendly to Spain ought to respect those feelings,—that the State of Europe must not be overlooked in considering the question of Spain and her colonies and that the harmony prevailing on the continent must be preserved, by the good understanding prevailing among the sovereigns on questions of general interest. With regard to the danger to which Cuba was exposed, he intimated that Spain would, he hoped, be able to find the means of averting it, and of securing that valuable Island.

In reply to the first of his observations, I admitted, that the surrender of the colonies, which Spain had long possessed, might be supposed to cost her some sacrifice of pride, but that after a war of seven years England, a nation

more powerful than Spain and placing an equal value on her honor, had acknowledged the Independence of her former colonies the United States, and had ultimately promoted her own best interests by doing so. That the most proud and powerful nations considered it no dishonor to yield to the force of circumstances and to retreat before the rapid march of human affairs, and that Spain could never have seriously hoped that her colonies would, when their population and civilisation had fully developed themselves, continue to submit to her authority.

In answer to his remarks respecting the great powers of Europe, and the necessity of consulting their wishes on the question under consideration, I observed that in endeavouring to obtain peace for America, it was not the wish of the Government of the United States to disturb the tranquillity of Europe—that they were deeply interested in the peace of every part of the Globe—that the considerations which I had the honor to submit, were in the interest and for the security and extension of peaceful relations as well in Europe as in America, and equally addressed themselves to the reason and reflexion of all Governments. He concluded the conference by repeating his assurances of the friendly manner in which he appreciated the motives which had produced the interview, but added that he did not consider the present moment favourable for a treaty between Spain and her colonies.

Having in the course of this conference, which lasted more than an hour, presented the subject under all the forms in which I could view it, I shall leave it with him, under the hope that time and reflexion may incline France to take a course which would in my opinion promote her best interests. You will readily perceive, that this hope is grounded, rather upon my confidence in the soundness of the principles submitted to this Government in virtue of my instructions, than on what passed on the part of the Minister of foreign affairs. Should I discover at some future day an opportunity of calling his attention to the subject, I shall not fail to renew my attempt to promote the views of the President.

I am [etc.].

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James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, December 23, 1825.

The fleet which appeared in the West Indies last summer, was composed of ships which had sailed from France at different periods and were destined, as it was reported, for different objects, some to suppress piracy in the West

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXII.

Indies and Gulph of Mexico, and others to protect the French commerce on the coasts of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans against the privateers of the new republics. These were collected in the West Indies with a view of making such a demonstration off St. Domingo, as might incline the Haytian Government to accede to the terms and conditions of the royal ordinance for the recognition of its independence. As these orders were carefully concealed from all but those entrusted with their execution, you can readily account for my inability to give you due notice of the expedition and of its objects.

I shall immediately ask an interview with the Minister of foreign affairs and make the communication you direct, in the most friendly manner and so as to avoid giving any just cause of offence. With respect to that part of your instructions which relates to Cuba and Porto Rico, I have already in my conversation with him on the subject of Mr. Middleton's instructions, unfolded to him not only our own wishes in relation to those possessions, but also my opinion of the consequences which would be produced by any attempt on the part of France to aggrandise herself by the acquisition of them. I have sufficient reason for believing that the policy of England on that point corresponds with that of the United States, and that it has been fully made known to this court. Under these circumstances I can hardly think it possible that France will attempt either by force or by compact to obtain possession of either of those islands. A recent event in Russia, the influence of which cannot yet be fully estimated, may also be considered as an additional security against such an attempt.

I have the honor [etc.].

746

James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Baron de Damas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of France¹

PARIS, January 2, 1826.

SIR: In the month of July last I had the honor to state to your Excellency with the utmost frankness, the views of the President of the United States in relation to the Spanish islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. I informed you that the United States could not see with indifference those islands passing from Spain to any other European power; and that the United States desired no change in their political or commercial condition, nor in the possession which Spain had of them. In the conference with which Your Excellency honored me on this day, I repeated the same assurances and added in a spirit

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXIII. This reached the Department of State as an enclosure in Brown to Clay, January 10, 1826, which see below, pt. VII, doc. 747. It was printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V, 882.

of friendship and with a view of guarding beforehand against any possible difficulties on the subject which might arise, that my Government could not consent to the occupation of those islands by any other European power than Spain, under any contingency whatever.

Having understood Your Excellency to say that the policy and views of the United States as disclosed by me, corresponded with those of His Majesty's Government, I shall not fail to communicate the information to the President, who will feel happy in finding the two nations agreeing on a point of so much importance to the tranquillity of that portion of the globe.

I request Your Excellency to accept [etc.].

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

PARIS, January 10, 1826.

SIR: In order to comply with the instructions contained in your dispatch No. 3,² I obtained an interview with His Excellency the Baron de Damas on the 2d instant. I reminded him that in the month of July last, I had, in a spirit of frankness, disclosed to him the views of the President of the United States in relation to the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, and that I had then stated to him that the United States could not see with indifference those islands passing from Spain to any other European Government; and that for the United States no change was desired in their political or commercial condition, nor in the possession which Spain has of them. I informed him that I was now instructed to add, in the same frank and friendly spirit, and in order to guard against all possible difficulties that might arise on that subject, that we could not consent to the occupation of those islands by any other European power than Spain under any contingency whatever. Disclaiming as we now did, all designs on them ourselves, we believed we might justly claim an unreserved communication of the views of other great maritime states in relation to them. I observed that the President could not suppose a state of things in which it would be right or proper that possessions so important should be occupied by either England or France without the concurrence or at least knowledge of the United States.

The Baron de Damas appeared to concur entirely in the view which I took of the subject and enquired whether it had been mentioned to the British Government. I told him that a similar communication had been made to

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXIII. It was printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, V, 881.

² See above, pt. I, doc. 147, Clay to Brown, October 25, 1825.

Mr. Canning, and I had sufficient reason to think that the British Government concurred with the President in the policy of not disturbing the possession of those islands in favor of either of the great maritime nations.

I then in the most delicate and friendly manner, alluded to the French squadron which had appeared in the West Indies and on the American coast last summer, and stated that my Government would expect that in case France should again send out a naval force disproportionate in the extent of its armament to the ordinary purposes of a peace establishment, its design and object should be communicated to the Government of the United States. The Baron de Damas answered that the vessels composing that squadron had been stationed at different places, where the number on each station was not more than sufficient for the service of protecting French commerce and their West India islands; that it had become necessary definitely to settle the relations between France and St. Domingo; that this squadron was hastily collected for that object, and that the nature of the service required secrecy.

e said that it was not only right in itself, but had been customary with the French Government to communicate to friendly governments in time of peace, the objects of considerable fleets sent on distant service; that the peculiar circumstances in the instance I alluded to, had occasioned a departure from that rule; but that in future the United States should be duly apprised of the objects of every such squadron sent into their vicinity. The Baron de Damas closed the conference by saying that he would communicate what had passed to the King, to whom he was sure it would give great satisfaction.

On the same day I addressed a short note to the Baron de Damas, of which I enclose a copy,¹ and meeting him in the evening, I told him in an informal manner, that I had written it with the design of avoiding any mistake in my communication to the President, of what had passed at the conference. He said he was well satisfied that no mistake existed on either side, and that he had communicated our conversation to the King.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*²

[EXTRACT]

Private.

PARIS, January 11, 1826.

In the course of last week I had a slight, informal conversation with the President of the council of ministers. I communicated to him in a few words

¹ See above, pt. VII, doc. 746, Brown to Baron de Damas, January 2, 1826.

² MS. Dispatches from France, XXIII.

the substance of the conversation which passed on the 2d instant¹ between the Minister of Foreign Affairs and myself on the subject of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, and expressed my satisfaction at finding a coincidence of opinion on the part of the two Governments on that subject. He observed that he trusted I should soon find the two Governments very nearly pursuing the same course in relation to the new republics. He then observed that he sincerely wished that the fortresses of Callao and St. Juan d'Ulloa would surrender and leave to Spain no hope of success in the further prosecution of the war. I told him that his wishes would soon be gratified. I asked him why France did not advise Spain, by speedily recognizing the colonies, to terminate the war and to secure to herself the possession of her remaining islands. He replied that Spain was obstinate and ungrateful, that she would neither receive wholesome advice nor pay her debts to France.

The official account of the capitulation of the castle of St. Juan D'Ulloa having been received, I think it very probable that some decided measures will be taken by France in relation to the new republics.

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States**

[EXTRACTS]

Private.

PARIS, March 12, 1826.

SIR: You will receive by this opportunity dispatches from Mr. Everett, which he has been so obliging as to leave open for my perusal. They confirm what I had before heard from well informed persons here, that Spain now seems more reluctant in recognizing the independence of her former colonies than she appeared to be immediately after receiving the intelligence of the surrender of the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa. I had some conversation on this subject with the Minister of Foreign Affairs on Monday last. He appeared to regret the obstinacy of Spain in delaying negotiations for peace with the new republics, but at the same time reminded me that he had communicated to me on my first alluding to the measure, that he entertained serious apprehensions that she would act as she has done. He asked me what advantages I thought Spain might now obtain in consequence of her consenting to recognize the independence of her former colonies. I told him that the actual situation of the mother country and of the colonies was now such as to

¹ See above, pt. VII, doc. 746, Brown to Baron de Damas, January 2, 1825

² MS. Dispatches from France, XXIII.

destroy all expectation that money would be paid by the latter for an act of recognition, and that I thought Spain must content herself with the advantages she would gain in terminating an useless and expensive war, in opening commercial intercourse with the new states, and in the security she would acquire in the possession of the valuable islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, which, should the war continue, must sooner or later be wrested from her. He answered that he concurred with me in the opinion I had expressed, that he believed it was now too late to obtain any money stipulation in favor of Spain, and that the Governments who felt a desire to promote peace, must persevere in their friendly efforts and continue to hope that time would lead the King to adopt a better course of policy.

In a short conversation which I had with the Count de Villele at Lord Granville's a day or two ago, he expressed some mortification at the unfavorable aspect that question had assumed after the prospects it offered a few weeks past. I asked him whether he did not think it probable that the Duke of Infantado had been induced to withhold his assent, from the apprehension that an abandonment of the claim of Spain upon the colonies would excite the clamors of the exalted or fanatical part which now governs the nation. He replied that this was one cause of the delay, but that he believed the King was perhaps as much or more in fault than either the ministers or the party to which I had made allusion, and that it was extremely difficult, from the indecision of his character, to induce him to bring any important affairs to a satisfactory conclusion. After complaining of the conduct of Spain in relation to France, he concluded by observing that as the Governments of England, the United States and France, entertained correspondent opinions with regard to Spanish affairs, we had every reason to hope that our wishes would be gratified in the speedy recognition of the new republics.

Baron Pedro Branca was, on Tuesday last, received by the King as chargé d'affaires of the Emperor of the Brazils. He is a native of Rio Janeiro, has travelled in the United States, and has resided some time in Paris. He introduced himself to me and in polite terms expressed the pleasure it gave him to become acquainted with the only Minister at this court from our hemisphere, and the hope he entertained that the number would soon be increased by the acknowledgement of the independence of the other new states. I discovered that he was well informed and a friend to liberal principles of Government. He remarked that for some time past he had mingled much in the society of the ambassadors and ministers of the continental courts, with the desire to persuade them to recognize the Government of Brazil; that he had often been told that if his Emperor would establish a form of government less liberal, the recognition of it would encounter fewer objections; to which he had answered that surrounded as his country was by republics, the Emperor could not sustain his power a month unless by adopt-

ing the representative system and convincing the people that they enjoyed nearly as much liberty as their neighbors. He appeared to regret the disputes which exist between Brazil and the United Provinces of the River la Plata, but at the same time expressed his hope that they might yet be amicably settled. . . .

The law proposed by the ministers for the repartition of the indemnity stipulated by the royal ordinance of the 17th of April in favor of the ancient colonists of St. Domingo, having been reported by the committee without any alterations of importance, has been the subject of a very animated debate for the last three or four days in the Chamber of Deputies. The power of the King to alienate the domain without the consent of the chambers has been denied, and the conduct of ministers in advising the recognition of a republic, having its origin in rebellion against legitimate authority, has been severely arraigned and censured. The debate, as you perceive by perusing the *Moniteur*, has taken a very wide range, and in the course of it, some of the speakers have given proofs of an ignorance of principles and facts, which, considering their means of obtaining more accurate information, is really astonishing. In answer to the argument that as the slave-trade has been abolished it would be impossible, if France now possessed the island of St. Domingo, to find laborers to render the soil productive, one of the speakers stated that there were in the United States from four to five hundred thousand free persons of color who would willingly remove to that island and cultivate the land in order to enjoy liberty under the Government of France. Statements equally incorrect with this abound in the speeches of the opposition, and are believed to be correct by many persons from whom more accurate information might be expected. The attempt to defeat the passage of the law by exposing the danger of recognizing republics in America, has been met by the friends of the ministry and by the liberal party in opposition, by arguments so strong and satisfactory, as to induce a belief that the acknowledgement of the independence of all the new republics in the south, would be as agreeable to the majority in the chamber as it certainly would be to the French people generally. I have no reason to doubt but that the law will pass nearly in the shape in which it has been reported, and that ministers will gain rather than lose strength by the discussion.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

Private.

PARIS, March 22, 1826.

On looking over the dispatches of Mr. Everett, which he left open for my perusal, and which you will receive by this opportunity, I observed that he alludes to the plan of an expedition against South America, as amongst the enclosures. I could find no such paper in the packet, and therefore conclude he has not sent it. The dispatches were brought to Paris by the courier of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and I have every reason to believe had not been opened. I have always thought France had the power of exerting a greater influence over Spain than any other Government, arising from the effect of a menace to withdraw the army of occupation, which would equally alarm the King and the fanatical party by which all his councils are directed. I have therefore never failed to profit of every proper occasion to urge ministers to press the recognition of the new republics earnestly on the attention of the Spanish Government. I have every reason to believe that Mr. de Villele is sincere in the expression of his wishes to see this event accomplished, and think it probable that the Ambassador at Madrid will be instructed to urge it in the strongest terms. It must however be recollected that the jesuits and ultra-royalists are exceedingly friendly to Spain and to Spanish power, and violently opposed to the independence of the republics. Assailed as the ministry are by the combined oppositions, they feel themselves constrained to proceed with much circumspection and prudence. The contest is now becoming so desperate on the part of Spain, that I hope ministers will soon find themselves at liberty to adopt a firmer tone, and tell her that she must terminate the war. It has been said, that to an application made by Ferdinand to the Emperor Nicholas, for aid in subduing the colonies, he replied that he had trouble enough in his own empire, without increasing it by engaging in the quarrels of other nations. I believe you need feel no further apprehensions of an attempt on the part of any European power either to take possession of Cuba, or to assist Spain in the South American war.

I have the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXIII.

*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

PARIS, April 27, 1826.

You will receive by this conveyance letters from Mr. Everett from which I presume you will derive more accurate information in relation to Spain than it is in my power to give you. He appears to be less sanguine than he was some time ago in his expectations in obtaining from that power the recognition of the new Republics in America. The latest accounts received there as well as at this place represent the attack on Cuba & Porto Rico as not yet decided on and the preparations for making it, as less formidable than they had been believed. It is now supposed that the invasion of those Islands will either be postponed for some time or entirely abandoned; and the bad condition of the finances of Colombia and Mexico, and the war between Buenos Ayres and Brazil are assigned as reasons in support of this opinion.

I have been informed by persons in whom I place confidence that this Government is not well satisfied with that part of the President's Message on the Panama mission in which he alludes to Haiti, and adverting to the principles which prevail here, it is not surprising that this should be their feeling. The doctrine of legitimacy being this, that countries and their inhabitants belong to the Hereditary sovereigns, it is viewed as a departure from sound principles either to acknowledge their independence before they have been recognized by him, or to refuse that acknowledgement after his recognition has been obtained. A few days ago the Minister of foreign affairs told me that he had been informed that the Message was of an extraordinary character, but observed at the same time that he had not read it. I replied that as we had not had an arrival of a late date by the way of Havre, I had only seen some extracts of that Message from English papers in the French Journals. We had no further conversation on the subject as he said he could give no opinion until he had examined it.

The law on the St. Domingo indemnity has passed both chambers and has been sent to the King. I will send you a copy of it by the next opportunity.

I am [etc.].

¹ Dispatches from France, XXIII.

James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States¹

PARIS, May 18, 1826.

SIR: Colonel Lanz, Agent of the Columbian Republic, called on me a few days ago, and informed me that his Government, apprehending that Spain might refuse to acknowledge the independence of her former colonies, had instructed him to obtain, if possible, a truce or suspension of hostilities for the space of ten or twenty years, in the persuasion that the mother country would, at the expiration of that time, neither feel the disposition nor possess the means of renewing the attempt to reduce them to their former state of dependence. He added that he was also instructed to communicate the plan to this Government, and to request its good offices in persuading Spain to agree to it;—that he had conversed with the President of the council of Ministers on the subject, who expressed his approbation of it, and would, as he hoped, give it his support. He observed that he had been asked by Mr. de Villele whether the plan would be approved by the Government of the United States, to which he said he had replied by expressing in general his conviction that our Government would consent to any measures in relation to Spain which would promote the interests of the new republics. He enquired whether I thought the President would approve the course which the Columbian republic had adopted with a view to terminate the war with Spain.

I answered that not having had any correspondence with my Government on the particular point to which the enquiry related, I could not say whether or not the proposed arrangement would receive its approbation; that I had not expected that a proposal of that nature would have been made by the Columbian republic, or indeed, that she would have asked from Spain any thing short of an unqualified recognition of independence. I observed that according to the received doctrine of the allied sovereigns, the recognition of the mother country must precede that of every other, and that as during the truce no European power would acknowledge the new republics as independent sovereignties, it rested with the Columbian Government to decide how far this state of suspense would accord with her interests, and whether during the existence of the truce, intrigues might not be carried on by Spain in the bosom of her former colonies, more dangerous to their liberties and repose than actual hostility. I concluded by regretting that he had not delayed making the communication to the French Government until it had been ascertained what influence the surrender of Callao, of which we had just received the news, would have upon the Spanish ministry in deciding the question of acknowledging the independence of the new republics.

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXIII.



He replied that he felt the force of my objections, and told me in a manner which I am disposed to consider *confidential*, and to communicate under *that reserve*, that nothing but precise instructions from his Government would have induced him to make the communication. He seemed to think that his Government had been induced to pursue this course, in consequence of the state of their finances, which required that the republic should discharge some of her troops, in order to bring her expenditures within her means, and that the army could not be disbanded before the war had terminated.

Having seen some months ago in a ministerial paper, an article in which the termination of the war between Spain and her colonies, was advocated, and a truce proposed, as the means by which that object could be accomplished, I think it not altogether improbable, that the measure had been suggested by this Government. I have not seen Mr. de Villele since I received this communication from Col. Lanz, but will shortly endeavor in an informal manner, to discover what he is disposed to do in relation to it.

I have the honor [etc.].

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

Private.

PARIS, *September 23, 1826.*

You will find in the Paris journals a letter from the minister of the marine authorizing vessels carrying the Mexican flag to enter the Ports of France. This measure would seem to amount to a virtual recognition of the Independence of Mexico. It is understood that a similar step will be taken by France in relation to the other American Republics, as soon as the French Agents sent to them respectively, shall have been received.

I have the honor [etc.].

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXIII.

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*James Brown, United States Minister to France, to Henry Clay, Secretary of State of the United States*¹

[EXTRACT]

Private.

PARIS, *October 22, 1826.*

I have already informed you that the Mexican and Columbian flags have been received in the ports of France, and that commercial agents of those republics have been accredited by this Government. It is said that Mr. Canning is anxious to announce at the opening of Parliament, the full recognition of these republics by France, and some color is given to the idea by an article which you will find in the *Moniteur* of the 18th instant which I now enclose. Spain remains inflexible to the remonstrances of France and England on the subject of those republics.

¹ MS. Dispatches from France, XXIII.

